

Addressing Maternal Perceived Fears in Supervising Children's Mobility

Nirma Yossa

National Research and Innovation Agency, Indonesia

Email: nirma.yossa@brin.go.id

Abstract

Children's independent mobility positively impacts their physical and mental well-being. However, parents' concerns regarding neighbourhood safety often restrict the capability of children to explore their surroundings independently. Our study of various parenting methods for supporting children's everyday use of public space is based on maternal perception of fears and the subsequent impact of those fears on children's limited exposure to spatial mobility. The study employs a qualitative retrospective approach to interview mothers in the Jakarta Metropolitan Area. We selected mothers with an argument that the impact of maternal figures on children's mobility is more significant than that of fathers. The research suggests that mobility experienced by mothers increases their perceived fears resulting in parenting practices that tend to discourage children from independently navigating public spaces. This study demonstrates that a significant reduction in women's ability to have independent mobility throughout their life course may affect their parenting methods in introducing spatial knowledge to children.

Keywords: *Children's Independent Mobility, Maternal Perceived Fears, Life Course.*

----- ◆ -----

A. INTRODUCTION

Early childhood is an essential milestone in overall mobility development. It is the formative years for developing spatial ability, comprehending social environments, and learning to negotiate their presence in public and private spaces (Mesman & Groeneveld, 2018)

Numerous research studies have demonstrated the beneficial effects of CIM. The literature suggests that engaging in physical activity can have positive effects on children's motor skills, cognitive development, confidence, self-esteem, and social skills (Mayer et al., 1990) (Rissotto & Tonucci, 2002), (Sissons, 1999). Additionally, it may enhance spatial ability and social interactions with peers and adults in the local community (Spilsbury, 2005), (Foster et al., 2013).

The term CIM pertains to the concept of freedom of movement, where children can roam around their environment without the supervision of adults (Mayer et al., 1990). Although independent mobility has positively affected children's health and well-being, CIM has decreased significantly across generations (Foster et al., 2013).

A rise in private vehicle usage reflects the increase in children's immobility which parents regularly drive them to and from school and other locations (Fyhri et al., 2011). The spatial experience gained by children is predominantly observing their surroundings from inside a car (Fyhri et al., 2011). For instance, the investigation of children's mobility in some Italian cities showcasing a considerable proportion of children aged 8 to 11 (34% to 65%) did not engage in outdoor activities without adult

supervision. More alarmingly, a significant percentage (23% to 46%) did not participate in outdoor activities even under adult supervision (Prezza, 2007).

Research has identified negative impacts of the adverse health-related outcomes associated with the absence of CIM on spatial skills and social competence (Prezza, 2007) and overall diminishing physical health, which can be attributed to the associated decrease in physical activity. Hillman, Adams, and Whitelegg's (1990) seminal study posits that parents' fear of traffic is crucial in diminishing children's independent mobility (Mayer et al., 1990). The circumstances above substantially impact parental, particularly maternal, perceptions concerning apprehensions and their association with diminished cognitive and intellectuality. A positive correlation exists between parental perception of a neighbourhood as unsafe and the probability of childhood obesity, irrespective of the characteristics of the mother and child (Lumeng et al., 2006).

There is a positive correlation between parental supervision and the level of fear experienced by children (De Groof, 2008). The enduring effects of restricted mobility can persist into adulthood and negatively impact an individual's overall development and well-being. For instance, adolescents who experienced higher levels of loneliness, fear of going out at night, and weaker connections to their community were associated with lower levels of independent mobility during their early childhood (Prezza and Pacilli, 2007),(Lumeng et al., 2006).

The parenting practises of individuals are significantly influenced by their perceptions of the environment in which they reside. The reduction in CIM is frequently linked to increased parental concerns regarding the safety of the local environment, including traffic and strangers (Foster et al., 2013). Adults often view their surroundings as dangerous, leading to an increase in their safeguards towards their children. They do not allow their children to play and roam outdoors and gatekeepers them to do playtime at home.

However, parents' decisions to allow and not allow their children to explore outside unaccompanied are often not based on children's ability or constraints from the surrounding environment. Parents' subjective assessment and personal concerns are more likely to influence their decision (Fyhri & Hjorthol, 2009). This personal perception of fear of crime can be heightened by crime news in media, personal victimisation experiences, perceived susceptibility to crime, and environmental stimuli, such as physical disorder and neighbourhood maintenance (Hale, 1996).

Previous literature indicates a propensity for maternal roles to exert a more pronounced influence on children's physical activity and health behaviours than paternal responsibilities (Schoeppe, 2017). The findings suggest that the influence of mothers on children's utilisation and presence in public areas is more significant than fathers (Döring et al., 2014),(Schoeppe et al., 2016). The prevailing societal norm of assigning mothers as the primary caregivers has resulted in a situation where they typically assume greater responsibility for supervising children within and beyond the confines of the household (Horne & Breitzkreuz, 2018).

Women are typically tasked with caring for children, so their fears may have adverse consequences for children's mobility. However, the empirical research on the factors influencing the maternal role in mobility socialisation is limited, particularly regarding the factor that impacts their perceived fears and parenting methods in mobility care (Schoeppe et al., 2017),(Döring et al., 2019). Therefore, it is important to analyse the correlation between maternal responsibilities in facilitating mobility care and the potential influence of their anxieties on limiting children's mobility. This inquiry holds great significance as the early stages of childhood play a crucial role in shaping their physical and cognitive development and overall personal growth well into the future.

Employing a qualitative retrospective method, a cohort of 36 mothers residing in urban localities within the Jakarta Metropolitan Area (JMA) were subjected to interviews. The study also examines how women's mobility experiences shape their approaches to maternal care, particularly in supervising children's utilisation of public spaces. The study posits that the various encounters with mobility, encompassing residential relocations, travel journeys, crime incidents, and parenting methods, that mothers have experienced since their formative years can influence their present travel attitudes and behaviour and shape their perception of fear.

B. METHOD

This article utilises in-depth interviews with 36 mothers residing in the Jakarta Metropolitan Area (JMA) to examine parenting strategies and children's mobility within distinct urban environments. The individuals in question have resided alongside their spouses and offspring in the JMA area for at least five years. Participants were recruited using purposive and snowball sampling techniques, which were facilitated by the researcher's personal networks.

A majority of the maternal participants in the study, specifically two-thirds, were native to and grew up in the rural regions and villages of Java Island. Nevertheless, individuals have subsequently migrated to metropolitan regions due to motives such as pursuing advanced education, pursuing employment prospects, and initiating marital unions. The study's participants demonstrate a diverse age distribution, ranging from 20 to 35. Additionally, their educational backgrounds encompass a range of academic achievements, from completing elementary school to attaining a bachelor's degree. Most female participants work outside of their household, either full-time or part-time, whereas the remaining portion assumes exclusive responsibility for domestic tasks and the care of children.

The experience of becoming parents in urban areas has prompted the development of novel perspectives and ideas concerning childhood within a distinct context and environment. The study involved mothers from various age groups, educational backgrounds, and socioeconomic statuses. These diverse factors have influenced the development of unique parenting cultures regarding the care of children's mobility. As mentioned above, the phenomenon has led to a restructuring of viewpoints regarding spatial dimensions.

This study utilises retrospective qualitative methodologies to thoroughly examine relevant factors influencing maternal perceptions of fears related to children's mobility. This approach has efficiently retrieved noteworthy occurrences that transpired over an extensive temporal span (Müggenburg et al., 2015)(Schoenduwe et al., 2015). Participants can engage in introspection regarding their travel choices and recall specific journeys linked to significant milestones in their lives.

The interview questions pertained to household routines, patterns of mobility, the local environment, perceptions of transportation infrastructure and the built environment, and parental upbringing. The research methodology utilised in this study involved a systematic and iterative approach. This approach consisted of a cyclical process that involved collecting and analysing data, writing memos, coding the data, and generating theoretical insights. This methodology was guided by the principles of grounded theory (Bringer et al., 2006). The research methodology systematically codes interview data to identify and categorise processes, actions, and meanings. Additionally, analytical inquiries are employed to establish and refine the emerging categories (Bringer et al., 2006).

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This discovery illustrates the various parenting approaches employed in overseeing children's mobility across various situations. This study examines how women's anxieties, patterns of movement, changes in residence, and gendered approaches to parenting shape their tactics for managing their children's everyday engagements within public environments.

Children's Supervision is Women's Full Responsibility.

As the primary destinations for early-age children's trips, schools and kindergartens are important options for understanding childhood mobility behaviour (Pooley et al., 2010). The distance between a child's home and school is the most important consideration when making mobility decisions during these developmental periods. Children's mobility is strongly influenced by their parents' decisions at this life stage since they cannot go outside without adult supervision, which often limits their mobility.

Parents are more concerned about their children's safety. They frequently send kids to schools closer to their own house or the location of their parents' workplace so that they can oversee and protect children in public places. It may be easier for parents with reliable transportation for their children to maintain such an arrangement. Respondents who work two jobs, on the other hand, require assistance arranging a time to escort their children. They frequently sought their parents for assistance in co-supervising children while working, while other respondents had combined outings by vehicle or motorcycle.

Many female participants commented that women were more likely than men to accompany children to school, implying that regulating children's mobility is still primarily a female responsibility.

Upon the arrival of a new family member, the household must undergo a reorganisation process to allocate care and other responsibilities. This often involves the assignment of gendered household roles. Women continue to occupy these positions, frequently constituting the bulk of their primary obligations. Although women may assume various roles within a household, men's primary duties tend to remain consistent and primarily focused on earning income. It can be inferred that women tend to undertake more household and child-chauffeuring trips than men. Their domestic responsibilities require them to travel more frequently, resulting in a greater need for diverse and intricate travel arrangements (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2020).

Many adults involved in this research mentioned that children often complained about being confined at home. Fitri (30 yo), a mother of two, said her six-year-old son wanted to go to school without her companion. The school was near her home, but she worried about letting him go to school, even with his friends. She explained that she accompanied the boys on their commute to school for the first few months, but once they were comfortable with the trip, they were the ones to want independence.

This child's first experience of independence is a prime illustration of improving their independence (Valentine, 1997). It demonstrates that they know their right to be mobile and regularly decide to become independent travellers without their parent's permission.

Residential Relocation and Fear Changing Parenting Methods?

Several female participants who had previously resided in rural or village areas shared that before their migration to urban settings, they had received education either individually or in small groups without adult supervision. According to previous research (Gaster, 1991), rural regions offer favourable conditions and characteristics that promote children's socialisation and imaginative play compared to urban areas.

According to Dania (35 years old), in rural regions, children were allowed to occupy communal areas within the village without adult supervision. The individual endeavours to instil in her offspring an early understanding and value for mobility, recognising its potential benefits for their future. Dania regularly engaged in social gatherings with fellow mothers of comparable children, convening daily after school hours to partake in activities such as cycling or visiting local parks with their respective offspring.

The parenting strategies employed by Dania are closely intertwined with her early childhood travel experiences, which significantly influence individuals' perceptions of their current mobility and ability to navigate public spaces in their present lives (Chowdhury & Ceder, 2016).

In urban settings, individuals with comparable parental backgrounds, particularly concerning their classification as 'newcomers,' exhibit divergent perspectives regarding the permissibility of young children engaging in public space exploration.

Dania is perceived as fortunate as she resides in a housing facility with a relatively stringent security system. Her residential area offers a spacious cycling zone and recreational area for children. The physical attributes of the environment that facilitate children's outdoor autonomy include accessible play areas close to their residences (Gaster, 1991).

Nonetheless, certain households in the present study reside in regions needing more public space amenities that are conducive to the needs of children.

Other participants shared stories that contrasted with Dania's. Many prohibit their children from going unaccompanied for various reasons beyond their control, such as distance, transport mode options, transport expense, and, most crucially, parents' security concerns.

Given her children's age, Ajeng (30) used specific immobilisation methods, such as only allowing them to play with friends in her backyard. She worried that her neighbourhood was a high-traffic area that she had to be aware of at all times.

Ajeng was always on guard and prepared for the worst whenever she took her children out in public. For instance, she taught them how to walk on the sidewalks and curbs and how to cross streets, showcasing how chauffeuring a child may also involve pedestrianised experiences. She is always cautious with reckless drivers, so she must teach children early to ensure their safety.

She demonstrates that parents have a significant role in influencing their children's future driving behaviours. Sinta (37, female) noted that her parents forbade her from driving a car even though she had mastered driving and riding skills in her youth. She was only allowed to drive after acquiring a license.

During this formative life stage, it is the parent's responsibility to teach their children to travel safely. It can be understood as children and adolescents are often at risk as vehicle occupants, pedestrians, or cyclists when travelling on or near roads.

Ana shared a home with her husband, parents, three-year-old son, and eight-year-old daughter, and she shared concerns about the local traffic, especially the large trucks and reckless public transit, as well as the nearby laneway and street. She keeps a watchful check on children even when it drains her energy since doing so makes them safer.

Travelling with Children: Public Transport vs Private Vehicles

Women's traditional roles as homemakers and child chauffeurs, added by the increasing number of women entering the job market, trips are becoming more complex. However, switching from private vehicles to public transport also brings some barriers. The lower quality of services, lack of connections, and larger travel distances are identified as barriers to public transport use (Chowdhury & Ceder,

2016). Typically, women give up travel opportunities if public transport is considered unreliable and unaffordable (Pojani, 2014).

Parents' anxiety is not limited to concerns regarding potential traffic accidents or exposure to natural hazards their children may encounter outside their homes. The primary factor contributing to women's reluctance to frequent public spaces is their fear of crime (Gardner et al., 2017). Research has shown that women tend to experience higher levels of fear towards crime than men, even though men are statistically more prone to being victimised by criminal activities (Pain, 1997). The phenomenon of fear of crime encompasses a range of criminal activities such as abduction, assault, theft, and drug-related offences, as well as the presence of individuals or strangers displaying unusual behaviours.

Many participants expressed concerns regarding the lack of caution exhibited by public transit drivers. Several individuals reported experiencing anxiety when drivers exceeded speed limits or engaged in behaviours that compromised the well-being and security of passengers. Nevertheless, most participants expressed a willingness to utilise public transportation for transporting their children, albeit with certain reservations.

Marni, a 32-year-old individual, permits her children to utilise certain public transit considered safer, such as the subway, busway, and train. In addition to her concerns about public transportation, she regarded it as hazardous. The primary concern of the individual in question revolved around disembarking from the local bus, as the drivers tended only partially to halt the vehicle and did not adhere to allowing all passengers to alight before resuming their journey.

Yuni (29) shared Marni's frustration that drivers pick up passengers at random locations rather than at bus stops. She also mentioned *ngetem*, the practice of waiting until a bus is full of passengers before continuing a route, which makes it challenging to schedule trips and ensure that passengers arrive at their destinations on time for things like dropping off their children at school.

Health was an issue brought up by many participants, specifically, smoking on public transport by the driver and some passengers. Fenita (30, female) made a special note because her child has respiratory allergies; as a result, she and nearly all other participants said they might avoid taking public transport and instead use a more comfortable ridesharing service.

Cars are still considered the most reliable travel modes. However, just four people in this research said they had ever used a private car to get to school (either as a driver or a passenger).

Nita (33) decided to hire a pickup car, a private vehicle owned by parents or individuals who provide a specialised service to transport children to and from school. The driver collects multiple passengers into a single vehicle, visiting each passenger's house in turn, pickup by pickup until they reach the school.

Rania (34) is a teacher and the mother of three children. Due to the lack of reliable public transport in her area, Rania has increasingly relied on her husband to

drive her everywhere. However, as they have one motorcycle, they all have to do extreme ridesharing in which five people pile onto a motorcycle.

Rania knew the risk associated with ridesharing that children would be harmed by traffic. However, she must ensure her family can reach their destinations on time. Hence, she frequently admonishes her husband to ride his motorbike more cautiously. She also provides the children with protective clothing and face masks to lessen the impact of the pollution.

The participants predominantly utilised motorcycles as their primary mode of transportation when commuting with their children to school and various other destinations. The efficacy of public transport is diminished by the escalating traffic congestion in metropolitan areas, prompting a growing number of individuals to opt for motorcycles due to their adeptness in maneuvering through congested roadways.

The utilisation of motorcycles for work purposes was predominantly observed among men, who employed them for short and long journeys. Conversely, women predominantly employed motorcycles for shorter trips, such as attending to childcare responsibilities or engaging in grocery shopping.

Desti, a 35-year-old woman, was driven to learn to ride a motorcycle to escort her children to school without relying on public transit, which was considered too expensive and inconvenient.

All the households reported owning at least one motorcycle, but only about half reported owning a car. Motorcycles are popular as they are more affordable than cars in Indonesia.

From this interview, some of the women in the study admitted to being afraid of driving. While ridesharing services have made it easier for them to get around quickly and easily, especially when transporting children, they have also encouraged them to learn to drive.

Gendered Parenting: Maternal Perception on Children's Mobility

Women exhibit more varied and intricate travel behaviours, whereas men tend to undertake longer commutes and travel greater distances for occupational purposes (Elias et al., 2015), (Lee et al., 2018), (Mahadevia & Advani, 2016). Females are often expected to manage numerous responsibilities simultaneously, including occupational pursuits, domestic chores, and providing care for children. Travelling for caretaking and domestic responsibilities is a prevalent activity among women. The literature suggests that women have diverse reasons for travelling, engage in chain trips, necessitate several layovers, and employ various modes of transport during their journeys. For instance, women may stop at their children's schools and shops route to work, utilising buses and trains to access these multiple destinations (Elias et al., 2015), (Lee et al., 2018), (Mahadevia & Advani, 2016).

Most participants agreed on the significant transformation of their mobility and travel patterns following the birth of their children, with ongoing modifications observed as their offspring progressed through different developmental phases.

Including a new member within a family frequently requires restructuring caregiving duties and other responsibilities, resulting in a real manifestation of gendered patterns. Females assume a greater share of domestic and child transportation duties than males, while males generally maintain consistent primary responsibilities irrespective of alterations in the overall composition of their households (Elias et al., 2015), (Lee et al., 2018), (Mahadevia & Advani, 2016). Due to women's multiple roles as homemakers and workers, they tend to sacrifice their interests and prioritise domestic responsibilities (Lee et al., 2018).

Women's spatial range is significantly more limited than their male counterparts, which suggests that women have lower levels of mobility and accessibility (Dunckel Graglia, 2016). The concerns above arise from the patriarchal framework, which manifests in various social, cultural, economic, and political obstacles that impede women's mobility, rendering it inferior to men's. The imposition of mobility limitations exacerbates women's marginalisation, as it regulates their mobility and access to public spaces, a phenomenon that has persisted over time (Hanson, 2010).

The regulation of mobility can take various forms, including explicit, implicit, direct, or indirect measures. An instance of direct control is the imposition of social norms prohibiting women and girls from leaving their homes, which can curtail their mobility and confine them to domestic spaces. The intersection of gender factors with other factors such as race, age, class, culture, geography, and religion portrays women as vulnerable, inferior to men, and dependent on protection, limiting their ability to occupy public spaces (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2014).

The interview responses provided evidence of a change in women's driving attitudes following the birth of their children. Many participants indicated that they modified their driving habits and exhibited increased vigilance when transporting their children.

The findings of this study indicate that a significant number of women expressed a sense of insecurity when engaging in solitary walks or utilising public transportation, starting from a young age. This suggests that their apprehension towards criminal activities has been ingrained in them throughout their lives.

Sinta (38 yo) described how she had changed her view of public safety after a traumatic experience when she was five years old. Sinta was injured after a motorcycle hit her when she crossed the street. As a result, she has anxiety when letting their children play outside without her companion.

When the discussion moved to talk about gendered parenting, it became apparent of clear treatment between boys and girls based on parents' idealised childhood. In early childhood, parents convey their expectations on how children should behave and not behave based on gender, including how children navigate public space (Mesman & Groeneveld, 2018).

Some parents in the study may have gendered attitudes about children learning to drive. One typical example is the stereotype that women are seen as inexperienced but safe drivers, while men are seen as experienced but risky.

According to Sari (27 yo), her husband was raised in a family forbearing women to drive a car. As a result, he does not allow her and their daughters to learn to drive at all, whereas their sons must have learned to drive even from an early age. He argued that women tend to panic when driving, leading to traffic accidents. While sons are prepared to be drivers, their sisters assumed that children's genders determine that girls should be protected and boys should protect them since early childhood.

As expected, girls have less independent mobility than boys. Previous studies also demonstrate that parents' fear of strangers was stronger for daughters. They perceive girls are more likely to be victims of crime in public spaces while boys are considered more capable of dealing with strangers, and accordingly grant them more independence, while girls need rigid parental supervision to go around (Mayer et al., 1990), (Foster et al., 2013), (Marzi et al., 2018).

It is common for parents to be more overprotective of their daughters than of their sons, and combined with gendered parenting experienced by generation, increased anxiety about girls' safety can lead to a lower level of girls' independent mobility (Marzi et al., 2018).

However, not all participants shared this attitude toward gender differences in their children. Siska (30), for example, plans to encourage her daughter to learn to drive once they reach the appropriate age. Siska said that men and women are now equal, so they must be able to drive a car and ride a motorcycle regardless of gender.

Encountering Sexual harassment

The fear of crime, increased vulnerability, and victimisation deter women from making trips. Women express apprehension regarding their safety in public transport, including unoccupied parking lots, dimly-lit streets and stations, and graffiti/vandalism (Gardner et al., 2017), (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2014). Certain studies have indicated that women's fear of crime can impede their autonomy and involvement in communal activities, as well as their capacity to avail themselves of diverse prospects offered by urban development (Day et al., 2003), (Gardner et al., 2017), (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2014).

Female victims of harassment are frequently subjected to victim-blaming, whereby the responsibility for the incident is shifted from the perpetrator to the victim. Consequently, many women are compelled to modify their clothing in public settings to adhere to modesty standards, and a considerable proportion refrains from utilising public transport, particularly during night-time, owing to inadequate safety measures (Gardner et al., 2017). Women who are accompanied by their children or those who are carrying items are particularly vulnerable to theft or pickpocketing (Poiani, 2014).

Women's victimisation is often under-reported and concealed in the media, leading to an elevated sense of fear among women (Dunckel Graglia, 2016), (Pain, 1997). According to Day, Stump, and Carreon (2003), women's gender identities have

been influenced by fear, leading them to conform to restricted social norms to protect their safety (Day et al., 2003).

Females are more likely to internalise limitations and negative feedback concerning their mobility due to being cautioned more frequently about potential criminal activities than males (Gardner et al., 2017). The gendered dimension of CIM and its continuation into adulthood warrants careful consideration.

The Correlation between Maternal's Perceived Fears and Parenting Methods

Maternal roles, parenting methods, residential relocations, mobility constraints, and travel journeys can contribute to heightened mothers' perceived fears. These fears, in turn, influence the development of parenting strategies to safeguard children from potential criminal activities and risks that may arise in public environments. The study highlights two significant correlations between the mobility experiences of mothers from the past to the present and the development of perceived fears and corresponding maternal strategies. These fears revolve around protecting their children while engaging in unsupervised play in public areas. The mothers' mobility experiences play a crucial role in shaping their fears and subsequent approaches to ensuring the safety of their children.

a. Mobility experiences on maternal perception of fears.

It seeks to understand how various forms of mobility, such as physical relocation or social mobility, influence the fears experienced by mothers. The perceived fears regarding their children's safety are influenced by mothers' mobility experiences throughout their life course. Previous instances of mobility encompass various aspects such as the exploration of travel journeys, the interpretation of the constructed surroundings and transportation infrastructure, encounters with criminal activities and sexual harassment, and the influence of parental upbringing on individuals' perception and navigation of spatial dimensions.

b. Maternal Perception of Fears Parenting Method Related to Children's Mobility

It explores the cognitive and emotional processes through which mothers perceive and interpret fears within their environment. Delving the phenomenon of children's mobility is intricately linked to the parenting method employed by caregivers. Parents' choice to raise their children significantly influences how children can explore and navigate their physical environment.

Mothers' parenting practices are influenced by their perceived fears, which aim to ensure their children's safety in public spaces. The manifestation of concern can be observed in mothers' behaviours, modelling, attitudes, and socialisation practices. These factors serve as a reference point for children, who engage in routine learning by imitating and emulating their mothers. Mothers possess the capacity to exhibit diverse strategies in influencing the mobility patterns of their offspring. These strategies range from granting children the freedom to explore their immediate

environment without adult supervision to imposing limitations on their presence in public domains and relying on private modes of transportation for their conveyance.

D. CONCLUSION

This research emphasises the significance of parental supervision, particularly from mothers, in shaping children's daily utilisation of public spaces, which has long-lasting implications for their mobility experiences throughout their lives. In contrast to their male counterparts, women encounter more pronounced obstacles to mobility, frequently limiting their access to public spaces. The obstacles encountered throughout women's life journeys contribute to developing their individual apprehensions, particularly concerning criminal activities, traffic incidents, and hazards in public areas.

As a result, these apprehensions influence their parenting strategies, manifested through habitual actions, attitudes, and examples that communicate to children the notion of potential hazards in public settings and the diverse methods parents employ to ensure their safety. Therefore, it is anticipated that children adhere to parental directives, including refraining from engaging in outdoor activities without adult supervision, commuting to school and other locations under parental supervision, complying with traffic regulations, and becoming accustomed to restricting their mobility and primarily utilising their free time within the confines of a residence or private area. The children are likewise anticipated to emulate their conduct in traversing communal areas, exercising caution while crossing thoroughfares, interacting with unfamiliar individuals, and refraining from utilising unreliable modes of public transportation.

Existing literature offers several strategies to increase children's safety when roaming their neighbourhoods. These strategies include enhancing surveillance in residential areas to promote child monitoring through improved lighting, park amenities, green areas, and built environment, including neighbourhood designs with child-friendly characteristics (Foster, 2014). Additionally, fostering a stronger sense of social community and encouraging active monitoring of children in public spaces may also help to reduce the potential of crime (Scarborough et al., 2010).

This study aims to elucidate maternal parenting strategies for providing care for children's mobility. To make substantial contributions to parenting strategies on child internal migration (CIM), future researchers may consider utilising various methodological approaches, such as quantitative and mixed methods. This is particularly important due to the complex dynamics of households and the diverse array of mobility arrangements involved.

REFERENCES

- Bringer, J. D., Johnston, L. H., & Brackenridge, C. H. (2006). Using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software to develop a grounded theory project. *Field Methods*, 18(3), 245–266. doi:10.1177/1525822x06287602

- Chowdhury, S., & Ceder, A. (avi). (2016). Users' willingness to ride an integrated public-transport service: A literature review. *Transport Policy*, 48, 183–195. doi:10.1016/j.tranpol.2016.03.007
- Day, K., Stump, C., & Carreon, D. (2003). Confrontation and loss of control: Masculinity and men's fear in public space. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 23(3), 311–322. doi:10.1016/s0272-4944(03)00024-0
- De Groof, S. (2008). And my mama said: The (relative) parental influence on fear of crime among adolescent girls and boys. *Youth & Society*, 39(3), 267–293. doi:10.1177/0044118x07301000
- Döring, L., Albrecht, J., Scheiner, J., & Holz-Rau, C. (2014). Mobility biographies in three generations – socialization effects on commute mode choice. *Transportation Research Procedia*, 1(1), 165–176. doi:10.1016/j.trpro.2014.07.017
- Döring, L., Kroesen, M., & Holz-Rau, C. (2019). The role of parents' mobility behavior for dynamics in car availability and commute mode use. *Transportation*, 46(3), 957–994. doi:10.1007/s11116-017-9823-x
- Dunckel Graglia, A. (2016). Finding mobility: women negotiating fear and violence in Mexico City's public transit system. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 23(5), 624–640. doi:10.1080/0966369x.2015.1034240
- Elias, W., Benjamin, J., & Shiftan, Y. (2015). Gender differences in activity and travel behavior in the Arab world. *Transport Policy*, 44, 19–27. doi:10.1016/j.tranpol.2015.07.001
- Foster, S., Villanueva, K., Wood, L., Christian, H., & Giles-Corti, B. (2014). The impact of parents' fear of strangers and perceptions of informal social control on children's independent mobility. *Health & Place*, 26, 60–68. doi:10.1016/j.healthplace.2013.11.006
- Fyhri, A., & Hjorthol, R. (2009). Children's independent mobility to school, friends and leisure activities. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 17(5), 377–384. doi:10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2008.10.010
- Fyhri, A., Hjorthol, R., Mackett, R. L., Fotel, T. N., & Kyttä, M. (2011). Children's active travel and independent mobility in four countries: Development, social contributing trends and measures. *Transport Policy*, 18(5), 703–710. doi:10.1016/j.tranpol.2011.01.005
- Gardner, N., Cui, J., & Coiacetto, E. (2017). Harassment on public transport and its impacts on women's travel behaviour. *Australian Planner*, 54(1), 8–15. doi:10.1080/07293682.2017.1299189
- Gaster, S. (1991). Urban children's access to their neighborhood: changes over three generations. *Environ Behav*, 23(1), 70–85.
- Hale, C. (1996). Fear of crime: A review of the literature. *International Review of Victimology*, 4(2), 79–150. doi:10.1177/026975809600400201
- Hanson, S. (2010). Gender and mobility: new approaches for informing sustainability. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 17(1), 5–23. doi:10.1080/09663690903498225

- Hillman, M. (1990). One false move: a study of children's independent mobility. *Policy Studies Institute XLV*.
- Horne, R. M., & Breitzkreuz, R. S. (2018). The motherhood sacrifice: maternal experiences of child care in the Canadian context. *Journal of Family Studies*, 24(2), 126–145. doi:10.1080/13229400.2015.1109540
- JAMA Pediatrics – the science of child and adolescent health. (n.d.). Retrieved September 4, 2023, from Jamanetwork.com website: <http://archpedi.jamanetwork.com/>
- Joshi, M. S., Maclean, M., & Carter, W. (1999). Children's journey to school: Spatial skills, knowledge and perceptions of the environment. *The British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 17(1), 125–139. doi:10.1348/026151099165195
- Lee, J., Vojnovic, I., & Grady, S. C. (2018). The 'transportation disadvantaged': Urban form, gender and automobile versus non-automobile travel in the Detroit region. *Urban Studies (Edinburgh, Scotland)*, 55(11), 2470–2498. doi:10.1177/0042098017730521
- Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (2014). Fear and safety in transit environments from the women's perspective. *Security Journal*, 27(2), 242–256. doi:10.1057/sj.2014.9
- Mahadevia, D., & Advani, D. (2016). Gender differentials in travel pattern – The case of a mid-sized city, Rajkot, India. *Transportation Research. Part D, Transport and Environment*, 44, 292–302. doi:10.1016/j.trd.2016.01.002
- Marzi, I., Demetriou, Y., & Reimers, A. K. (2018). Social and physical environmental correlates of independent mobility in children: a systematic review taking sex/gender differences into account. *International Journal of Health Geographics*, 17(1). doi:10.1186/s12942-018-0145-9
- Mesman, J., & Groeneveld, M. G. (2018). Gendered parenting in early childhood: Subtle but unmistakable if you know where to look. *Child Development Perspectives*, 12(1), 22–27. doi:10.1111/cdep.12250
- Müggenburg, H., Busch-Geertsema, A., & Lanzendorf, M. (2015). Mobility biographies: A review of achievements and challenges of the mobility biographies approach and a framework for further research. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 46, 151–163. doi:10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2015.06.004
- Pain, R. H. (1997). Social Geographies of Women's Fear of Crime. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22(2), 231–244.
- Pooley, C., Whyatt, D., Walker, M., Davies, G., Coulton, P., & Bamford, W. (2010). Understanding the school journey: Integrating data on travel and environment. *Environment & Planning A*, 42(4), 948–965. doi:10.1068/a41405
- Prezza, M. (2007). Children's Independent Mobility: A Review of Recent Italian Literature Author(s): Miretta Prezza Source: Children. *Child Youth Environ*, 17(4), 293–318. doi:10.7721/chilyoutenvi.17.4.0293
- Prezza, Miretta, & Pacilli, M. G. (2007). Current fear of crime, sense of community, and loneliness in Italian adolescents: The role of autonomous mobility and play during childhood. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 35(2), 151–170. doi:10.1002/jcop.20140

- Rissotto, A., & Tonucci, F. (2002). Freedom of movement and environmental knowledge in elementary school children. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 22(1–2), 65–77. doi:10.1006/jevp.2002.0243
- Sánchez de Madariaga, I., & Neuman, M. (Eds.). (2020). *Engendering cities: Designing sustainable urban spaces for all*. Routledge.
- Scarborough, B. K., Like-Haislip, T. Z., Novak, K. J., Lucas, W. L., & Alarid, L. F. (2010). Assessing the relationship between individual characteristics, neighborhood context, and fear of crime. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(4), 819–826. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.05.010
- Schoenduwe, R., Mueller, M. G., Peters, A., & Lanzendorf, M. (2015). Analysing mobility biographies with the life course calendar: a retrospective survey methodology for longitudinal data collection. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 42, 98–109. doi:10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2014.12.001
- Schoeppe, S., Röbl, M., Liersch, S., Krauth, C., & Walter, U. (2016). Mothers and fathers both matter: The positive influence of parental physical activity modeling on children's leisure-time physical activity. *Pediatric Exercise Science*, 28(3), 466–472. doi:10.1123/pes.2015-0236
- Schoeppe, S., Vandelandotte, C., Bere, E., Lien, N., Verloigne, M., Kovács, É., ... Van Lippevelde, W. (2016). The influence of parental modelling on children's physical activity and screen time: Does it differ by gender? *European Journal of Public Health*, ckw182. doi:10.1093/eurpub/ckw182
- Spilsbury, J. C. (2005). Children's perceptions of the social support of neighborhood institutions and establishments. *Human Organization*, 64(2), 126–134. doi:10.17730/humo.64.2.p99qeup9qebu6wv5
- Valentine, G., & No, oh Y. I. C. oh. (1997). 'Oh Yes I Can. *Children and Parents' Under-Standings Of Kids' Competence To Negotiate Public Space Safely Introduction: Children and Social Competence*.
- Women's Issues/Gender Issues. (2014). In *Encyclopedia of Transportation: Social Science and Policy*. 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320 United States: SAGE Publications, Inc.