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towards Habitat III a gender perspective

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**towards Habitat III
a gender perspective**

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Reading the New Urban Agenda in a gender perspective

Antonio Acierno



In the last three decades the sustainable development has become the main topic of international discussion in urban planning and it has been defined in many ways. The first definition was given in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and Development, according to which it is a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This description refers to a wide range of objectives related to social, environmental and economic concerns regarding the rising decay of human and natural environment. Moreover, it focuses on the poor and the equity justice, at the present and for the future.

Before such definition of sustainable development, the *Limits to growth* report (club of Rome, 1972) fixed the international attention on environmental degradation and related problems of industrial model of growth.

In 1976 there was the first global summit, officially identified as the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, known as Habitat I, first of a bi-decennial cycle of conferences (1996, 2016), in which an international debate about these topics started (fig. 1).

The first conference (Vancouver, Canada 1976) produced a global report on the Human Settlements, Vancouver Declaration, in which many countries recognized the need to address the “uncontrolled urbanization” combining spatial planning with economic and social policies. As outcome of the conference, it was created in 1997 the United Nations Human Settlements Centre, forerunner of ONU-Habitat, focusing on the urbanization in developing countries.

In 1996 the second conference took place at Istanbul analyzing two themes: “Adequate shelter for all” and “Sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world”. These topics are related to the first conference with the added attention to the entire urban world and the strong urbanization process leading to a rising population living in towns and metropolises. In this second conference many problems were identified and many suggestions and principles were drawn to tackle the negative effects of urbanization, summarized in the Agenda Habitat, a *Global Action Plan*, composed of 241 paragraphs and over 600 recommendations. The five most interesting topics of the plan were: ensure adequate shelter for all; promotion of security of tenure throughout the developing world; support for vulnerable groups, especially women and the poor; provision of adequate and equitable access to basic urban services, and promotion of decentralization and good urban governance.

In these last twenty years up to 100 countries have enacted laws and regulations to improve housing conditions, however the funds invested in urban developments have been reduced. Many countries tried to adopt some elements of the Agenda Habitat in

their policies, however a criticism raised up about the large number of recommendations without a prioritization and the lack of a monitoring mechanism.

Anyway the influence of the Istanbul Habitat Agenda at global level was recognized in many important world summit acts, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of 2000. The latter focused the attention on the poverty and the means to eradicate it from the urban areas and ensure a more sustainable environment.

The third conference - Habitat III - is to be held in Quito on 17-20 October 2016, in which all the members of the Assembly will make a step forward by defining the New Urban Agenda that represents not only a vision for the future but also a strong commitment to act in pursuing the objectives of a more sustainable urban realm. The New Urban Agenda defines a long term strategy for the next twenty years and offers a remarkable opportunity for national governments to address emerging problems, such as poverty, climate change, quality of urban life, defining a shared collective approach.

Habitat III starts from the identification of the main issues of the urban development of the last 20 years, such as (fig. 2): urban growth, changes in family patterns, growing number of urban residents living in slums and the challenge of providing urban services. However, urbanization is not only the main cause of the global environmental, economic and social problems in the third millennium, but it represents also the potentiality to solve them. In fact, the idea of New Urban Agenda is rooted in the urbanization as engine of development, able to create a sustainable development. In other words, the complex and messy structure of urbanization can be positively directed towards a fruitful growth. All the countries involved have to commit for the improvement of urbanization through the “three legged-approach”: local fiscal systems, urban planning, basic services and infrastructure.

Beside these operational tools for governments, the New Urban Agenda represents also a commitment for a democratic development of countries and a driver for social enhancement in the respect of environment and urbanization. It claims themes such as equity, safety and resilience as prior focuses mainly in developing countries and in urban areas.

The New Urban Agenda recognizes that the urban trends worldwide are determin-

Fig. 1 - From Habitat I 1976 to Habitat III 2016 (source: WORLD CITIES REPORT 2016)



Fig. 2 - Emerging urban challenges of urbanization (source: WORLD CITIES REPORT 2016)



ing more and more metropolises, urban corridors and mega-regions where people are increasingly concentrating. Together with the problems originated by the new urban trends, urbanization constitutes in the mean time the solution because the city are the core areas of national economies (fig. 3).

Although the New Urban Agenda will not be a compulsory agreement for the participating countries, it can affect the global thinking about cities and what they will be in the future. It can be seen as a guidance for nation states, regional authorities, academics, foundations and civil society in constructing the future city in according to urbanization.



The New Urban Agenda expresses the need to respond to the emerging challenges with a different approach from the past. Since the first conference in Vancouver, UN-Habitat has developed policies and programmes but they have proved inefficient respect to the current social, economic, cultural and environmental model. The reposition of the New Agenda seeks to realize also the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and particularly the *Goal n. 11 - Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable* (fig. 4).

The Millennium Goals aim to obtain by 2030 a series of concrete objectives: to ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services; upgrade slums; provide safe and accessible transport system for all; expand public transport; enhance participatory planning and management; protect world's cultural and natural heritage; protect poor and people in vulnerable situations and case of disaster; reduce environmental impact of cities; provide universal access to green and public spaces; support positive linkages between rural, peri-urban and urban areas; support cities in adopting integrated policies and plans mitigation and adaptation to climate change; support developing countries in building sustainable and resilient buildings.

In such a way the goal n.11 can be interpreted as a consequence of what initially set out by Habitat II Agenda (1996) and developed in the last years.

The New Urban Agenda represents the first global document on the city after the declaration of the goals of the Pso-2015 Development Agenda and COP21 in Paris (2015) and an attempt to establish a relationship between urbanization and development.

The last draft version of the New Urban Agenda has been written in New York, as outcome of the Habitat III Informal Intergovernmental Meeting which took place at the United Nations Headquarters from 7 to 10 September 2016.

In the New Urban Agenda there are 175 points which will represent global standards of achievement in sustainable urban development, rethinking the way we build, manage, and live in cities through drawing together cooperation with committed partners, relevant stakeholders, and urban actors at all levels of government as well as the private sector.

The investigation themes where we found reference to gender and/or women, commit to:

- achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls (n. 5), ensuring women's full and effective participation and equal rights in all field and in leadership at all levels of decision-making by preventing and eliminating all forms of discrimination, violence, and harassment in private and public spaces (n. 13-92);



Fig. 3 - The benefits of a well planned urbanization (source: *WORLD CITIES REPORT 2016*)

Box 2.1: Goal 11— Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable

11.1 By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums

11.2 By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons

11.3 By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries

11.4 Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage

11.5 By 2030, significantly reduce the number of deaths and the number of people affected and substantially decrease the direct economic losses relative to global gross domestic product caused by disasters, including water-related disasters, with a focus on protecting the poor and people in vulnerable situations

11.6 By 2030, reduce the adverse per capita environmental impact of cities, including by paying special attention to air quality and municipal and other waste management

11.7 By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities

11.a Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and

regional development planning

11.b By 2020, substantially increase the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans towards inclusion, resource efficiency, mitigation and adaptation to climate change, resilience to disasters, and develop and implement, in line with the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030, holistic disaster risk management at all levels

11.c Support least developed countries, including through financial and technical assistance, in building sustainable and resilient buildings utilizing local materials



Source: United Nations, 2015a.

Fig. 4 - Goal n. 11 of MDGs (source: WORLD CITIES REPORT 2016)

- promote age and gender responsive planning and investment for sustainable, safe, and accessible urban mobility for all and resource efficient transport systems for passengers and freight, linking people, places, goods, services, and economic opportunities (n. 13-114);
- adopt sustainable, people-centred, age and gender responsive and integrated approaches to urban and territorial development by implementing policies, strategies, capacity development, and actions at all levels, based on fundamental drivers of change (n. 15);
- recognize the need of attention to specific challenges and multiple forms of discrimination faced by women and girls, children and youth, persons with disabilities, etc. (n. 20);
- promote a urban development that is people-centred and gender-responsive (n. 26) including gender housing policies and approaches across all sectors (n. 32);
- promote services that are responsive to the rights and needs of women (n. 34);
- promote increased security of tenure for all with particular attention for women as key to their empowerment (n. 35);
- ensure a safe, healthy, inclusive, and secure environment in cities and human settlements for all to live, work, and participate in urban life without fear of violence and intimidation, taking into consideration that women and girls are often particularly affected (n. 39);
- embrace diversity in cities and human settlements to strengthen gender equality (n. 40);

- encourage effective participation and collaboration among all stakeholders, including women (n. 48);
- commit to promote full employment, decent work conditions for all, and livelihood opportunities in cities and human settlements to acknowledge the needs and potential of women (n. 57);
- recognize the contribution of the informal working poor in the informal economy, particularly women, including the unpaid, domestic, and migrant workers to urban economies (n. 59);
- strengthen the resilience of cities and human settlements, including through the development of quality infrastructure and spatial planning by adopting and implementing integrated, age and gender-responsive policies and plans (n. 77-101);
- promote adequate investments in accessible and sustainable infrastructure and service provision systems for water, hygiene and sanitation, sewage, solid waste management, urban drainage, reduction of air pollution, and storm water management, with special attention to the needs and safety of women and girls (n. 119);
- promote means of implementation such as the strengthening of the capacity of national, sub-national, and local governments, to work with women and girls, enabling them to effectively participate in urban and territorial development decision-making (nn. 148-151-155-156).

As we can see, the New Urban Agenda contains many commitments with attention to women's needs and promote policies and action to remove the obstacles which the women faced in urban environment. It promotes gender equity and empowerment in all the urban activities, as to ensure women's participation in all levels of decision making processes. Particularly, gender responsive urban planning should rely on transport system, services, infrastructure spread off in the city. Another important issue is the security and safety, particularly for women and girls, of the contemporary city where public spaces must be without fear of violence.

The journal TRIA aims to contribute to this debate by proposing some findings about one of core topics of Habitat III e and New Urban Agenda: a city for all in respect of differences such as age, gender, race, etc.

In particular, this issue is dedicated to the gender perspective of New Urban Agenda collecting many interesting papers from over the world in collaboration with the University of Cordoba (Argentina) and the Gender Hub of UN-Habitat. The papers highlight the role of woman in the urban development and help to evaluate what has been done in the last years and what is necessary for the future.

Finally, I would like to extend my thanks to Ana Falù and Teresa Boccia who have proposed the idea of a book on gender and urbanism and spread off the call to the UN gender hub making possible the preparation of this special issue.

Contribuciones de Género para la Implementación de la Agenda Urbana H III

Ana Falú *

A mediados del Siglo XXI la urbanización es un desafío sin precedentes en un contexto en el cual se estima que cuatro de cada cinco personas vivirán en contextos urbanos. Estos procesos, se encuentran íntimamente relacionados con el desarrollo, siendo necesario encontrar una forma de garantizar la sostenibilidad del crecimiento, y para ello, lo inevitable de pensar y hacer en clave de inclusión social, de inclusión de género, en los temas críticos que son flagelos para la vida cotidiana de esta ciudadanía urbana, como lo son la desigualdad creciente de nuestras sociedades, las violencias urbanas, las que se viven y las que se perciben generando círculos de temor y abandono de los espacios públicos, como si “puertas adentro” las mujeres y las niñas estuvieran más seguras. Por ello es preciso trabajar tanto lo tangible y evidente, como los intangibles, nos referimos a los necesarios cambios simbólicos y culturales.

Este el marco, que impulsa la constitución de Habitat University Network –Hábitat UNI- coordinada por el Dr. Claudio Acioly, en ONU Hábitat, en el propósito de vincular, conocer y poner en conjunto investigaciones, experiencia, políticas y prácticas desarrolladas y/o impulsadas desde distintas universidades del mundo en el campo del hábitat. Esta iniciativa, se constituye en la red de universidades e investigadores/as de UN-Hábitat, la cual apuesta a promover la cooperación en los campos de educación, investigación y desarrollo profesional, buscando colaboraciones entre las ciudades y las universidades, en pos de un desarrollo urbano sostenible. Hasta el momento, cuenta con 1336 miembros individuales y 140 instituciones en todo el mundo, las cuales trabajan en torno a temas de ambiente y urbanismo a partir de una diversidad de niveles de compromiso.

La red UNI se propone fortalecer la calidad local de la educación, la socialización a nivel global del conocimiento, el anclaje del trabajo de la Universidad a contextos de la vida real, y el desarrollo de investigaciones a través de la alianza entre la universidad y las ciudades. Se trata de una apuesta, orientada a fortalecer el rol de las universidades como actores activos en el cambio de las ciudades, aunando esfuerzos entre estas – como fuente de inspiración y de ideas, y espacio de formación de la nueva generación de profesionales urbanos que ocuparán un rol estratégico en torno a la construcción de ciudades sustentables-, y con otros actores clave en la agenda de UN-Habitat, incluidos organizaciones de la sociedad civil y gobiernos locales.

Es al interior de esta red, que en 2013 se constituye el Núcleo de Género en UNI -Universidades Internacionales Articuladas-, de UN Hábitat, el cual está siendo coordinado por Ana Falú, Profesora e Investigadora en Arquitectura y Urbanismo de género, desde el feminismo, Directora del INVIHAB y la MGDH, en la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba.

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doba, Argentina y; en la vice coordinación Teresa Boccia, Profesora e Investigadora de urbanismo y género de LUPT, Universidad Federico II, Nápoles, Italia.

Desde este Núcleo de Género / Gender Hub, se ha logrado vincular académicas/os de más de 20 Universidades del Mundo, creciendo sostenidamente en estos vínculos que permiten dar cuenta del estado de arte del conocimiento producido desde el feminismo, al tiempo que preocupa visibilizar a los sujetos omitidos de la planificación urbana y los estudios de ciudades, en particular las mujeres y sus derechos a disfrutar y vivir una vida urbana posible y sin violencias.

Como una especial tarea que nos convoca en estos momentos, es la incidencia en Hábitat III, la cual es la Conferencia de las Naciones Unidas sobre Vivienda y Desarrollo Urbano Sostenible que tendrá lugar en Quito, Ecuador, del 17 al 20 de Octubre de 2016. En Resolución 66/207, la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas decidió convocar la Conferencia Hábitat III para centrarse en la implementación de una Nueva Agenda Urbana, sobre la base del Programa de Hábitat de Estambul en 1996.

Es como parte de este proceso, que el Núcleo de Género/ Gender HUB, quiere contribuir a este momento en el cual diferentes actores gubernamentales y no gubernamentales se darán cita, así como académicos y activistas. Lo expuesto, en consonancia a nuestros objetivos fundantes, desde los cuales se entiende central el generar más conocimiento, mas insumos y argumentaciones a través de la investigación y la reflexión, para incidir en las políticas públicas. Pensar el derecho a la ciudad ampliando el concepto de ciudadanías, incorporando los sujetos omitidos en la planificación urbana.

Es dable de destacar, que este proceso de definición de los temas críticos de la Agenda Urbana es controvertido, académicos y activistas plantean sus insatisfacciones al respecto, una de las mayores críticas (Carrión, Fernando; Borja, Jordi; otros) es la falta de un proceso participativo. Y es en esta participación de las mujeres en lo público que queremos aportar desde el Gender/Hub, en una ampliación de ciudadanías, de las voces de las mujeres, de las cuales la realidad nos ha demostrado que hemos aprendido del cabildeo necesario para incidir en las agendas globales, también hemos impulsado temas innovativos como todos los estudios e investigaciones sobre los temas centrales de la agenda de hábitat desde los derechos de las mujeres.

Interesa así, dar cuenta de los persistentes nudos problemáticos que aún subsisten en los territorios urbanos en clave de género al momento de poder incidir en la implementación de la Nueva Agenda Urbana. Visibilizar cómo a lo largo de la historia moderna, la urbanización ha sido un importante motor de desarrollo y reducción de la pobreza, y sin embargo, las mujeres siguen siendo las más pobres, a la vez que las transformaciones socio demográficas dan cuenta de un creciente número de hogares a cargo de mujeres únicas responsables de la infancia a su cargo. Estas mujeres, que en América Latina, la región que más conozco, están más educadas que los hombres en todos los niveles de formación, sin embargo con menos trabajo formal y peor pagas, son también las cuidadoras por excelencia de la humanidad en virtud de la persistencia de la división sexual del trabajo, que desdibuja las realidades imaginando un hombre proveedor y una mujer dedicada al cuidado de la reproducción. Mucho se ha investigado y producido en

este sentido, dando cuenta del uso del tiempo y la omisión del aporte económico sustantivo que hacen cotidianamente las mujeres.

Y en este sentido, venimos aportado de distintas maneras, desde los grupos expertos en las distintas áreas temáticas, en la producción de los documentos políticos, en los grupos temáticos y sus respectivos documentos, en las numerosas reuniones de distinto carácter, como los Comités Populares de Hábitat (Argentina) un ejemplo de las organizaciones de base comunitaria con alta participación de mujeres, que se dan en todo el globo en los espacios locales y casi como en tensión, en la escala internacional los espacios regionales de las pre conferencias que precedieron a la de H III.

En este marco de trabajo, este libro que aquí presentamos busca contribuir en estos temas e incidencias, centrando en los derechos de las mujeres a vivir y disfrutar las ciudades, al derecho a tener una vida sin violencias. Se trata de un producto del Núcleo de Género en particular recoge contribuciones de doctorandas desarrollando sus PhD en temas específicos disciplinares relacionados a la introducción de la perspectiva de género y diversidad.

De las diferentes elaboraciones teóricas que componen esta producción, emergen una serie de coordenadas teóricas que contribuyen a dar cuenta sobre las diferentes aristas de aquello que se ha definido como objetivo de la Conferencia, el cual es el asegurar el compromiso político de los gobiernos para garantizar la implementación de la Nueva Agenda Urbana (NAU /NUA) en la visión de un desarrollo urbano sostenible, inclusivo, equitativo; todo lo cual se entiende no será si no se incluyen los sujetos omitidos, en particular las mujeres, quienes han sido históricamente centrales en su contribución a la calidad de vida y, sin embargo aún invisibilizadas en las políticas y acciones de los gobiernos y en buena parte de las propias organizaciones no gubernamentales.

Así, en el transcurrir de sus diferentes apartados, es posible encontrar múltiples contribuciones tendientes a desnaturalizar la persistencia de una planificación urbana y acciones en el territorio definidas desde la neutralidad de los conceptos: familias, hogares. Al tiempo, que aporta en la comprensión sobre la importancia y relevancia de la rica complejidad social, entramado de identidades, etnias, edades y tantas otras diferencias que demandan un nuevo paradigma para mirar la complejidad de las ciudades y las ciudadanías.

Los gobiernos después de esta Conferencia y a partir de sus compromisos en el consenso de la NUA tendrán una nueva oportunidad de responder en clave de desarrollo mediante el compromiso para la promoción de un nuevo modelo más inclusivo y equitativo que avance en promover políticas de género desde la concepción de sociedades con mayor equidad social, tomando como central la justicia especial y territorial. Todas las personas merecen poder disfrutar de los bienes urbanos, vivir en viviendas adecuadas, localizadas en relación de proximidad a los servicios y equipamientos urbanos, con accesibilidad segura y eficiente de un sistema de transporte de calidad. Sociedades que privilegien lo colectivo por sobre lo individual. Gobiernos que se apropien e implementen el conjunto complejo de instrumentos de planificación urbana, de control y redistribución de renta del suelo urbano, central para hablar de inclusión y hacerla re-

alidad. De igual manera con los bienes urbanos, el trabajo y el disfrute de todo lo que la sociedad urbana puede ofrecer, desde tecnologías, comunicación, recreación y cultura

Es tiempo de pensar, y entender que la avaricia de pocos no puede continuar sin regulaciones de los Estados quienes deben promuevan redistribución para quienes están en situaciones de mayor vulnerabilidad, no por su naturaleza, sino por las condiciones que las circunstancias de sus vidas definen, tales como las mujeres de menores recursos quienes además de sus bajos ingresos, de vivir en territorios alejados, son las que tienen el doble de hijos que las de mayor ingreso económico. Sin hablar de las mujeres en las situaciones de mayor penuria, como las migrante, o las refugiadas, las que sufren la trata, o aquellas niñas y adolescentes, siempre acechadas por peligros de perversas violencias por el solo hecho de ser mujeres.

Hábitat III es un proceso, no solo una conferencia, y es a ese proceso, al post conferencia y el seguimiento de su implementación que nos interesa presentar esta contribución, a fin de proseguir en la ampliación de debates, profundización de evidencias y consolidación de argumentos basados en la evidencia empírica y en la investigación científica. Es solo desde la participación y escucha de la diversidad de voces, que se podrá avanzar en el complejo reto que significan estas ciudades extensas, fragmentadas, inasibles, de desigualdades y exclusiones, que no solo son de pobreza, sino de una pobreza multi-causal, pobreza de derechos y de igualdad de oportunidades.

A partir de Quito 2016 H III, el foco de nuestra actividad estará puesto en monitorear la implementación de la NAU, y para ello precisamos de las voces de las mujeres, así como del conocimiento acumulado en este campo disciplinar de género y ciudades. Mucho se avanzó y se produjo en estas últimas décadas y nos interesa poder incidir en las agendas urbanas nacionales y locales. Para esto convocamos a la comunidad académica, a activistas, a organizaciones de la comunidad, a nivel local y global a ocuparnos de estas realidades que son evidencia empírica en los pequeños aglomerados, las ciudades intermedias así como en las grandes áreas metropolitanas.

Esta publicación que da cuenta de los estudios y reflexiones de jóvenes académicas.

Este libro no hubiera sido posible sin mi socia en el Núcleo de Género / Gender Hub (en inglés), la Prof. Teresa Boccia quien con un entusiasmo y colaboración permanentes es clave en hacer posible estas iniciativas. También es muy importante para mi agradecer a LUPT, su personal y muy especialmente a su Director el Dr. Giugliermo Trupiano quien siempre mostró una disposición y generosidad para contribuir en facilitar todo tipo de apoyo en la difícil tarea de visibilizar los temas de Género. De igual manera al Decano de la Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo el Arq. Ian Dutari con cuyo apoyo contamos para poder generar estos espacios de carácter internacional con ONU Hábitat. Un particular agradecimiento al compromiso del Director de TRIA, Antonio Acierno, quien asumió la edición de esta publicación y nos ha brindado la oportunidad magnífica de tener un número de TRIA dedicado a Género y Urbanismo. Y, una mención especial a Sara Ortiz y Blanca Gutierrez Valdivia, de Col-lectiu Punt 6, quienes en su carácter de doctorandas han contribuido muy comprometidamente en articular la contribución de las PhD que junto a ellas mismas hacen el cuerpo de esta publicación. A mi equipo

de trabajo en el INVIHAB – Instituto de Investigaciones de Vivienda y Hábitat- de la Facultad de Arquitectura, Urbanismo y Diseño de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba incansables en sostener estos esfuerzos.

El Núcleo de Género está abierto a todas aquellas personas interesadas en contribuir y aportar con sus desarrollos. Buscamos documentar lo análisis, investigaciones, políticas y acciones en curso que busquen profundizar la agenda de equidad y derechos de las mujeres a la ciudad.

Habitat III: Theories and practices of the women facing the global challenges in cities

Teresa Boccia

The New Urban Agenda has finally been agreed on at the Habitat III (Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development) Informal Intergovernmental Meeting which took place at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from 7 to 10 September 2016, and it will be adopted in Quito, Ecuador, in October 2016¹.

During the whole complex drafting process of NUA, with a high participation of women, will lay the groundwork for policies and approaches that will extend, and impact, far into the future, there have also been other important events: in the course of the year 2015, in particular, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development, the Paris Agreement adopted under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030, the Vienna Programme of Action for Landlocked Developing Countries for the Decade 2014-2024, the Small Island Developing States Accelerated Modalities of Action (SAMOA) Pathway and the Istanbul Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the Decade 2011-2020.

From May 2015 there have been many outputs during the Habitat III process: the agencies from across the United Nations and others published 22 “issue papers”², key elements of various sectors and thematic areas in today’s urbanization trends. From August 2015 to February 2016 a group of 200 experts, known as “policy units”³, came up



with important recommendations for the drafting and implementing of the New Urban Agenda.

A extensive series of official and semi-official events, including Regional and Thematic meetings, have produced specific thematic and assessment documents and declarations⁴.

In this whole process, gender experts and grassroots women leaders have actively taken part and provided a number of statements and recommendations for each of these documents and for all Declarations.

Women have played an active role also in the World Urban Campaign (WUC)⁵ and in the Gender Assembly of Partners (GAP)⁶, giving input and recommendations on key themes to be addressed in the New Urban Agenda that have been collectively released as “The City We Need 2.0”⁷

This women’s mobilization sought to make sure that in New Urban Agenda’s vision explicitly includes women, and gender equality and women’s empowerment and gender-sensitive approaches are consistently applied in the policy recommendations and implementations, because there will never be social justice in our cities if there is not gender justice.

Women are, in fact, the main agents of resiliency and innovation in the territories: the lens of gender and women’s practices are crucial in many contexts for survival and social inclusion.

By the middle of the century four of five people might be living in towns and cities, and urbanization and development are inextricably linked; therefore it is necessary of ensuring the sustainability of growth to find a unusual way and consider all the persons who live there.

Space is not neutral: it is inhabited by sexualized bodies which have different experiences of the city and the territories, with differences in the ways of living and of moving through the city. This difference is evident in all stages of life and according to the different abilities: childhood, adolescence, adults, older persons.

Cities should cherish all their inhabitants, however many times cities are often cruel and violent towards women. Urban spaces are, in fact, frequently places of women’s invisibility, designed and planned without thinking about women’s experiences and use during the day and night. This is a paradox because women are who care more for the cities and who are the protagonists of innovative practices of transformation and development.

Many women have acted and reflected for so long and in so many parts of the world on these issues, and perhaps the time has arrived to listen to these practices and these voices for the full enjoyment of urban wellness and human rights and gender justice.

This special issue of TRIA, produced in collaboration with the University of Cordoba (Argentina), collects the contributions of the PhD Group of the Gender Hub network UNI UN-Habitat.

We think Habitat III is an opportunity for PhD students working on gender and urban issues around the globe to present how their work can contribute to the New Urban

Agenda. For this reason, has been launched a call all for papers where PhDs can present their work. These papers, twelve, are collected in this publication.

The key words that emerge from the contributions are particularly significant: *right to the city, urban environment, public space, urban spaces, fear, violence - women, urban violence, urban planning, feminist approach, leisure activities; young women, older women, everyday practices; gender safety planning, LGBTQ, Queer, identity, discrimination, intersectionality, inclusion, gender, housing, policy, mainstreaming gender, , metropolitan dynamics gender, women, industry, urban model, , spatial planning, night, ,mobility, urban quality of life, everyday life.*

These are words that are claiming new reflections and re-conceptualizations in the analysis and in interpretation of urban areas to improve the quality of life for women and men in our cities, in all seasons of their lives. The different ways in which the bodies of all people, men and women, LGBT in different living spaces, brings us concretely to view social and spatial inequalities, barriers, including cultural ones, that do not guarantee “the right to the city” for everyone, for example in the use of public spaces or in access to transport, housing and natural resources.

Dealing with urban problems from a gender perspective and with the lens of the impacts of intersectionality makes visible immediately the inequality within the frame of capitalist urbanization, which tends “to permanently destroy the city as a social, political, livable and common good,” (Harvey 2012).

In this context, the New Urban Agenda promotes more equitable just cities if it identifies how to overcome the structural dynamics of power that generate gender inequality.

In its latest version, the Draft’s framework NUA starts out strong by making explicit mention of the importance of women. In the preamble, “By readdressing the way cities and human settlements are planned, designed, financed, developed, governed, and managed, the New Urban Agenda will help to end poverty and hunger in all its forms and dimensions, reduce inequalities, promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, **achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls, in order to fully harness their vital contribution to sustainable development, improve human health and well-being, as well as foster resilience and protect the environment** (par. 5).

Other mentions concern: women’s political agenda and representation in urban decision making, women’s economic empowerment, decent job agenda, domestic work and women in the informal economy, cities safe for women: safe public spaces public spaces free from violence against women and girl, securing access to and control over land and prosperity an housing, environmentally sustainable and resilient urban development.

However the reference to women is still a general way -- as one of many marginalized groups and without any distinction of different groups of women. The focus is mainly on women’s marginality and ‘vulnerability’ and not go far enough in recognizing the strength of women in transforming the multiple vulnerable situations to which they are submitted in their daily lives e the capability of women to be as active agents and equal partners in urban prosperity and sustainable development.

In the Agenda implementation that will follow the Habitat III Conference in Quito, it will be necessary then, to go even further and with greater force to continue to work, and putting in practice network theories in order to foster the empowerment and leadership of women at the household, municipal and national levels through public policies and budgets that promote women's equitable participation in development of cities.

This publication is a first step, it proposes elements to think of a new urbanism: those who relate to 'Gender Equality the main key to the sustainability of the development of cities and territories, from the global to the local level, because the side of women is the best part of the world: one that does not give up and not It surrenders, who has the courage to dare and to accept the great challenges for the future of cities.

A big thank you to professor and friend Ana Falú, for her energy, passion, he knowledge and the time dedicated to the Gender Hub and to the young researchers who have started this journey with enthusiasm and who, I'm sure, will soon make many more valuable contributions.

ENDNOTES

1 The Draft of the New Urban Agenda is based on ZERO Draft , released on 6 May 2016 which took several updates : official compilaton of reponses on the Zero draft, 8 June 2016; First revision, released on 18 June 2016; Official compilation of reponses on the first revision on the Zero draft, 5 July 2016 ; Draft' New Urban Agenda, released on 18 July, Draft' New Urban Agenda post Surabaya, released on 28 July.

2 *Issue papers* : 1.Inclusive Cities , 2.Migration and Refugees in Urban Areas, 3..Safer Cities, 4.Urban Culture and Heritage, 5.Urban Rules and Legislation, 6.Urban Governance , 7. Municipal Finance, 8.Urban and Spatial Planning and Design, 9.Urban Land, 10.Urban-Rural Linkages, 11.Public Space, 12.Local Economic Development, 13.Jobs and Livelihoods, 14.Informal Sector, 15.Urban Resilience,16.Urban Ecosystems and Resource Management, 17.Cities and Climate Change and Disaster Risk Management, 18.Urban Infrastructure and Basic Services including energy, 19.Transport and Mobility, 20. Housing, 21.Smart Cities, 22.Informal Settlements.

3 *Policy Unit Papers* :1. The Right to the City and Cities for All, 2. National Urban Policies, 3.Urban Governance, 4.Capacity and Institutional Development, 5. Municipal Finance and Local Fiscal Systems, 6. Urban Spatial Strategies: Land Market and Segregation, 7. Urban Economic Development Strategies, 8.Urban Ecology and Resilience, 9. Urban Services and Technology, 10.Housing Policies.

4 *Declaration s of Regional Meetings*: AFRICA: Abuja Declaration : Africa's priorities for the new urban agenda , 24 - 26 february, 2016 ; ASIA: Jakarta Declaration:Sustainable Urbanization to accelerate development, 22 octobre 2015; EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA: Prague Declaration, Habitat, 16-18 March 2016; LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: Toluca Declaration, México, 20 de abril de 2016

Declaration s of Thematic Meetings: ABU DHABU Declaration :Sustainable Energy and Cities; CUENCA Declaration: Intermediate Cities; MEXICO CITY Declaration : Financing Urban Development; TEL AVIV Declaration : Civic Engagement ;MONTREAL Declaration: Metropolitan Areas ;BARCELONA Declaration : Public Spaces; PRETORIA Declaration : Informal Settlement.

5 *WUC* is an advocacy and partnership platform, coordinated by UN-Habitat ,to raise awareness about positive urban change in order to achieve green, productive, safe, healthy, inclusive, and well planned cities. Its goal is to place the Urban Agenda at the highest level in development policies.

6 The City We Need (TCWN) 2.0 present a new urban paradigm for the 21st centur .It is a manifesto prepared through the contributions of more than men and women from 124 countries and 2137 organizations, representing fourteen constituent groups of the GAP (General Assembly of Partners). This global consultation and consensus building process has been made possible through a series of 26 Urban Thinkers Campuses organized from 29 June 2015 to 20 February 2016.The final draft of "The city We Ned" was adopted unanimously by the World Urban Campaign Steering Committee on 16 March 2016 in Prague/Czech Republic.

7 The General Assembly of Partners (GAP) for the Habitat III Conference, conceived as an interim global deliberative devise for non-governmental partners, composed of Partner Constituent Groups.: Local and sub-national authorities ,Research and Academia, Civil Society Organizations, Grass roots organizations, *Women*, Parliamentarians, Children and Youth,Business and Industries,Foundations and Philanthropies,-Professionals, Trade Unions and Workers,Farmers,Indigenous people, Media, Older Persons

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Exploring Ageing, Gender and Co-producing Urban Space in the Global South

Chiko Ncube, Marcus Ormerod, Rita Newton

Abstract

Women experience old age differently worldwide and their quality of life is impacted by an environment with both macro (societal, cultural) and micro (community, home) dimensions. There is an emphasis in debates on gender and the city, on the rights and development of girl children, and the needs and rights of younger “productive” and “reproductive” women. This paper argues that the vulnerabilities and contributions of older women in the Zimbabwean urban environment are rarely acknowledged. The absence of state support and inclusive policies creates an environment for exclusion and ignorance of the needs of older women in the design of human settlements and the



Harare - Zimbabwe

provision of urban services. Older women in Zimbabwe, especially widows and those without children, are particularly vulnerable, both economically and socially. The contributions of older women are often part of the backdrop, despite the fact that they play important roles in the social and political discourse, such as caregiving, and intergenerational sharing of wisdom and experience. Applying the Capabilities Approach developed by Amartya Sen may be a useful contribution to the discourse. There is a need for a more balanced perspective that recognises the values and freedoms in urban development and the important implications for policy. The Age Friendly Cities model developed by the World Health Organisation emphasises the potential of re-positioning older people as central to the process of engaging in the production of cities.

KEY WORDS

Ageing, Older Women, Urban Environment, Global South, Zimbabwe

Esplorare la terza età, il genere e la co-produzione dello spazio urbano nel Sud del mondo

Le donne vivono l'invecchiamento in modo diverso nel mondo e la loro qualità di vita è influenzata dal contesto sia alla dimensione macro (sociale, culturale) che micro (comunità, a casa). C'è un'enfasi nei dibattiti sul genere e la città che si focalizza sui diritti e lo sviluppo delle ragazze, e le esigenze e i diritti delle donne più giovani "produttive" e "riproduttive". Questo articolo sostiene che le vulnerabilità e i contributi delle donne più anziane nell'ambiente urbano, sono raramente riconosciuti e spesso ignorati nella progettazione degli insediamenti, nell'ubicazione delle residenze e nella predisposizione dei servizi urbani. Le donne anziane, specialmente le vedove e quelle senza figli, sono particolarmente vulnerabili, sia economicamente che socialmente. Nonostante ciò, le donne anziane svolgono un ruolo importante nel discorso pubblico e politico, assistenziale, e nella condivisione intergenerazionale di saggezza ed esperienza. Applicare il metodo del *Capabilities Approach* sviluppato da Amartya Sen può costituire un utile contributo al dibattito. C'è bisogno di una visione più equilibrata che riconosca queste differenze nello sviluppo urbano e le importanti implicazioni per la politica. Si discute inoltre del potenziale di coproduzione quando si tratta del progetto e dello sviluppo di città amiche per la terza età.

PAROLE CHIAVE

Terza età, Donne Anziane, Ambiente Urbano, Sud del Mondo, Zimbabwe

Exploring Ageing, Gender and Co-producing Urban Space in the Global South

Chiko Ncube, Marcus Ormerod, Rita Newton

Introduction

Cities have become the centre of a global debate, mainly because of the incredible capacity that cities have to reduce barriers and find solutions for the lives of its urban citizens. Parallel to this is the ageing discourse as the heightened need to explore how and why urban environments can be inclusive for older people increases. Population ageing has become one of the major underlying demographic shifts and this trend is taking place in nearly all the countries of the world (UN, 2013) but is most dramatic in what this paper terms as global South nations. Consequently, the urban face of these cities is rapidly becoming the scene of social exclusion and deprivation with particular concern regarding the expansion of urban social-territorial spaces where formal or effective governance is absent. Africa has become the only continent where urban population and economic growth have not been mutually reinforcing, leading to a situation where the urban poor survive largely under conditions of informality (Duminy, Andreasen, Lerise, & Watson, 2014). Despite the many advantages that urban areas provide, the poorest residents often live in exceptionally unhealthy and dangerous conditions.

Many older people as urban citizens experience these divisions and forms of socio-spatial segregation as part of a constant rather than an exception in the social and spatial life of their cities. Women are of particular significance as they make up the majority of the old. A decaying urban home environment can bring an even greater sense of being trapped for older women and this may limit their ability to maintain a sense of self-identity and belonging (Buffel, Phillipson, & Scharf, 2012). Older women are central to the social reproduction of the city as a whole, however it is an integration that often assumes inequality rather than one which seeks to overcome it. Despite the growing interest and the increasing coincidence of age and gender, the contributions and vulnerabilities of urban older women are yet to fully visible. Under the pressure of the increase of population ageing and the large influx of people in cities, the built and social urban environment must begin to re-assess the critical and important hurdles keeping women from exercising their citizen rights. How urban environments choose to do this will determine to a large extent the quality of life, well-being and availability of agency and choice for older women. Discussions about older women in the context of global South cities are at an early stage. Combinations of factors have been understood to contribute to this lack of interest. Firstly, African countries are typically seen as “young countries” projected to grow slowly relative to other areas in the world. There is an emphasis in debates on gender and the city on the rights and development of girl children, and the needs and rights of younger “productive” and “reproductive” women. The competing (and possibly per-

ceived as conflicting) priorities for spending scarce public development resources, with a focus on younger age-groups or on macro-economic improvements makes it challenging for the welfare of older people to make public policy agenda. Secondly, the issue of ageing is often addressed within the structure of the household, but in Africa, the task is made more difficult by the fact that defining “family” in Africa is a very complex and a changing concept that includes extended families as well. Within developing country contexts it is therefore essentially about the ability of family networks to sustain multi intergenerational support in the face of changing family structures and in the context of poverty and pandemics (Hoffman, 2015). An additional concern and pressure is the weakening of customary family support mechanisms, which have traditionally protected older persons unable to sustain themselves.

This paper will explore the increased vulnerability and contributory role of older women in urban Zimbabwe, the changing role of family support systems and applying the Capabilities Approach developed by Amartya Sen (1999). This is discussed as a lens for analysis in this paper. The is also discussed with its potentialities for an urban environment that is co-produced with older persons. There is a growing sense in which older people’s relationship with both macro (societal, cultural) and micro (community, home) dimensions is starting to be questioned in different ways. Are there ways of thinking about older people as urban co-producers, social actors actively engaged in the production and reproduction of cities? The World Health Organisation Age-Friendly Cities model is discussed as a framework towards this, developed to support governments to strengthen health and social policies that are responsive to an ageing population.

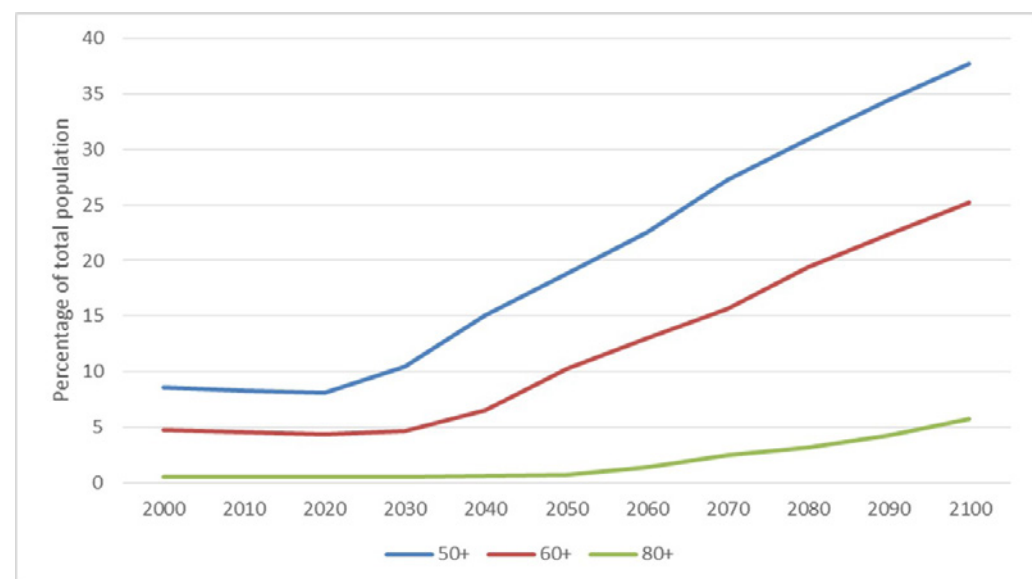
Older People in Urban Zimbabwe: The argument for a “feminisation of ageing”

Zimbabwe is a Southern African country and like most countries in the global South it remains the youngest in terms of the share taken by persons aged 60 and over, however, there will be an increase on the absolute numbers of older people. Projections based on the 2012 national census show that 785 000 persons aged 50 and over were living in Zimbabwe in 2012 and by 2050, it is projected that there will be three times this number at 2, 556 000 older persons (UNFPA & HAI, 2012). The change in in the number of older people from 2000 - 2100 is illustrated in Figure 1 with increases expected for all sub-groups of older persons. Zimbabwe is becoming increasingly urbanised and the urban population is growing at a faster rate than the rural population. The pace of these demographic changes means that population ageing in terms of dependency will not be something Zimbabwe has to contend with in the next few decades. However, there is an opportunity for Zimbabwe to benefit from a potential demographic dividend; a large increase of economically active adults who enter the workforce as fertility declines. This means that if investments in education, health and economic opportunities for adults are expanded, this rapidly increasing number of older adults have the potential to provide a catalyst for national economic growth and development (Maharaj, 2013). This

will undoubtedly be a challenge particularly due to the fact that so many urban policies attempted in African cities have little positive impact, and often have highly negative and unforeseen circumstances (Watson & Agbola, 2013). There is an important relationship between the physical and social urban space and older person's health, and urban planners and key actors in the built environment particularly in rapidly urbanising and poor cities have not yet properly addressed this in Zimbabwe.

It is the combination of spatial characteristics (lack of services and unsafe physical environment) with an incapacity to flourish in the cash economy and the denial of legal and political rights that characterises the situation of the urban poor (Rakodi, 2014). Economic growth in Zimbabwe did not outstrip the increase in its population, in contrast to all other global South regions which have seen drastic improvements. Zimbabwe continues to experience a gradual but systematic decline of the formal economy and to the rapid growth of the informal sector, especially in the rapidly growing towns and cities. The trajectories of urban poverty in Zimbabwe have been associated with the development of increasingly informalised urban employment and "illegal" low-income housing solutions across the urban hierarchy. Urban Zimbabweans are increasingly forced into informal settlements (Potts, 2006) and many older persons rely on renting out backyard shacks to supplement their retirement as any pensions have been seriously eroded by inflation over the years (Tibaijuka, 2005). Due to the differential life expectancy of women and men (figure 3), there are simply higher numbers of older women than older men. The relationship between women, ageing and poverty in the context of Zimbabwe is of particular significance. Later life is associated with an increased probability of experiencing poverty, therefore population ageing will, other things being equal, result in higher rates of poverty (Barrientos, Gorman, & Heslop, 2003). Women make up not only the majority of the old in Zimbabwe (figure 2), but also the majority of the poor old. This is because they generally have less opportunity to earn a living during their lifetimes, tend to be less economically active in their older years than men, do not

Figure 1 - Predicted change in the proportion of the Zimbabwean population in older age groups from 2000 - 2100 (Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division - 2015. *World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision*. NB: projections are using medium variants)



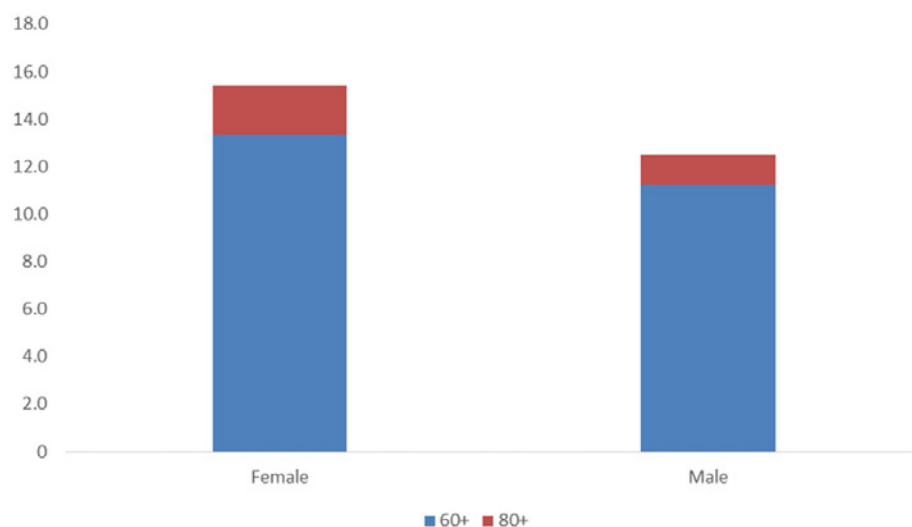


Figure 2: Percentage of female older persons among 60+ and 80+ for world population in 2015 (Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division - 2015. World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision. NB: projections are using medium variants)

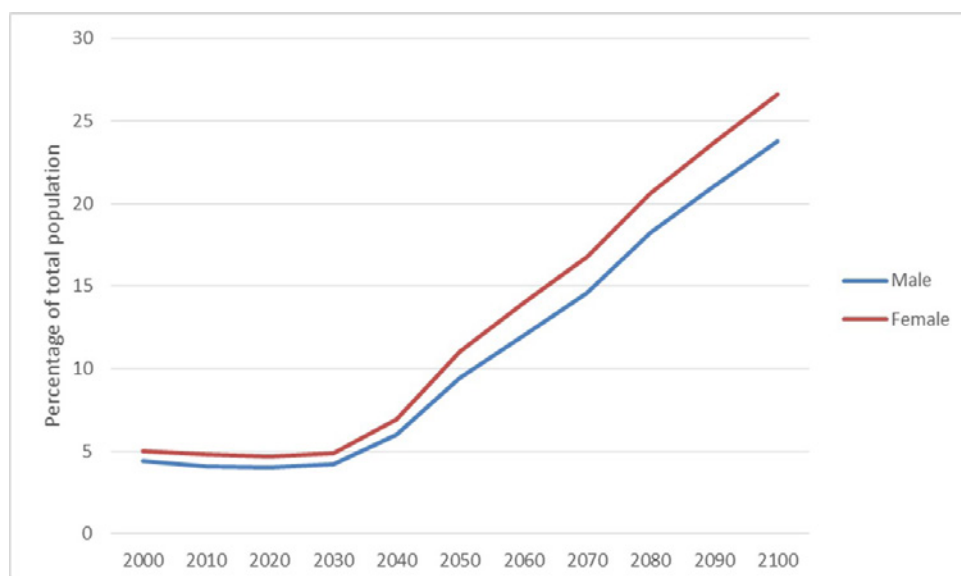


Figure 3: Predicted change in the proportion of the Zimbabwean population aged over 60 years from 2000-2100, by gender (using medium fertility variant) (Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division - 2015. World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision. NB: projections are using medium variants)

have access to formal social security systems and tend to have lower social status and economic rights when they are widowed. Older people, especially older and widowed women, are among the poorest as defined by poor people themselves (Barrientos et al., 2003). This means that older women who endure a lifetime of poverty, malnutrition and heavy labour may be chronologically young but “functionally” old at age 40. This so-called “feminisation of ageing” has important implications for policy.

Given that disability rates rise with age, there are substantially more older women than older men living with disabilities. This means that even if women on average live more years than men, many of these years may be spent living with disability or illness.

Older women as “active” urban contributors

The diverse needs of older people are best viewed as a continuum of functioning (WHO, 2015) with polarised between two very different perspectives on ageing: contribution and vulnerability. Yet policy responses often appear disjointed, focusing on one end of the continuum, the vulnerabilities and weaknesses of older persons in urban society. Policies often do not account for the fact that, in all societies, older people both want to and do contribute economically and socially well into old age (Apt, 2001, 2002). Zimbabwean social policies supporting older persons have relied on tradition in a typical African household which claims that older people in Africa are not excluded from the process of productive and social participation, each person has a role to play, whether young or old (Apt, 2001, 2002, 2011). According to this tradition, the elder acts as the community educator, and guiding spirit behind many initiatives of the young, psychologically a very satisfying role. Although, the reality is more complex than the intergenerational inclusive family ideal suggests.

Apt argues that by “depicting older people as victims, objects of pity and a burden, we condemn ourselves as well as others to an existence where the normative values we seek for others do not apply”. Older women play important roles in public and political discourse, caregiving and volunteering work and intergenerational sharing of wisdom and experience (Beard, Kalache, Delgado, & Hill, 2012; UNFPA & HAI, 2012). They continue to be a valuable and productive economic resource, significantly contributing to the human capital. Despite their invisibility in research on productivity, older women tend to remain economically productive, have stronger social networks than men and still fulfil their obligations in the home. This aligns with the concept of “active ageing” originally developed during the United Nation’s Year of Older People in 1999 and further elaborated by the European Union and the WHO (2002). The approach to active ageing has focussed on a broader range of activities than those normally associated with production and the labour market, and has emphasised health, quality of life and the participation and inclusion of older people as full citizens (Walker, 2015). A change in story has been suggested for older people; from the representation of old age as a period of dependency and decline, to “active living” and social participation for older people. Yet this suggestion depends upon an interpretation of human nature that is underpinned on the idea that all groups of people including older women are consumers and producers of urban life.

Vulnerabilities and barriers to participating in urban society

An important and sometimes overplayed discourse is the generalisation about the high levels of dependency and vulnerability of older people. Older persons are often particularly vulnerable to the influence of urban characteristics. They may spend more time in their neighbourhoods; have increased biological, psychological, and cognitive vul-

nerability; have changing patterns of spatial use; and rely more on community sources of integration (Buffel et al., 2012). Poor urban housing conditions, distance from health services and schools, unsafe neighbourhoods (because of both environmental hazards and high rates of crime and violence), and limited access to water and sanitation put an additional burden on older women who, within households, are responsible for child-care, food preparation, cleaning and washing (Tacoli, 2012). The cause of such a lack of safe and secure shelter is related partly to a lack of income (Mitlin, 2008), but it is also related to the inability of the state to provide a framework within which adequate shelter is plentiful and affordable, and hence access to secure tenure and basic needs are met. This leaves older persons having less autonomy and less financial independence. A position of high risk for older women, and the opportunity for this group to be infantilised today and seen as disconnected from the real “productive” world. The urban landscape for older women has considerable pressures and lacking of choice and mobility, with certain limiting cultural values restricting women’s economic empowerment and exacerbated their poverty in old age (Apt, 2011). Older women have lower levels of education and this limits their ability to obtain information, access services or take part in social, economic or political activities (UNFPA & HAI, 2012), making it more likely for them to work and live in informal spaces. An added level of vulnerability are the changes in household structures arising from such factors as migration, and HIV/AIDS, which have undermined informal old age support. With the absence of formal support structures, older women indeed may be becoming experts in dealing with this lack of “fit” between themselves and the built and social urban environment. It is therefore imperative for the diverse experiences of older women to be recognised in preventative policies rather than reactionary, to enable increased participation in the life of urban society.

Care for older persons: the changing landscape

In many African countries, neglect and isolation of older persons is increasingly surfacing at two levels: at the family level and at the societal level (Apt, 2001, 2002, 2011). Mutual intergenerational support is seen as the ‘African way’ as opposed to the so-called Western ways, and a moral asset upon which the African care model can and must be built (Hoffman, 2015). This type of support is commonly known as “Ubuntu”. Increasingly, the indicators are of a trend away from the traditional perception of an obligation to the older person and the practice of caring for them. As a philosophy, ubuntu does not fit into the Global North model of formalised knowledge but it is flexible as well as being context and content dependant. Few Africans have access to pensions in old age, so nearly all rely eventually on their families for income and other support. In spite of this, numerous articles have evidenced that there is a steady decline in the traditional kinship structures – the “joint” and “extended” family systems which previously guaranteed older family members shelter, care and support (HAI, 2011; UN, 2013; WHO, 2011). Informal care is provided mostly by female members of the immediate or extended family or, alternatively by hired, informal unqualified help. Though to a large extent

the nuclear family, especially adult children are still caring for older persons it is evident that this is at premium and as result many of them are experiencing poverty, neglect and abandonment, ill-health and abuse. Rural to urban migration of the youth and the increasing geographic mobility has resulted in a loss of hands-on family support. Therefore, care of older persons in the community is only practiced with the mobilisation and support of voluntary organisations and NGOs. Despite this, older people in Zimbabwe remain overlooked without consideration as a policy issue due to the belief that families still remain as the strongholds of support.

The Grandmothers' disease and HIV/AIDS

Hoffman (2015) describes the concept of vulnerability as an argument that tends to focus on the AIDS epidemic in Africa. This is particularly true in Zimbabwe. HIV/AIDS is portrayed as a unique phenomenon characterised by frailty disempowerment, insecurity and rupture, which inevitably translates into an inability and failure of families to manage. According to this argument and much of AIDS-impact literature, HIV/AIDS has caused the eventual disintegration of families and unfortunate reality for grandmothers who otherwise should be enjoying a restful retirement. The lack of a well-developed public health service in many African countries means that the overwhelming burden for caring for persons with AIDS is almost certain to fall on family members, including those of older age. For many decades in Zimbabwe, grandmothers customarily stayed behind to care for grandchildren, and have been dependent on remittances from their adult children. Research has shown that this takes place predominantly in rural areas but the trend is now being observed in urban areas. Situations of reciprocal exchanges have occurred in replace of retirement: grandmothers raised children; young children assisted with house work and "absent" adult children (the parents of the children being raised by these grandmothers) provided income (Madhavan, 2004). An increase in multigenerational living has begun to shape, offering independence for and co-dependence between older people and their families. What has emerged in urban society is the reinvention of the home to accommodate privacy and community at home and accommodate a new organisation of the extended family.

Lens for analysis: The capability approach

There is a degree of truth in both of the generalisations of contribution and vulnerability: some experience good health, but others experience a significant loss of capacity and require substantial care. Policies cannot just focus on one end of this spectrum. The main shortcoming of these opposed viewpoints is that they portray later life as a common experience. To develop a more balanced perspective, it is necessary to appreciate later life as a fluid, complex and heterogeneous phenomenon. Applying the Capabilities Approach developed by Amartya Sen (1999) may be a useful contribution to the above discourse. The capability approach is a theoretical framework that puts emphasis on

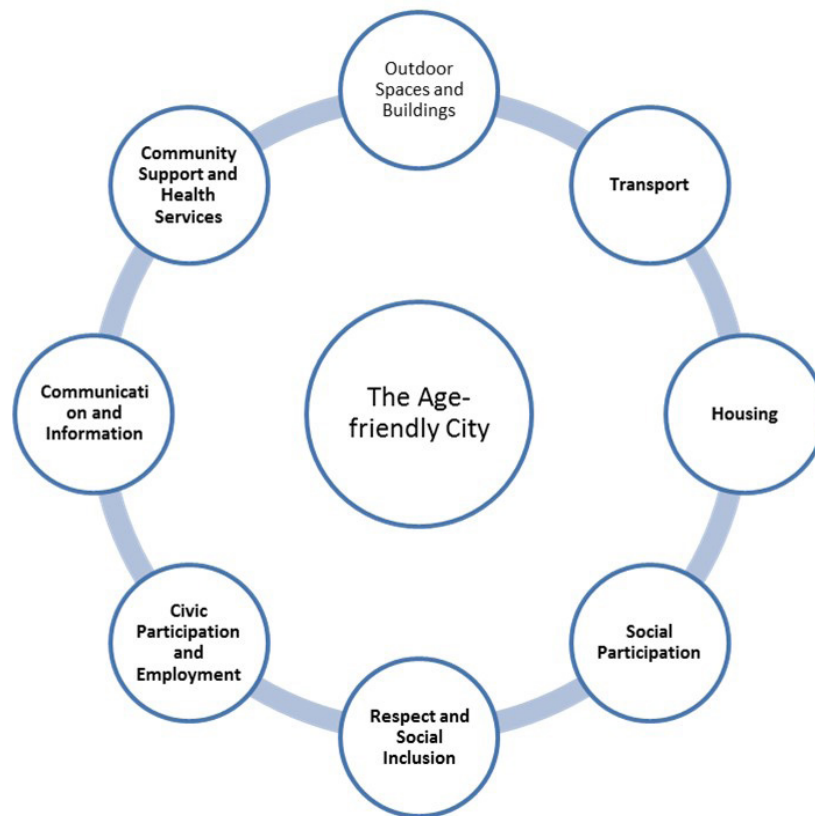
the importance of freedom to achieve well-being, where freedom to achieve well-being is understood in terms of people's opportunities to choose and how to be (Frediani, 2007). In 2003, Barrientos et al. argued for the adoption of Sen's approach and put forward that options of old age dependence; based upon undervaluing older people's contributions, impose a valuation of lives in purely instrumental terms. They further emphasise that "notions of dependency in later life contribute to a restrictive view of human agency purely in terms of future production, and preclude adequate consideration of the contribution of human agency to substantive freedom" (Barrientos et al., 2003). Capabilities are understood as people's freedom to achieve the values they have reason to value (Frediani, 2007). This approach, which sees the goal of development as expanding the freedom of individuals to pursue the life "they have reason to value," considers two main dimensions: what people have reason to value doing or being (their valued functionings) and people's abilities, freedom or opportunities to pursue or achieve these functionings (their capabilities) (Aboderin, 2007). These freedoms are complementary and mutually reinforcing.

Developing Age-Friendly Cities and the potentialities of co-production

The World Health Organisation (WHO) initiated the Age-Friendly Cities (AFC) model (WHO, 2007) which is a step towards the development of policies that recognise the freedoms and values of older persons. The AFC model adopted a locally-driven and "bottom-up" participatory approach and protocol that required a minimum of material and technical resources, and be adaptable to varying cultural and economic contexts (Plouffe & Kalache, 2010). This draws attention to the lack of services and enabling features for older people in global South cities. Physical accessibility, service proximity, security, affordability, and inclusiveness were important characteristics everywhere. Older people and care providers from the focus groups identified eight domains of city life that might influence the health and quality of life of older people (see Figure 4). These domains are: outdoor spaces and public buildings, transportation, housing, social participation, respect and social inclusion, civic participation and employment, communication and information, community support, and health services.

The features are intended to serve as a reference for other communities to assess their strengths and gaps, advocate and plan change, and monitor progress. The WHO work concluded that an age-friendly city should emphasise enablement rather than disablement, 'friendly for all ages' and not just 'elder-friendly'. The experience of the Age-Friendly Cities Network and "Age-friendliness" is already providing some insight into what might be needed to achieve the vision of an age-friendly community. Gaining political buy-in and engaging political leadership has emerged as a pivotal factor in developing Age-Friendly Cities because it addresses a real need among a key constituent group in a way that optimises the strengths of the city (Finkelstein & Netherland, 2010). Unfortunately for many developing countries, an image of the government has developed as being far from being a body that exists to implement the rights of citizens

Figure 4: The WHO framework for assessing the age-friendliness of a city: The eight domains of an Age-Friendly City (Source: WHO, 2007a)



(Hors, 2000). Gaining political commitment and responsiveness to citizen concerns can be a significant challenge. The Age-friendly Cities concept helpfully re-positions older people as central to the process of engaging in the production of an Age-friendly City across all its eight domains. This concept is termed co-production. This approach embraces the fact that older people should be recognised as urban citizens; they should have the 'right' to appropriate urban space; the 'right' to participate in decision-making surrounding the production of urban space and the 'right' to shape strategies for urban planning and regeneration. Aboderin and Ferreira (2008) explain that plans and policies have an obligation to realise the fundamental human rights of older persons. This includes recognising older people as key actors in society. This approach is not traditional in its ways, but rather cross-disciplinary, engaging with sociologists, politicians, older people and many other disciplines in the design and discourse of urban space.

Co-production, when considered, is viewed as a strategy used by citizens and the state to extend access to basic services with relatively little consideration given to its wider political ramifications (Mitlin, 2008). Co-production has been widely discussed in relation to the provision of state services both in the context of North and South. The concept has been explored as another set of discussions of forms of state-society engagement which are structuring planning and urban development processes in certain global South contexts (Watson, 2014). Watson explains that co-production represents one way in which poor urban communities have been able to secure significant improvements

to their living environments under conditions in which governments are either unwilling or unable to deliver land and services. A case of co-production in Zimbabwe is primarily linked to the work of the international non-governmental organisation (NGOs): Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI). In a 2008 article Diana Mitlin interprets the work of the global NGO federation known as SDI, as “bottom-up co-production”. She explains this form of co-production as a political strategy used by citizen groups and social movement organizations to “enable individual members and their associations to secure effective relations with state institutions that address both immediate basic needs and enable them to negotiate for greater benefits” (Mitlin, 2008, p. 339). The SDI approach to co-production, she argues, is increasingly being used by the urban poor as a way of politically consolidating their base and extracting gains from the state. Mitlin (2008) argues that SDI’s co-production is different from standard “participation” or “partnership” arrangements. It is also more effective than “lobbying” or “protesting” in terms of actually gaining benefits, and the predominantly non-confrontational nature of the process used by SDI allows greater participation from women and better chances of securing political gains. In an informal settlement in Harare, Zimbabwe, the local planning authority sanctioned the enumeration process and actually participated in data gathering and in an SDI-organized “learning exchange” with other countries (Chitekwe-Biti, Mudimu, Nyama, & Jera, 2012). Local politicians appear to have engaged in community building in support of this process.

Conclusion

This paper suggests that it is of value in exploring the situation of older women in the South. Many developing countries have young populations and the challenge is that governments have not put policies and practices in place to support their current older populations or made enough preparations for the future. There are also underlying implicit assumptions in global North strategies about choice and availability of options and in contexts with high levels of poverty, inequality and socio-spatial segregation, these assumptions do not necessarily hold. Therefore the idea of older women as “the subjects of rights and participants in actions affecting them” rather than merely “passive beneficiaries” (Frediani & Hansen, 2015) has not gained sufficient currency in the context of the African human rights system. The overwhelming reality is that older women are alienated from their environment and the co-production (Purcell, 2002) of the space they live in. Instead of conceiving older women as a social problem or burden, the new discourse constructs ageing as a positive process and emphasises the active roles older people continue to play in society. To develop a more balanced perspective, it is necessary to appreciate later life as a fluid, complex and heterogeneous phenomenon. Effective implementation of human rights, equality and non-discrimination cannot be achieved without the proactive involvement of local and subnational governments. New co-production ideas provide inspiration for planning theory and practice, to think how

planning might need to operate differently in a changing world, to unsettle assumptions on which current theories of engagement are based, and to expand the scope of debates in planning related state–society engagements to be more appropriately international. The ageing of urban populations will not only provoke demand for changes in the provision of services and the re-design of infrastructure, it will also influence the lifestyles of all age groups and the trajectory of urban development.

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Where to walk women? Routes and fears that limit women's experience in the center of Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil

Lúcia de Andrade Siqueira

Abstract

It is ordinary sentence in studies of national and international research that women feel more fear than men in public space. The fear of violence towards them or their children or even the simple feeling of insecurity are presented as limiting the use of public spaces, resulting in female collective "standards" of times and locations allowed in the city. Based on the argument of fear can be seen as a social or as a urban issue, theorists and scholars who produced reflections of fear in the public space were highlighted. In general, besides the environmental characteristics of the space, these authors relate the insecurity feeling to the way that public space is used: surveillance presence, activities, maintenance and flow of people in space. Focusing on women, understood that fear of women in public space is one more expression of patriarchal society. Whether through the androcentrism of studies and urban planning, whether by the sense of vulnerability



Recife, Pernambuco (source: google earth)

of the male figure, the life experiences or some secondary information, the women fear in public space is a result of men domination over women still existing in our society. This work on the assumption that the experience of women fear in public space is influenced by the relationship between the spatial aspects and the social. That said, we sought to understand how this relation occurs and how that influence in the experience of women fear in public space through investigative exercise that came from a national and international theoretical framework and the contextualization through empirical research in Recife's downtown.

KEY WORDS

Public space, fear, violence - women, urban violence

Dove camminano le donne? Percorsi e paure che limitano le esperienze delle donne nel centro di Recife, Pernambuco, Brasile

È una affermazione comune nella ricerca nazionale ed internazionale che le donne avvertano più paura degli uomini nello spazio pubblico. La paura della violenza nei loro confronti o verso i loro figli o anche la semplice percezione di insicurezza sono rappresentati come cause principali responsabili della limitazione dell'uso degli spazi pubblici, che definiscono conseguenti "standard" femminili collettivi nella frequentazione dei luoghi e dei tempi di uso della città. Sulla base del tema della paura, che può essere visto come un problema sociale o urbano, si illustrano i principali teorici e studiosi che hanno prodotto riflessioni sulla paura nello spazio pubblico. In generale, oltre alle caratteristiche ambientali dello spazio, questi autori si riferiscono alla percezione di insicurezza che deriva dal modo in cui lo spazio pubblico viene utilizzato: la presenza di sorveglianza, le attività, la manutenzione e i flussi di persone. Concentrando l'attenzione sulle donne, si comprende che la paura delle donne nello spazio pubblico è un'altra espressione della società patriarcale. Sia attraverso l'androcentrismo degli studi urbani e della pianificazione, sia per il senso di vulnerabilità della figura maschile, le esperienze di vita o alcune informazioni secondarie, la paura delle donne nello spazio pubblico è il risultato della dominazione degli uomini sulle donne ancora esistente nella nostra società. Questo lavoro si fonda sul presupposto che l'esperienza della paura delle donne nello spazio pubblico è influenzato dalla relazione tra aspetti spaziali e sociali. Detto questo, abbiamo cercato di capire come si sviluppa questa relazione e come questa influenzi la paura delle donne nello spazio pubblico, attraverso le analisi derivate dal quadro teorico nazionale e internazionale e mediante la contestualizzazione attuata con una ricerca empirica sviluppata nel centro di Recife.

PAROLE CHIAVE

Spazio pubblico, paura, violenza sulle donne, violenza urbana

¿Por dónde caminan las mujeres? Caminos y miedos que limitan la experiencia de mujeres en el centro de la ciudad del Recife, Pernambuco, Brasil.

Lúcia de Andrade Siqueira

“Eso no es hora de estar fuera en la calle”, era una de las frases de mi abuela cuando empezaba a anochecer. A pesar de parecer chistosa, la recomendación era siempre acatada y la visita finalizada. Al fin, para una mujer con más de 80 años, que cuando joven solo iba en la calle bajo la protección de un hombre, realmente ver una joven ir sola por las calles era algo preocupante.

Por mucho tiempo el habla de Doña Oneide era apenas un recuerdo, pero, al desarrollar un trabajo con el tema Ciudad Segura para las Mujeres¹ fue posible constatar que las preocupaciones de ella no eran cosas del siglo pasado. Con mayor o menor intensidad, la calle, la oscuridad, la presencia masculina, el miedo del espacio público eran constantes en el cotidiano de muchas mujeres y afectaban la condición de movilidad en la ciudad y de acceso a algunos derechos, como a la educación. “Muchas (mujeres) que precisan trabajar optan por no estudiar, porque alegan no poder llegar en casa por la noche, a causa de la oscuridad y de los riesgos que la involucra. Lo que compromete totalmente su vida” (Folha de Pernambuco 2014).

En los trabajos de urbanización de favelas y diagnósticos rápidos enfocados en la sensación de inseguridad², se puede constatar que en número, las mujeres siempre fueron mayoría, y entre las discusiones de las propuestas urbanísticas y arquitectónicas eran puestas subliminarmente a la temática violencia. El miedo de la violencia para con ellas o con los hijos o mismo la simple sensación de inseguridad era limitante de uso de espacios, acarreando en “normas” colectivas femeninas de horarios y sitios permitidos dentro de las comunidades. Tales normas reflejaban en las propuestas o mismo oposición a algunas intervenciones urbanas.

Estudios e informes de organizaciones internacionales como ONU Mulheres y la ActionAid reafirmaban las hablas anteriores al poner el miedo como un limitante de uso de espacios públicos, acarreando en “normas” colectivas de horarios, bien como sitios “permitidos” o “prohibidos” en determinadas partes de la ciudad. Pero, ¿qué elementos influyen en el miedo de la mujer en el espacio público de forma a interferir en el acceso a la ciudad? ¿Serían algunas características físicas del sitio? ¿Sería la presencia de determinadas personas? ¿La cultura de una sociedad también podría influenciar esas normas?

La mujer y los estudios urbanos.

Estudios y pesquisas presentan diferencias entre mujeres y hombres en el acceso a la ciudad y apuntan la construcción sobre el lugar y el papel de las mujeres y hombres en la sociedad como una de las causas de esas diferencias (Dymén y Ceccato, 2012; Ornat y Silva; 2007). Esto porque, a pesar de todas las conquistas femeninas, las mujeres todavía tienen mayor responsabilidad para con las llamadas actividades reproductivas, tales como cuidar de los niños y ancianos y los quehaceres domésticos (Dymén y Ceccato, 2012).

Tales pesquisas cimientan el argumento de Calió (1997) sobre la importancia de la introducción de la cuestión “división sexual del trabajo” en la planificación urbana. Partiendo del entendimiento de que las mujeres y los hombres vivencian los problemas de la vida urbana de forma distinta, debido atribuciones de la vida doméstica y del trabajo. Pero, la autora pone la dificultad de los estudios urbanos en hacer una lectura sobre la condición de la mujer en la ciudad. Las divisiones espaciales venidas de las cuestiones demográficas, económicas, culturales y políticas fueron durante años elegidas como prioritarias en los análisis urbanos, lo que se generó cierta “invisibilidad” de las mujeres en la multitud urbana. “La ciudad pasó a ser una aglomeración de individuos asexuados, sometidos a un punto de vista global – es decir: masculino – que no viven en otras relaciones sociales entre si mismos, que no sean las de clase” (Calió, 1997).

Así como Calió (1997), Tavares (2012) resalta la ausencia en los estudios urbanos del debate sobre las desigualdades de género en las ciudades. La autora afirma que el tema es muy reciente, “casi inédito”, pues no ha tenido relevancia últimamente entre pesquisadores y urbanistas. Y añade al afirmar que en el debate político sobre el derecho a la ciudad, el discurso preponderante cuando considerada la dimensión del género, está relacionado al derecho a las políticas públicas como puestos de salud, escuelas y guarderías. Es decir, como afirma Costa (2013), el uso de la calle, del barrio y de la ciudad por las mujeres, todavía hoy está muy relacionado al papel de gestora del hogar, o sea, la utilización de las estructuras de educación, salud, alimentación y subsistencia del grupo familiar. En este sentido, el espacio privado de la casa es extendido para el público.

Pero, a los pocos, el escenario va siendo cambiado. En dirección contraria de esa visión hay en Brasil cinco iniciativas que merecen ser citadas, el grupo “Arquitectas Invisibles”, el blog FeminismUrbana, sito web Olga, el Grupo de Estudos Territoriais– GETE de la Universidade Estadual de Ponta Grossa y el Núcleo de Estudos Espaço y Género - NEG da Universidade Federal de Pernambuco. En común las iniciativas visan divulgar y rescatar el papel de las arquitectas y urbanistas en su campo de trabajo, reunir y desarrollar pesquisas y

Fig. 1 - Le Modulore

(fuente: Fuente: <http://www.educ.fc.ul.pt>) Tavares (2012) afirma que ese cuadro es resultado de la lógica androcéntrica que permea el mundo profesional y la propia práctica de las (los) arquitectas (os) y urbanistas. Producto del enraizamiento hasta hoy de los presupuestos modernistas que fueron motivados bajo la óptica de clases en detrimento a las cuestiones como etnia y género. El hombre-tipo, el hombre padrón como medida de referencia.

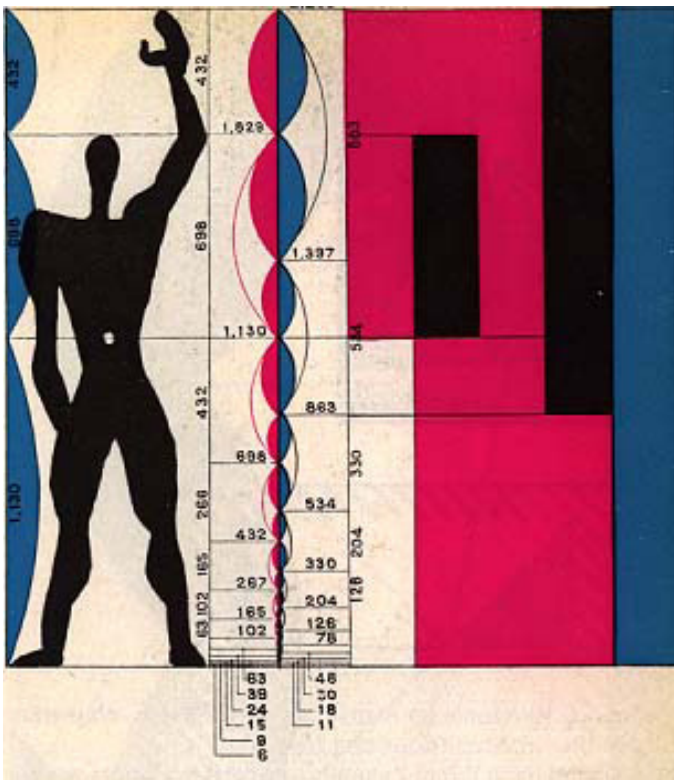


Fig. 2 - Arquitectas invisibles
(Fuente: <https://www.facebook.com/arquitetasinvisiveis>)



estudios sobre la relación entre la mujer y el medio urbano y elevar el nivel de la discusión sobre femineidad en los días de hoy.

Fig. 3 - Núcleo de Estudos Espaço e Gênero – NEG. (Fuente: <https://www.facebook.com/neg.ufpe/?fref=ts>)

Fig. 4- Ilustración de Gabriela Shigihara para el sitio web Olga. (Fuente: <http://thinkolga.com/chega-de-fiu-fiu/>)

Pero si en el campo de la arquitectura y urbanismo la producción sobre género y ciudad es exigua, en la geografía se percibe un mayor acúmulo de reflexiones y estudios referentes a la temática de la mirada femenina sobre la ciudad a través de la geografía feminista. Teniendo como foco la relación entre espacio y género, ese subcampo de la geografía, surge como una reacción contra el androcentrismo de la geografía oficial, que ponía el hombre como protagonista, excluyendo las mujeres en el medio geográfico. En este artículo, listamos teóricas de ese subcampo del conocimiento que cumulan refle-



xión sobre el tema el miedo de la mujer en el espacio público.

El miedo de la mujer en el espacio público bajo la mirada de la geografía feminista.

Es sentencia corriente en estudios y pesquisas nacionales e internacionales que las mujeres sienten más miedo que los hombres en el espacio público. Valentine (1989) en su trabajo *The geography of women's fear* afirma que el miedo de la mujer en el espacio público está asociado a la sensación de vulnerabilidad física en relación al hombre, principalmente el miedo de la violencia sexista. Para la autora, las mujeres aprenden a percibir el peligro de hombres desconocidos en espacios públicos a pesar de que el riesgo de violación es mayor en casa y por hombres conocidos.

La pesquisidora afirma que desde la infancia la mujer es presentada al miedo, expuesta a “reglas” que determinan un control espacial de las actividades femeninas en el espacio público. Transmitido por los padres y establecido por la sociedad, el espacio seguro para la mujer es el espacio privado, la casa, diferente de los chicos que son presentados desde luego al mundo público³. Muchos de esos consejos exponen a tener cuidados con los hombres en las calles, o en determinados ambientes.

La media también tiene un papel fundamental en la forma que es construida la relación entre miedo y la imagen de la ciudad, o de espacios específicos de la ciudad para la mujer. Películas, tele diarios, periódicos traen la imagen de la mujer frágil y siempre vulnerable en el espacio público, principalmente en relación a crímenes sexistas. Un ejemplo son las figuras que ilustran la materia de dos diferentes medios de comunica-



Fig. 5- Modelo de local y situación peligrosa para la mujer en el espacio público. (Fuente: Revista Carta Capital.)

ción sobre la pesquisa Cidade Segura para as Mulheres de ActionAid Brasil (figuras 5 y 6).

Pain (2000) añade a los argumentos de Valentine que las relaciones sociales que operan en espacios particulares y los lugares están más ligados al miedo del crimen de que del carácter físico particular de los ambientes. Y así, introduce la cuestión del miedo y la identidad y exclusión social y espacial.

Para la autora las evidencias muestran que hay crímenes violentos que son específicos para determinado género, edad y grupo étnico. Es la violencia discriminatoria que tiene como blanco cuestiones sociales y/o identidad política. Además de eso, afirma que diferentes formas de asedio pueden o no generar miedo, de acuerdo con la naturaleza y el o contexto del incidente, pero cuando experimentados frecuentemente, esos abusos pueden reforzar la exclusión espacial.

La cuestión de la temporalidad también parece influenciar en el uso del espacio público por la mujer. Por la noche, como constató Valentine en su pesquisa, las mujeres expresan tener miedo de todos los lugares mientras que en el período diurno, ellas identifican lugares aislados específicos como asustadores. Esto no ocurre apenas por la posibilidad de la reducción de la visibilidad, pero debido a la naturaleza de los cambios del espacio público, que por la noche muchas veces pasa a ser dominado por los hombres. Y esa dominación no se da solo por la apropiación numérica del espacio, pero a través de un comportamiento agresivo que intimida las mujeres. Como por ejemplo, el asedio verbal o físico.

En la pesquisa Cidades Seguras para Mulheres realizada por ActionAid Brasil⁴, expone relatos que reafirman el argumento de Valentine y Pain, como la presencia masculina



Fig. 6- Falta de luz adecuada en las calles es entrabe a la locomoción de la población femenina (Fuente: Jornal Folha de Pernambuco (18/09/14))

y la temporalidad como potenciadores del miedo femenino en el espacio público y las consecuentes restricciones de su movilidad en la ciudad. La pesquisa apunta otros puntos más: locales específicos del miedo (plazas y paradas de autobús) y las condiciones de su mantenimiento. De esa forma levanta la siguiente cuestión: ¿El espacio y sus características ambientales también no influyen en el miedo de la mujer en el espacio público?

La búsqueda de la seguridad y sus características ambientales

El foco en las características ambientales y su relación con el miedo del crimen en el espacio público no es reciente. La creencia en la relación entre las configuraciones físico-espaciales y la ocurrencia de determinados delitos, tuvo como marco inicial la Escuela de Chicago, en la década de 20. Segundo Souza y Compans (2009), la Escuela trae una nueva reflexión sobre el papel del espacio en el comportamiento psicosocial de los individuos y de la colectividad.

En la década de 60 ocurrió un cambio en el foco del análisis de la criminalidad y el local del crimen pasó a tener la atención especial en la busca de los eventos criminales. Barros (2012) coloca que “la localización del crimen surge como un elemento de importancia primaria en la evaluación de la criminalidad, como también en la busca de formas de prevención del crimen, que tiene en planeamiento urbano, en la arquitectura y análisis de los espacios, otra manera de trabajar.” Así, las teorías sobre la manipulación del espacio como forma de prevenir y/o reducir la criminalidad y la sensación de inseguridad dio origen a teorías, estudios e intervenciones.

El libro *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* de Jane Jacobs es un marco referencial que influenció diversos estudiosos del tema hasta hoy. Publicado en la década de 60, la obra relaciona a la seguridad la presencia de personas y la variedad de usos en el espacio público, o sea, la seguridad en una calle está relacionada a la capacidad de infraestructura que esta posee para recibir desconocidos. Así, elige tres principios para una calle segura: la existencia de ojos de la calle, la presencia de elementos atractivos y la garantía de diversidad de usos.

En 1971, Ray Jeffery defendió que el diseño urbano es una herramienta para la reducción de los delitos de oportunidad (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design-CPTED). Ray (2003) define el CPTED como un conjunto de estrategias de aplicación práctica de prevención contra el crimen que busca reducir las oportunidades de delito de oportunidad⁵ bien como la reducción del miedo de la comunidad aumentando la cohesión comunitaria.

La misma autora lo clasifica en dos generaciones, la primera tiene como marco la obra de Jeffery, compuesta por cuatro conceptos: control natural de los accesos, vigilancia natural, manutención y refuerzo territorial. La segunda generación incorpora tanto los aspectos físicos como sociales del ambiente y así, ofrece la posibilidad de un nuevo enfoque: la construcción de comunidades que bebe del legado de Jane Jacobs. Ambas,

tienen como base la Teoría de la Decisión Racional, que explica que la ocurrencia del hecho delictivo está relacionada al análisis de costes y beneficios hecha por el infractor que lleva en consideración tres variables ambientales: la situación favorable, una víctima vulnerable y su motivación.

En la misma década, Oscar Newman en su obra *Defensible Space*, afirmó que la restricción de accesos de extraños a un determinado local y su vigilancia potencializan la seguridad del mismo. Para el arquitecto las calles abiertas, de libre tráfico, eran más propensas a la ocurrencia de criminalidad de que las calles cerradas donde el acceso era más restringido. El sentimiento de vigilancia, el control de los habitantes de las áreas compartidas y/o públicas que podría ser obtenido a través del diseño urbano con la jerarquización de dominios territoriales establecidos entre el público y el privado, en la delimitación rígida entre los territorios.

Bill Hillier (1988), en su texto *Against Enclosure*, critica los espacios cerrados, la idea de cierre-repetición-jerarquía que se volvió, segundo él, en determinado momento de nuestro pasado reciente, una especie de estilo internacional de diseño urbano. El autor asegura que los espacios cerrados no son la respuesta para el problema urbano, pero el problema en si mismo. Su uso indiscriminado puede crear espacios fragmentarios, ininteligibles y subutilizados que pueden aumentar la vulnerabilidad de estos espacios a ciertos tipos de crímenes.

Para el autor, cuanto mayor la presencia natural de personas, más el espacio será vigilado naturalmente. Cuanto más sea el espacio integrado y movimentado, menor será la potencialidad de la ocurrencia del acto criminoso. Nadie siente la necesidad de cuestionar extraños pasando en una calle. Al contrario, su presencia natural aumenta el sentido de seguridad.

Actualmente, medidas de prevención al crimen a partir del diseño urbano y gestión del ambiente, son utilizadas por diversas instituciones en todo el mundo como la ICA (International CPTED Association) y Fundación Paz Ciudadana – Chile⁶. En Brasil, la relación entre espacio y criminalidad y la utilización del diseño urbano como forma de prevención a la violencia viene ganando espacio. La inclusión del tema en el Pacto pela Vida – Plan Estadual de Seguridad Pública de Pernambuco, Programa Nacional de Segurança Pública com Cidadania (PRONASCI) e intervenciones urbanas como en el proyecto Dias Melhores en Bahia son ejemplos.

A pesar de la importancia de esas iniciativas, son pocos los trabajos que el recorte de género está presente. La ONU Mulheres viene desarrollando acciones en América Latina que utilizan instrumentos de diagnóstico e investigación do CPTED como punto de partida para la discusión del acceso a la ciudad por las mujeres y la relación con la sensación de inseguridad. Pero, las acciones son puntuales y no se detecta todavía iniciativas estructuradoras de planeamiento urbano con el foco en la mujer.

Presentada la base teórica que cementa el objeto de ese estudio, se partió para la investigación empírica, con el intuito de contextualizar la experiencia del miedo y a partir de ahí establecer un diálogo con la base teórica.

El proceso metodológico de la pesquisa empírica

El camino para la investigación fue basado en las hipótesis de que el miedo da lugar a la mujer en el espacio público constituye un límite en su acceso a la ciudad y es producto de las relaciones entre aspectos espaciales y sociales del ambiente. Pero, ese límite impuesto por el miedo no se presenta de forma homogénea para todas las mujeres, él puede variar de acuerdo con la renta, edad, ciclo de vida y victimización.

Como instrumento de pesquisa utilizamos el cuestionario abierto, que nos permitió obtener un número variado de informaciones sobre el tema en cuestión, además de la posibilidad de respuestas más representativas y fieles a la opinión del inquirido. La divulgación y relleno del cuestionario fue hecho por internet (red social y e-mail), a partir de la invitación a personas conocidas con la solicitud que esas repasen para su red de amistades⁷.

La contextualización fue obtenida a través del recorte territorial, el centro del Recife, más precisamente los barrios de São José, Santo Antônio y Recife. Ubicados en la planicie costera, implantados en la desembocadura del Río Capibaribe, siendo los primeros barrios de la ciudad, por donde el municipio se desarrolló. Las características tipológicas y morfológicas históricas acercan los tres barrios y posibilitan alguna identidad en los usos y recorridos, bien como en los atributos urbanísticos.

El territorio escogido representa un ejemplo clásico de espacio urbano, donde se encuentra una “yuxtaposición de diferentes usos de la tierra, cuyas partes (fragmentos) estarían debidamente articuladas con el todo e vice versa a partir de los flujos cotidianos de mercaderías, personas, etc.” (Côrrea, apud Queiroz y Lacerda, 2005). Esa mezcla de significados, usos y actividades permite explorar las diversas visiones (de usuarios, visitantes y habitantes) sobre un mismo territorio y donde se puede analizar la experiencia del miedo y posibles estrategias de enfrentamiento basado en la experiencia vivida, en las informaciones secundarias y en las características ambientales que se encuentra en el centro da ciudad.

El foco del trabajo es el miedo de la mujer en el espacio público, sin embargo, el sujeto mujer al cual nos referimos no es definido apenas por el ser biológico, este sujeto es producto de la construcción social del femenino y del masculino que atribuye a esos su papel en la sociedad. Siendo así, un sujeto definido no apenas por las mujeres, pero también por los hombres, lo que llevó a definir los dos grupos como objetos de la pesquisa. Para que la visión no sea dicotómica entre el miedo de la mujer y el miedo del hombre en el espacio público y no huya al objeto de estudio, se utilizó la técnica proyectiva⁸. En este caso fue presentado al participante, como estímulo, una situación incompleta y solicitado a él que la completara. En el caso de esa pesquisa, la indicación de un recorrido para una joven turista.

La elección por una mujer joven fue basada en el argumento de Pain (2000) de que hay crímenes violentos que son específicos para determinada edad y que el miedo del crimen sexista está asociado a las mujeres más jóvenes. Además de eso, por ser turista, u otro punto de fragilidad de esa mujer, es el desconocimiento del territorio del ejercicio

de investigación. Luego, estereotipo de una mujer vulnerable en el espacio público.

Debido a la estructura del instrumento de pesquisa, para análisis de los datos fueron utilizados el método cuantitativo y el método cualitativo. El primero, se destinó a cuestiones de proposición múltiple del cuestionario, donde las respuestas fueron decodificadas y cuantificadas generando los resultados sobre el perfil de las/los participantes, su condición de victimización e informaciones secundarias sobre los tipos de violencia sufridos por terceros en el centro do Recife.

Para las cuestiones de disertación, se buscó una técnica de análisis que garantizara la integridad de los datos y así se optó por la Similarity Structure Analysis – SSA, ejecutada con el auxilio del programa HUDAP⁹, por presentarse adecuada a ese propósito.

La muestra contemplada en la pesquisa se constituye de 73 personas (47 mujeres y 26 hombres), la mayor parte residentes de Recife, con edad entre 30 y 39 años, solteros (as) y sin hijos, con renta entre 4 SM y 10 SM y post-graduados (as).

¿Y por dónde y cómo deben andar las mujeres en el centro del Recife? – Consideraciones finales.

Transitar en el universo de la ciudad con la mirada femenina con foco en el miedo del espacio público es un tema desafiador y apasionante. Comprender por donde andan las mujeres, como andan y el porqué de las escojas de esos caminos se mostró un ejercicio de investigación desafiador y necesario.

Volverlo visible o invisible, intentar comprender las diferencias sobre como las mujeres y los hombres vivencian los problemas de la vida urbana (Calió, 1997) es una tarea necesaria e importante en la construcción de ciudades más igualitarias.

Los resultados muestran que la forma de orientación en el espacio público es distinta para mujeres y hombres. Lo que fortalece la afirmativa enunciada en el inicio de ese trabajo, de que la mirada de la mujer sobre el espacio público tiene como presupuestos: una diferente percepción del mismo. .

La constatación de esta diferencia puede ser explicada en las diferencias forjadas por el papel de la mujer y del hombre en la sociedad, presentando una correspondencia en los tipos de desplazamientos en la ciudad (Dyme'n y Ceccato, 2012; Ornat y Silva, 2007). Las mujeres, generalmente responsables por las actividades reproductivas (cuidar de la familia), escogen las oportunidades de trabajo cerca de la residencia y son propensas al viaje en cadena, lo que significa que cuando ellas viajan, ellas tienden a tener varios propósitos y varios destinos dentro de un viaje. El destino del hombre, el proveedor de la familia, no es en cadena, es puntual, su referencia en la ciudad son los puntos, el edificio. Las mujeres el puesto de salud, la escuela, el hospital, la compra de comida y ropas, en aquella calle, cerca de aquella plaza.

Así, se presupone que las opciones femeninas tuvieran recorridos más internos al elegido, con más detalles en la discreción del camino y por eso más conocimiento del centro como local de comercio y servicios.

Además de eso, las respuestas indicaron que camino seguro para las mujeres es el camino con muchas personas circulando. Locales de diversas actividades, en algunos casos con menor infraestructura para recibir los peatones como aceras mal conservadas, muchos vendedores ambulantes obstruyendo la circulación, pero lo importante es la presencia de gente circulando, también llamados de vigilantes naturales. Lo que corrobora con el argumento de que cuanto mayor la presencia natural de personas, más el espacio es vigilado naturalmente y mayor será la sensación de seguridad. (Jacobs, 2000; Hillier, 1988).

En sus recomendaciones sobre los sitios que deben ser evitados, las mujeres demuestran preocupación con cuestiones espaciales y sociales, calles sin iluminación y de cantidad de personas circulando en ella. La asociación entre estas dos recomendaciones: evitar calles vacías y sin iluminación, fortalece el argumento sobre la importancia de la iluminación, pues trae el confort para las personas que andan en las calles y proporciona la “multiplicación de los ojos”, pero que de nada servirá si no hay personas trafagando en ellas. (Jacobs, 2000).

La búsqueda por andar en calles más movidas lleva las mujeres a expresaren un comportamiento más defensivo al patrimonio, recomendando comportamientos como andar con la bolsa junto al cuerpo, no exponer objetos de valor y andar deprisa.

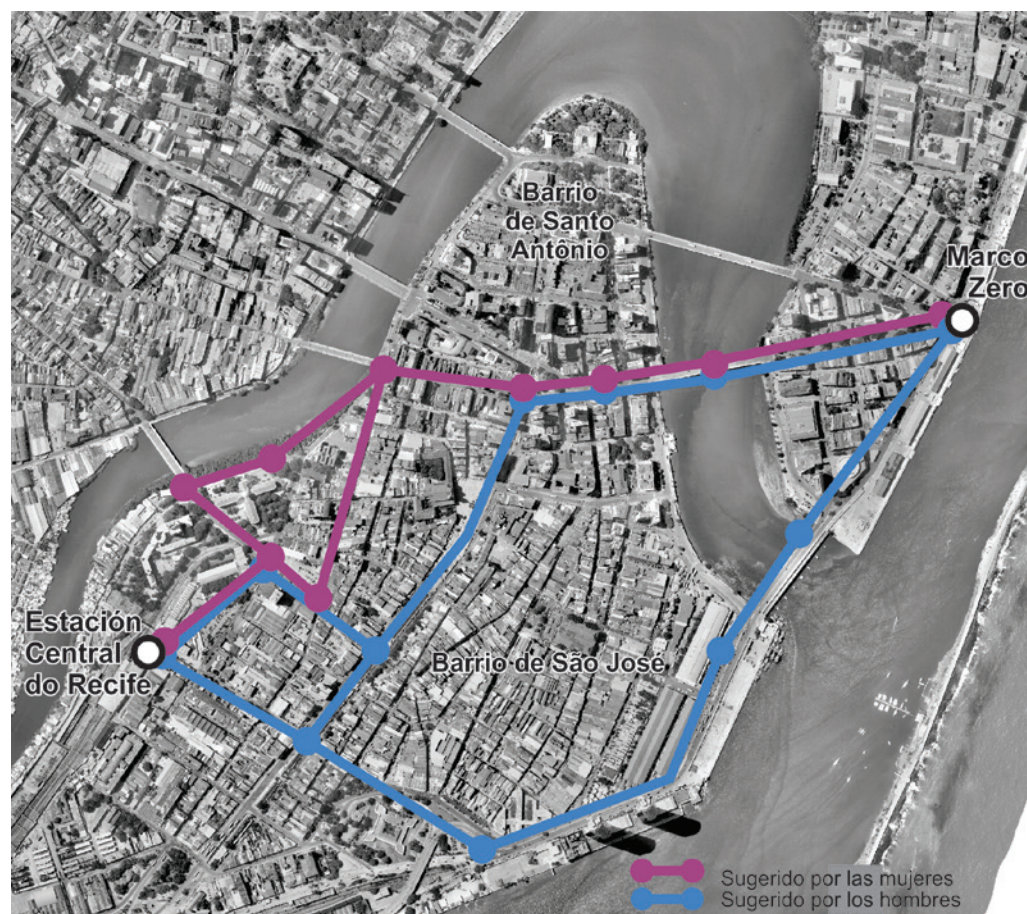


Figura 7- Caminos seguros para as mulheres (Fuente: Prefeitura de Recife, adaptado por la autora.)

Es importante destacar las recomendaciones para la utilización del transporte público o taxi. Tales recomendaciones refuerzan el argumento de Taylor (2011) sobre el miedo de la violencia como elemento de restricción del movimiento de la mujer en la ciudad, limitando el uso de los espacios públicos.

Además de eso, resaltamos la recomendación sobre no andar sola, buscar la protección en la compañía de otro, recurso también revelado en las pesquisas de Valentine (1989). Pero, esa autora especifica el tipo de compañía, el hombre, lo que refuerza la idea del espacio heterosexual de género. En nuestra muestra quien sería la compañía no fue explicitado, pero lo que podemos concluir es que la sensación de vulnerabilidad femenina disminuye con la presencia, con la protección de la compañía en el andar del espacio público.

Es interesante notar que cuando se habla en recomendación de seguridad para la mujer en el centro, hay una tendencia en referirse a cuestiones espaciales y ambientales, aunque sea latente que el peligro tiene fuerte componente social, como por ejemplo, la identificación de tipos/grupos de personas consideradas peligrosas. Los resultados mostraron que las mujeres consideran como peligrosas las personas con comportamientos imprevisibles como drogadictos, pordioseros/lanzas y grupos (hinchas- sobre todo de fútbol). Ninguna de las participantes expresó claramente el sexo como identificador para personas peligrosas.

Cuando cuestionados sobre el miedo en el centro del Recife, proporcionalmente las mujeres declararon sentir más miedo de que los hombres. El miedo expreso por las mujeres es el miedo de tipos de crímenes, lo que puede ser justificado por el argumento de Pain (2000) de que hay tipos de crímenes específicos para determinado género, edad y grupo étnico. El en caso de la pesquisa las mujeres fueron explícitas al definir el miedo de atraco, de la violencia en general y de la violencia sexual, esta última solo mencionada por ellas.

Tal situación es interpretada de dos formas: la primera es que por conocimiento del centro del Recife, 50% de ellas afirmaron ser usuarias del centro, hay una familiaridad con el territorio que puede transmitir una sensación de dominio del mismo. Segundo la misma autora, la lectura sobre el espacio seguro o inseguro está relacionada con la familiaridad con el mismo, o sea, como poseen dominio del espacio el elemento noche no interfiere en el uso del espacio público. La segunda es que como afirma Valentine (1989), la sensación de peligro está tan relacionada con la noche que ellas ni cogitan andar en el centro del Recife en ese horario.

La investigación sobre los recorridos y miedos que limitan la experiencia de la mujer en el centro del Recife, trajo más que elementos que constituyen el miedo y reflejan en la forma de uso del espacio público del centro de la capital de Pernambuco. Trajo también la certeza de la importancia de la necesidad de nuevas pesquisas que incluyan el temático género en los estudios urbanos. Entonces parafraseando Calió (1997), invitamos toda la sociedad académica, arquitectas(os) y urbanistas a “aprender a conjugarse también en el femenino”. Para que en el futuro las mujeres caminen libres por las calles y plazas, y no expresen el miedo del espacio público al recomendar a sus nietas cuidados para andar en su ciudad.

ENDNOTES

1 Trabajo desarrollado para la *Secretaria da Mulher do Estado de Pernambuco* en el Proyecto *Mulheres da Paz*. Una iniciativa del Ministerio de Justicia de Brasil, en el concepto del *Programa de Segurança Pública com Cidadania* – PRONASCI.

2 Trabajos desarrollados por la autora en las ciudades de Camaragibe, Recife en Pernambuco y Salvador en Bahia.

3 Es interesante observar los mensajes transmitidos por los juguetes establecidos por la sociedad como de niñas y de niños. Los de niñas, la muñeca, la olla y los de los niños la pelota y el cochecito. Los de ella remeten a la casa y al espacio privado; los de ellos, la calle y el espacio público.

4 Participaron de la pesquisa 306 mujeres de seis comunidades de los estados de Pernambuco (Charnequinha – Cabo de SantoAgostinho, Passarinho – Recife e Ibura – Recife), Rio Grande do Norte (Upanema), São Paulo (Hilópolis) y Rio de Janeiro (Maré).

5 Delitos de oportunidad son los delitos cometidos debido a la existencia de variables contextuales que facilitan su práctica, disminuyendo el esfuerzo y el riesgo de sanciones que los infractores corren o aumentando la recompensa obtenida al cometer el hecho.

6 Entre las más difundidas y por tener una vertiente eminentemente práctica, la CPTED se constituye en un movimiento internacional que cuenta con apoyo de diversos organismos a ejemplo del Banco Mundial, que financió la adaptación a la realidad brasileña, del manual chileno “Espacios Urbanos Seguros”, basado en la estrategia CPTED, con objetivo de difundirla en Brasil.

7 El instrumento fue elaborado entre los meses de febrero y marzo de 2014, su test previo realizado el abril y la publicación en internet en mayo del mismo año. El instrumento recibió respuestas hasta septiembre de 2014.

8 Malhotra (2015) define las Técnicas Proyectivas como “Una forma no estructurada e indirecta de preguntar, que incentiva los entrevistados a proyectaren sus motivaciones. Creencias, actitudes o sensaciones subyacentes sobre os problemas en estudio”. O autor as clasifica en cuatro grupos: (i) Asociaciones; (ii) Completamente; (iii) Construcción; y (iv) Expresivas.

9 Desarrollado por Reuven Amar y Shlomo Toledano del Centro de Computación de la Universidad Hebraica de Jerusalén, en 1994.

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Women's right to the city. A feminist review of urban spaces

Laura Pérez Prieto

Abstract

The city of the 21st century is called to be an inheritor of the rationalism and urban development of the 20th century and the perfect daughter that the capitalist logic and the phenomenon of the globalization, which has increased in a great rate in the last decades, have come up with. Among all the social and environmental derivative impacts, in the article below, we will focus on the consequences that the generalization of this hegemonic model of city has had for women. Since the modern project and the social construction of the masculine subject as the universal one, the public and civic coexistence space has been specially designed and organized to satisfy the economic and political interests of men, leaving out the needs of other human groups that have not adjusted to the well versed model.



Fig. 1 - Imagen de las Jornadas sobre Género y Producción del espacio. De la exclusión a la reivindicación del derecho a la ciudad, celebradas en Barcelona en noviembre de 2015.

The construction of cities from an accumulating and patriarchal logic, has reduced women's role, so they have been considered as "inhabitants of domestic space" and carers. This has also led to the dissolution of their citizenship.

Therefore, we propose to make a feminist review of urban spaces. First because we believe it is essential to break the dualities and hierarchies between "masculine" and "feminine". Secondly, because we believe that gender mainstreaming in urban planning can help to formulate policies that might reorganize the spaces and times of work and life, and reach wellness for all the citizens.

KEY WORDS

Right to the city, urban planning, feminist approach.

Il diritto delle donne alla città. Un approccio femminista agli spazi urbani

La città del secolo XXI è frutto della crescita urbana illimitata del secolo XX ed è "figlia" della logica capitalista e del fenomeno della globalizzazione sviluppatasi con forza negli ultimi decenni. Tra gli effetti sociali e ambientali derivati da tutto ciò, nel seguente articolo ci dedicheremo specialmente alle conseguenze che ha avuto sulle donne questo modello di città egemonica.

Dalla proposta illuminista e moderna e dalla costruzione del soggetto maschile come soggetto universale, sia lo spazio pubblico che quello di convivenza dei cittadini sono stati progettati e organizzati per soddisfare gli interessi economici e politici degli uomini, lasciando al margine le necessità delle persone che non corrispondevano al modello imposto socialmente. La costruzione delle città basata sulla logica del capitalismo accumulatore e patriarcale, ha ridotto il ruolo delle donne a quello di "abitante dello spazio domestico" e responsabile del lavoro di cura, perdendo così l'attributo di cittadine.

Per queste ragioni, proponiamo una revisione femminista degli spazi urbani. In primo luogo perché consideriamo che è essenziale rompere con le dualità e con le gerarchie tra "maschile" e "femminile". In secondo luogo, perché crediamo che la integrazione della dimensione di genere nella pianificazione urbana può aiutare a formulare politiche che possono riorganizzare gli spazi e il tempo di lavoro e di vita e che puntano al benessere di tutti, cittadini e cittadine.

PAROLE CHIAVE

Diritto alla città, pianificazione urbana, approccio femminista

El derecho de las mujeres a la ciudad. Una revisión feminista de los espacios urbanos

Laura Pérez Prieto

1. Introducción

La sostenibilidad ha sido comúnmente entendida, sobre todo a partir de la publicación del Informe Brundtland en 1987, desde una perspectiva reduccionista fundamentalmente ligada a la dimensión física y ambiental y, más centrada en la conservación utilitarista de los “recursos naturales” para seguir posibilitando el crecimiento económico, que en las verdaderas necesidades sociales, políticas o culturales de las generaciones presentes y futuras o en el respeto por todos los seres vivos. Nosotras, por el contrario defendemos una definición de la sostenibilidad en un sentido más amplio y complejo, que abarca:

- El modo en que los sistemas socio-bio-ecológicos se relacionan y co-evolucionan;
- el uso que debemos darle a los bienes naturales, y cómo debemos autogestionarlos de forma democrática, equitativa y justa;
- la reproducción de la vida humana y no humana en condiciones de equilibrio ecológico y de dignidad, de manera que todo el patrimonio natural, humano, político, colectivo, etc., pueda ser disfrutado en el presente por todos los seres vivos y por las generaciones futuras.

Este concepto puede ser aplicado a escalas menores, por ejemplo, a socioecosistemas como los urbanos.

Históricamente, las ciudades han sido los lugares que han permitido establecer una compleja red de interacciones humanas, intercambios de información, actividades, multifuncionalidad de los espacios, etc., alcanzando un nivel de complejidad alto en un territorio determinado, y presentando una eficiencia ecológica y una cohesión social también elevada.

Como todo sistema ordenado internamente y vivo, la ciudad desde sus orígenes se ha nutrido de un flujo constante de recursos energéticos y materiales para poder mantenerse. Este flujo se ha intensificado y desequilibrado especialmente a lo largo del siglo XX, etapa en la que la explosión demográfica, la migración masiva del campo a la ciudad, la aparición del transporte motorizado y, la derivada extracción intensiva de los recursos fósiles, han cambiado la configuración y la concepción del espacio urbano, y sus propios modelos y diseños, condenándolo a un obligado crecimiento y a un consumo cada vez mayor de recursos.

Todo esto ha tenido una serie de consecuencias en las ciudades. Según Salvador Rueda, los *ecosistemas urbanos* pueden definirse en términos de variables interconectadas de suerte que, para una variable dada, existe un nivel superior o inferior de tolerancia, más allá del cual, se produce necesariamente la incomodidad, la patología y la disfunción del sistema (Rueda, 1994). Bajo este enfoque ecológico, la población urbana, como

Tabla 1: Efectos de la metropolización en la deconstrucción de la ciudad y en la destrucción de la ciudadanía

LA DECONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA CIUDAD	LA DECONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA CIUDADANÍA DESDE UN ENFOQUE DE GÉNERO
LA ZONIFICACIÓN URBANA	La complicación de la vida cotidiana.
	El reforzamiento de la dicotomía entre el espacio público y el espacio privado. Perpetuación de los roles tradicionales de género.
	La aparición de barreras arquitectónicas y la inaccesibilidad especialmente para las mujeres y las personas dependientes a su cargo.
	Intensificación de la carga de trabajo para las mujeres.
LA DIFUSIÓN Y LA DISPERSIÓN TERRITORIAL: La ciudad sin límites	La discriminación por razones de género, raza, etarias, pertenencia territorial, etc. La ciudad hostil para la ciudadanía no dominante.
	El zoning como sistema de representación urbana androcéntrico y el urbanismo como práctica de control que reconoce los saberes y voces masculinas y excluye las femeninas (Tello y Pérez Rincón 2009: 48).
CENTRO VERSUS PERIFERIA: La ciudad dual, insolidaria, desvertebrada	La movilidad frente a la accesibilidad.
	La segmentación del tiempo. El tiempo del yo frente al tiempo del Nosotros y Nosotras (Mellor, 2011). La intensificación de la carga de trabajo para las mujeres.
	La segregación espacial y la distancia social como exclusión social. La dificultad de sectores de la población para acceder a los recursos.
EL ESPACIO VIRTUAL FRENTE AL ESPACIO REAL: La desterritorialización. La urbanización del tiempo real y la desurbanización del espacio real	La inseguridad como sensación cotidiana para las mujeres. La multiplicación de los puntos negros y los espacios potencialmente peligrosos para ellas en la ciudad.
	La falta de participación e implicación activa de la población vulnerable. El déficit democrático.
EL ESPACIO VIRTUAL FRENTE AL ESPACIO REAL: La desterritorialización. La urbanización del tiempo real y la desurbanización del espacio real	La aceleración del tiempo, la muerte del espacio, la incomunicación, la desaparición de las redes de apoyo y de encuentro. Desaparición de los espacios de ocio y relación donde se establecen estrategias y alianzas para el cuidado de la vida.

Fuente: Julio Alguacil, 2007:41.

otras especies, debe mantener un equilibrio dinámico con la naturaleza y respetar su propia capacidad de carga.

Es cierto que la variable tecnológica cultural y los diferentes modelos de consumo y comercio específicos de la especie humana, hacen especialmente difícil extrapolar a ella los principios de la Ecología. Sin embargo, las sociedades urbanas también están sujetas a parámetros y niveles de tolerancia, y sus comportamientos pueden poner en peligro a los ecosistemas que las sustentan y de los que son dependientes. De hecho, la huella ecológica, es un indicador que refleja de manera clara cómo y cuánto superan su capacidad de carga las poblaciones humanas de un territorio dado y qué incomodidades, patologías y disfunciones (tanto ambientales como sociales) produce esto a nivel global.

Por ello, cuando el desarrollo urbano al servicio de los intereses mercantiles y los beneficios inmobiliarios supera los estándares tolerados, bien creciendo de forma indefinida o bien consumiendo energía, materiales y generando desechos en exceso, provoca una presión ambiental que la propia ciudad no puede soportar. Se produce un colapso y el espacio deja de servir para satisfacer las necesidades humanas, adoptando formas discontinuas, extensivas y depredadoras del territorio que han recibido diversos nombres como *metrópolis*, *conurbación*, *aglomeración urbana*, *ciudades miseria*, *megalópolis*, etc.

Detrás de estos conceptos, se encuentran procesos y tamaños urbanos insostenibles en términos energéticos y democráticos, con evidentes consecuencias para la mayor parte de la población. En la tabla 1, Alguacil (2007) muestra los impactos que ha tenido la metropolitanización tanto en el territorio físico urbano como en la estructura social de la ciudad.

La ciudad del siglo XXI es heredera del racionalismo y desarrollismo urbanístico del siglo XX e hija de la lógica capitalista y del fenómeno de la globalización que toma más fuerza en las últimas décadas. Por tanto, los espacios urbanos actuales, siguen reproduciendo este modelo socioterritorial.

2. Una mirada feminista al espacio urbano

Partiendo del enfoque defendido en el artículo a partir de principios de la Ecológica Política y la Economía Ecológica, hemos realizado una primera revisión de los contextos urbanos y un breve diagnóstico socioambiental. Sin embargo, sostenemos que la traducción y el impacto de este modelo en las ciudades, también debe ser revisado desde una perspectiva feminista, sobre todo, porque la dualidad antagónica masculino/femenino, producción/reproducción y espacio público/espacio privado, ha reducido el rol de las mujeres en la ciudad a la de “habitantes del espacio doméstico” y cuidadoras, con las consecuencias que esto ha tenido para la disolución de su ciudadanía.

Tradicionalmente, el espacio público, dedicado al trabajo remunerado, ha sido masculino, y como tal, ha sido diseñado y organizado por y para hombres. La consecuencia más directa ha sido la privación del derecho a la ciudad para las mujeres: a sus equipa-

mientos, a sus espacios públicos, a sus lugares de trabajo, a sus esferas de decisión, a su seguridad y su tranquilidad, etc.

Por esta razón, a continuación apuntamos una serie de argumentos a favor de la revisión feminista de la planificación urbana hegemónica.

En primer lugar, la incorporación de los estudios de género al espacio dibujan un marco inclusivo para definir políticas de intervención en los espacios urbanos. Autoras que han centrado la reflexión sobre esta temática, han propuesto 4 líneas de debate para incorporar los saberes de las mujeres en la política y la planificación urbanas (Tello y Pérez Rincón, 2009:29-30):

- Implicaciones macroeconómicas de las diferencias sexuales (Sassen, 2003; Massey, 1994).
- Construcción subjetiva de los territorios urbanos (McDowell, 2000; Coutras, 1996; Duncan, 1996).
- Estrategias de supervivencia asociadas a los saberes femeninos (Massolo, 1994).
- Políticas públicas de distribución de recursos y roles (Fraser, 1999; Young, 2000).

Estas autoras y otras como Teresa Del Valle (1997) o Mari Ángeles Durán (1998), han señalado la necesidad de hacer un análisis más fino para visibilizar las formas de colaborar de las mujeres en los espacios urbanos, a “fin de encontrar todas sus capacidades de acción, poco visibles en general” y especialmente “sus acciones en espacios cotidianos e informales” (Tello y Pérez Rincón, 2009: 40).

En segundo lugar, los posicionamientos feministas sobre la planificación urbana reconocen la exclusión de minorías del *derecho al espacio*; conciben la práctica urbanística como una herramienta de redistribución de los recursos; identifican explícitamente a las personas afectadas; establecen canales de negociación y; se aproximan a ellas incluyendo en las metodologías usadas sus aspiraciones formales y materiales con su participación real. Por lo tanto, frente al modelo de planificación que podría llamarse hegemónico, este planeamiento *popular o alternativo*¹, es sensible al género y a otros ordenadores sociales (Tello y Pérez- Rincón, 2009: 33).

En último lugar, la perspectiva feminista es necesaria para abordar los contextos urbanos, porque a pesar de la existencia de un número cada vez mayor de mujeres urbanistas, arquitectas, sociólogas, geógrafas, etc., dedicadas a pensar la ciudad y hacerlo visibilizando las ausencias femeninas y los sesgos androcéntricos, sus voces críticas se han silenciado en la corriente principal, formada mayoritariamente por hombres adscritos a la disciplina urbanística más funcional, racionalista y ortodoxa. Por tanto, el diseño de la ciudad, es un derecho que les ha sido negado no sólo como ciudadanas, sino también como expertas y especialistas. Es necesario mirar la ciudad y los procesos urbanos con un enfoque de género para proponer una concepción inclusiva de la que ésta carece, pero no sólo por incorporar a las mujeres, sus saberes y experiencias en la reformulación de una ciudad más sostenible, sino por incorporar a población que también ha sido discriminada al no responder al modelo abstracto de ciudadanía universal en el que realmente sólo han encajado un determinado tipo de sujetos.

De hecho, estas iniciativas urbanísticas comprometidas con otras formas de valorar



Fig. 2 - La ciudad ciega al género.

el espacio, rescatan las alternativas y la agencia femenina (y de otros sectores silenciados). Para las mujeres, la ciudad es sobre todo un escenario para resolver necesidades, un lugar para la reproducción de las condiciones de vida, la relación, la educación, etc. Sus percepciones se relacionan con experiencias cotidianas e interacciones sociales, que aunque han sido consideradas banales, se oponen al valor de cambio normalmente otorgado al contexto urbano, a la funcionalidad estricta de sus usos y a la materialidad estática e inmutable propia de las representaciones dominantes y excluyentes (Tello, 2009:282-283).

En particular, aquellas mujeres que viven en situaciones precarias y ponen en marcha estrategias de supervivencia, suelen extender el espacio doméstico al ámbito público y viceversa², borrando las artificiales barreras entre ambas dimensiones y redefiniendo nuevas estructuras espaciales que se oponen a las normalizadas. Sus vínculos con el entorno y el sentido narrativo que le dan a estas relaciones, son justamente lo que marcan propuestas espaciales diferentes que transgreden las pautas del urbanismo dominante.

Una planificación urbana atenta a todos estos factores y, sensible al carácter caótico, dinámico y complejo que encierra la propia realidad urbana, no puede diseñar ciudades fijas, desde concepciones ideales, racionales y técnicas cerradas, sino que debe abrirse a la colaboración, negociación y participación de los distintos agentes que habitan los espacios públicos y privados. Las propuestas que las feministas han hecho al urbanismo van justamente en la dirección de “concebir el espacio urbano de manera flexible, con capacidad para responder a las necesidades, deseos y representaciones socioespaciales de la diversidad de sujetos, incorporando las distintas formas de vivir y hacer efectivo el derecho a la ciudad” (Tello, 2009: 288).

Sus experiencias y visiones han de ser recogidas como aprendizaje necesario en la búsqueda de alternativas posibles a la ciudad global e insostenible, porque:

- si no se consideran sus voces plurales, “se reconstruye una ficción de igualdad” (Tello y Pérez Rincón, 2009:37);
- las críticas y puntos de vista feministas abren nuevos caminos para superar los conceptos estrechos de lo público (Braidotti, 2009), y;
- todas estas aproximaciones y estudios en general, contribuyen a cambiar la visión hegemónica sobre el papel de las mujeres en la ciudad y las muestran transitando las identidades y los espacios que le fueron expropiados.

3. El género como elemento central de las políticas urbanas equitativas:

Si usamos el género como categoría de análisis, es necesario volver a revisar los procesos de deconstrucción de los espacios urbanos y de disolución de la ciudadanía, puesto que a pesar de que los impactos del modelo socioterritorial imperante sean sufridos por toda la población, existen costes adicionales para las mujeres que suelen ser invisibilizados hasta por las teorías más críticas sobre la construcción de la ciudadanía.

En la tabla 2 retomaremos el esquema de Alguacil desde un enfoque feminista para

señalar las consecuencias del modelo urbano hegemónico sobre las mujeres y otros sectores de la población que han sido considerados ciudadanía de segunda clase.

Las ciudades de hoy día responden fundamentalmente a intereses productivos y económicos, dificultando enormemente la reproducción de las condiciones de vida.

LA DECONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA CIUDAD	LA DECONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA CIUDADANÍA DESDE UN ENFOQUE DE GÉNERO
LA ZONIFICACIÓN URBANA	La complicación de la vida cotidiana.
	El reforzamiento de la dicotomía entre el espacio público y el espacio privado. Perpetuación de los roles tradicionales de género.
	La aparición de barreras arquitectónicas y la inaccesibilidad especialmente para las mujeres y las personas dependientes a su cargo.
	Intensificación de la carga de trabajo para las mujeres.
LA DIFUSIÓN Y LA DISPERSIÓN TERRITORIAL: La ciudad sin límites	La discriminación por razones de género, raza, etarias, pertenencia territorial, etc. La ciudad hostil para la ciudadanía no dominante.
	El zoning como sistema de representación urbana androcéntrico y el urbanismo como práctica de control que reconoce los saberes y voces masculinas y excluye las femeninas (Tello y Pérez Rincón 2009: 48).
CENTRO VERSUS PERIFERIA: La ciudad dual, insolidaria, desvertebrada	La movilidad frente a la accesibilidad.
	La segmentación del tiempo. El tiempo del yo frente al tiempo del Nosotros y Nosotras (Mellor, 2011). La intensificación de la carga de trabajo para las mujeres.
	La segregación espacial y la distancia social como exclusión social. La dificultad de sectores de la población para acceder a los recursos.
EL ESPACIO VIRTUAL FRENTE AL ESPACIO REAL: La desterritorialización. La urbanización del tiempo real y la desurbanización del espacio real	La inseguridad como sensación cotidiana para las mujeres. La multiplicación de los puntos negros y los espacios potencialmente peligrosos para ellas en la ciudad.
	La falta de participación e implicación activa de la población vulnerable. El déficit democrático.
	La aceleración del tiempo, la muerte del espacio, la incomunicación, la desaparición de las redes de apoyo y de encuentro. Desaparición de los espacios de ocio y relación donde se establecen estrategias y alianzas para el cuidado de la vida.

Tabla 2: La deconstrucción de la ciudadanía desde un enfoque de género.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir del esquema de Alguacil (2007).



Fig. 3 - las barreras arquitectónicas para personas en sillas de rueda son muy frecuentes en las ciudades.

Fig. 4 - calle Melchor Guevara, en el Norte de Granada (España), por donde es imposible empujar un carrito de bebé.

Fig. 5 - 6 de cada 10 mujeres en la Ciudad de México han experimentado algún tipo de acoso, robo o agresión verbal y física en el transporte público. Bogotá es considerada como la capital con el sistema más inseguro, seguida del DF, Lima y Nueva Delhi.

La no existencia de “infraestructuras para la vida cotidiana” (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2004); la insuficiencia de equipamientos necesarios para el cuidado de personas dependientes, la ineficacia del transporte público, o, la inseguridad de los espacios públicos, entre otros ejemplos, limitan las opciones vitales de las personas, pero fundamentalmente las de las mujeres y personas dependientes que están a su cargo.

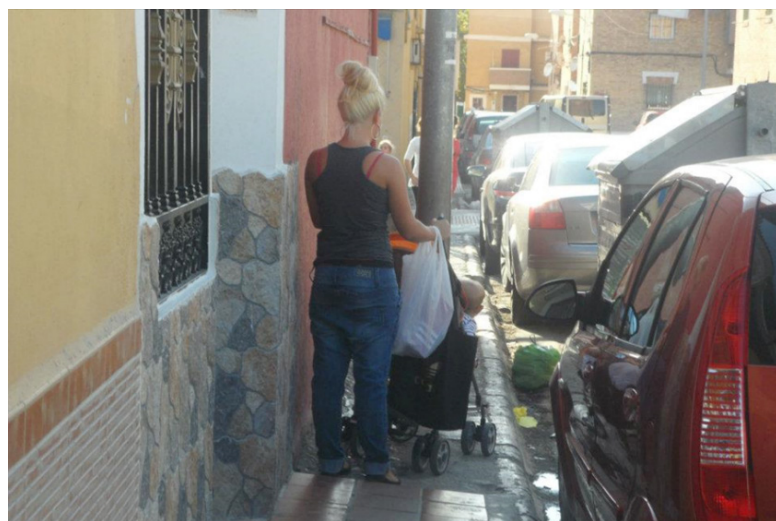
De entre todas las cuestiones que han sido revisadas por el Feminismo, hemos considerado 3 de especial relevancia por su problematización del espacio urbano como lugar que invisibiliza a las mujeres:

a) Seguridad y Espacio Público.

Se han realizado diversas investigaciones (Rainiero, 2009; Falú, 2009) que no sólo muestran un uso diferencial del espacio público por hombres y mujeres, sino que además, constatan que estas últimas, modifican y varían sus recorridos cotidianos, los lugares por los que transitan y el horario de muchas de sus actividades, por razones de miedo y percepción de inseguridad.

Las experiencias de las mujeres con la violencia en cualquiera de sus manifestaciones, está vinculada al sistema de poder y las relaciones de dominación establecidas por el patriarcado. Las mujeres conviven con esa violencia cotidiana en la ciudad, que intenta ser disimulada bajo la supuesta “configuración neutra” del espacio, pero el imaginario de subordinación que manejan no es disimulable y se refleja en sentimientos de estrés, malestar e inseguridad en la vida cotidiana. A menudo, evitan recorrer determinadas zonas a determinadas horas por miedo a ser agredidas, esta vez de la forma más directa: física y sexualmente.

El peligro que representa para muchas mujeres el espacio urbano, las lleva a salir con menos asiduidad y tranquilidad a la calle, y por tanto, a implicarse menos en los procesos participativos de la ciudad y a inhibir su habitancia política. Asimismo, el espacio



público puede ser una fuente de inseguridad y estrés para niños y niñas, para personas con movilidad reducida o para personas mayores, que encuentran en sus caminos de tránsito y lugares de estancia, numerosas barreras arquitectónicas, falta de equipamientos y de mobiliario urbano para sustentar su uso y disfrute³.

b) La ruptura de la dicotomía público/privado.

Un debate histórico traído por numerosas feministas en torno a la ciudad ha sido el de la separación entre el espacio público y el privado (*Fenster, 1999a*) y el de su estrecha vinculación con el pensamiento liberal androcéntrico occidental (*Pateman, 1988, 1989*) y su impacto sobre el reconocimiento de la ciudadanía de las mujeres (*Fenster, 1998, 1999b; Young, 1998; Yuval-Davis, 2000*). Este debate se vuelve hoy más pertinente aún, al repensar las ciudades como espacios adaptados a las necesidades de las personas, sus ciclos de vida y a sus aspiraciones de igualdad y sostenibilidad.

El Feminismo cuestiona la separación llevada a cabo por el sistema patriarcal. En primer lugar, porque fomenta la falsa idea de autonomía e independencia de los hombres, colocándolos únicamente en el espacio público, ajenos y separados de la satisfacción de sus necesidades de afecto, alimento, cobijo y comprensión que ocurren en el ámbito privado. Y en segundo lugar, porque coloca a las mujeres en el espacio doméstico, como cuidadoras abnegadas de la familia, con una ciudadanía pasiva y ajena a las cuestiones de la *polis*.

Como señalan economistas feministas, la división espacial de la ciudad basada en la división sexual del trabajo debe ser deconstruida porque:

- Es un obstáculo para el uso igualitario de la ciudad: los espacios urbanos están diseñados actualmente para favorecer el trabajo productivo impulsado por la economía y resultan muy poco amigables para las actividades del trabajo reproductivo, especialmente desempeñado por las mujeres.
- Invisibiliza el trabajo reproductivo realizado en las unidades domésticas y su impacto directo en la esfera pública: cuidar del hogar, de las personas dependientes mayores o de las parejas, sirve de apoyo para que estos individuos sean productivos en sus emprendimientos económicos, académicos, sociales y políticos fuera del hogar. El trabajo reproductivo debe salir de su invisibilidad doméstica para ponerse en el centro del modelo que pretende sostener la vida.
- Se refuerzan otras dicotomías jerarquizadas (producción/reproducción – valor/no valor) que perpetúan las desigualdades entre hombres y mujeres.

El planeamiento urbanístico y la arquitectura deben ser sensibles a esta realidad en la que lo público y lo privado se permean, si quieren estar al servicio del interés colectivo y transformar relaciones, usos, hábitos e imaginarios, que contribuyan a una sociedad urbana más justa y sostenible. Por otro lado, las soluciones habitacionales existentes, no pueden ser patriarcales y homogeneizadoras, sino pensar en la vivienda como un espacio multiusos, flexible y para el ejercicio de la igualdad, donde los roles históricamente atribuidos, se diluyan.

c) La visibilización de los tiempos y trabajos de cuidado en las ciudades:

La ciencia económica ha ido estrechando sus miras hasta convertirse en la actualidad

en una disciplina que estudia únicamente los fenómenos, bienes y servicios que tienen expresión monetaria en los mercados. Esto ha llevado a la construcción teórica de los procesos económicos como aquellos que se dan en el ámbito público, de la economía formal, industrial y monetarizada, y ha dejado al margen del análisis y en la sombra (Pérez Orozco, 2006) otra serie de procesos económicos y trabajos imprescindibles, como los trabajos de reproducción de las condiciones de vida, de cuidado de las personas y de la naturaleza.

Sin embargo, en la práctica, “las fronteras no son tan evidentes y muchas de las actividades básicas para el funcionamiento de las sociedades, para la satisfacción de las necesidades y el bien-estar de las personas son actividades que difícilmente encuentran expresión monetaria” (Del Moral, 2013: 70). Esto debe ser tenido en cuenta, porque el tiempo total dedicado a estas tareas no remuneradas es mayor al que se dedica al empleo formal proporcionado en el mercado y, además, se distribuye de manera desigual entre hombres y mujeres.

Para un diseño inclusivo y sostenible de la ciudad, estas asimetrías de tiempos, espacios y trabajos entre hombres y mujeres, también deben ser revisadas. Dos propuestas teóricas que resultan de gran utilidad para una comprensión más amplia de los procesos económicos en los contextos urbanos, y que por tanto, pueden ayudar a formular políticas urbanas tendentes a redistribuir de manera equitativa los tiempos y las cargas de trabajo total, son la Economía Feminista y la Geografía Económica Crítica.

La Economía Feminista propone “una recuperación de los elementos femeninos ignorados, de las mujeres como agentes económicos y de sus actividades como económicam-



Fig. 6 - Las mujeres recorren la ciudad de una manera diferente a la de los hombres, porque cumplen con el trabajo de cuidados socialmente asignado según sus roles de género.

ente significativas” (*Pérez Orozco, 2006: 12*).

Por otro lado, la perspectiva de la Geografía Económica Crítica introduce un lenguaje de la diversidad económica que permite repensar el objeto económico y explorar la intrincada interdependencia entre las actividades económicas monetarias y no monetarias en los hogares, en las comunidades y en los mercados, en el marco de una dura crítica al capitalismo.

Ambas perspectivas permiten ver el trabajo realizado por las mujeres en las ciudades para mantener las relaciones de convivencia, cohesionar socialmente sus barrios y, mejorar las condiciones de vida de la comunidad.

Teniendo en cuenta elementos señalados por los movimientos feministas urbanos como: el derecho a la seguridad y a una vida libre de violencia de todas las personas en el espacio público, sus necesidades de cuidado y, la importancia de utilizar otras herramientas de diseño a las que utiliza la disciplina urbanística tradicional, se pueden implementar políticas urbanas igualitarias e inclusivas que permitan reorganizar los espacios y tiempos de trabajo y vida en la ciudad de cara a buscar el bienestar de todas y todos los habitantes urbanos.

ENDNOTES

¹ Para profundizar en las diferentes características de los modelos de urbanismo hegemónico y alternativo-popular, es interesante consultar el artículo “Inclusión y exclusión de las mujeres en las políticas y prácticas de Renovación urbana” contenido en Tello y Quiroz (2009).

² Generalmente a través de la venta ambulante de productos elaborados en casa, la venta en el hogar de productos y servicios, el autoabastecimiento de agua, o la plantación de productos para el consumo en los patios y zonas ajardinadas.

³ Se han llevado a cabo numerosas iniciativas de diversa escala para repensar la ciudad desde las mujeres. Una de las experiencias de mayor calado, trascendencia y amplitud geográfica ha sido la del Programa Ciudades sin violencia hacia las mujeres, ciudades seguras para todos y todas del Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Mujer (UNIFEM), puesto en marcha con experiencias piloto en 2004 y generalizado en 2006.

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The gendered dimension of leisure: the case of young women in Athens.

Polina Prentou

Abstract

The use of urban public space by different groups of people is affected by the organisation of urban space and its regulations. The latest form different types of restrictions and controls of access to places into the city, based on various axes of differentiation and socially constructed hierarchies, such as the ones of gender, class or age of users.

Leisure is a field of socio-spatial practices that helps shed light into how city space is lived. This paper contends that seemingly neutral definitions of leisure as “time free from paid work” are often based on ideologies of the appropriate roles of men and women. For women, leisure is related to the chance of having a “time to be yourself”.



Shopping in the center of Athens (source: google search)

In exploring the issue of leisure, the paper aims to contribute to the aforementioned problematic and demonstrate how and why women's presence in public space is limited by various restrictions. The self-control and the fear of violence are present in women's practices in urban space, including practices related to leisure. But, on the other side, the confidence of some women to be present and use the urban space reconfigures and reproduces space available for other women.

The paper discusses everyday practices adopted by women for the use of urban space in Athens. It presents findings from 11 interviews of young women, aged 21-27 years old who live in Athens, about their leisure activities, the limitations they face on urban space and the strategies that they adopt to address them.

KEY WORDS

leisure activities; young women; everyday practices; gender

La dimensione di genere dello svago: il caso delle giovani ad Atene

L'uso dello spazio pubblico urbano da parte dei diversi gruppi di persone è influenzata dalla organizzazione dello spazio urbano e dai suoi regolamenti. Questi ultimi forma determinano diversi tipi di restrizioni e di controlli di accesso ai luoghi in città, basati su vari assi di differenziazione e su gerarchie socialmente costruite, come quelli di genere, di classe o di età degli utenti.

Il tempo libero è un campo di pratiche socio-spaziali che aiuta a far luce sul modo in cui lo spazio urbano è vissuto. Questo articolo sostiene che le definizioni apparentemente neutre di svago come "tempo libero dal lavoro retribuito" sono spesso basate su ideologie dei ruoli definiti per gli uomini e le donne. Per le donne, il tempo libero è legato alla possibilità di avere un "tempo per sé".

Nell'esplorare la questione del tempo libero, l'articolo si propone di contribuire alla suddetta problematica e dimostrare come e perché la presenza delle donne nello spazio pubblico è limitato da varie restrizioni. L'auto-controllo e la paura della violenza sono presenti nelle pratiche delle donne nello spazio urbano, comprese le pratiche legate al tempo libero. Ma, dall'altro lato, la fiducia che mostrano alcune donne nell'utilizzare lo spazio urbano riconfigura e riproduce spazio disponibile per altre donne.

L'articolo analizza le pratiche quotidiane adottate dalle donne per l'uso dello spazio urbano di Atene. Presenta i risultati di 11 interviste di giovani donne, di età compresa tra i 21 e i 27 anni che vivono ad Atene, sulle loro attività nel tempo libero, le limitazioni che devono affrontare nello spazio urbano e le strategie che adottano per affrontarle.

PAROLE CHIAVE

attività di svago, giovani donne, pratiche quotidiane, genere

The gendered dimension of leisure: The case of young women in Athens.

Polina Prentou

1. Introduction

The study of the urban space, in this paper, derives from the assumption that there is a co-construction of urban space and spatial bodies. Urban space is formed to a significant extent by the everyday practices of the citizens (Simonsen, 2003).

The term “gender,” as used to describe social constructed roles and behaviors of men and women, is a fundamental tool for feminist research and it is also adopted here. Issues like work, mobility and leisure also have a gender dimension. Women and men use and perceive urban city spaces differently. They use different formes of tactics, as their presence in the urban space is often controlled and limited. As de Certeau (1984) mentions, practitioners of the city follow the urban pathways, but at the same time they produce their own stories, shaped out of the fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces (cited in Simonsen, 2003). The city is becoming, in that way, a collection of stories. These stories are also treatments of space in that they suggest what to do, where and when. Different mental and symbolic mechanisms are involved in this weaving of spatial and signifying practices and they organise the invisible meanings of the urban space. They result in making places habitable or not (Simonsen, 2003).

The messages from the social environment of the people about the role of each social group in urban space play an important role in the formation of these mechanisms. The aspect of access to public space is one of the more critical ones. An ideal public space open to all different social groups seems not to exist, it is denied in practice. What it is meant by public is constructed and controlled by dominant social groups. In other words, public space could be identified as sets of multiple and differentiated public arenas to which some groups have access but from which others are excluded (Mc Dowell, 1999). Dominant groups use urban public space as a means of power and control, excluding the more vulnerable social groups. The exclusion of social groups from public space could also be done on the grounds either of transgressive behaviour or, alternatively, on the grounds of their need for protection from the dangers of public arena (Mc Dowell, 1999).

For women, their presence in city space and leisure activities is not taken for granted. It is often questioned, shrugged off and it causes a social alarm to dominant social groups. For women, the “right to the city” includes the struggles to emerge from the obscurity of the city and to shift the boundaries that separate public from private, city space from home (Vaïou, 2000). Because of the strong associations between women and the home, the investigations of public spaces have often focused on the problems and dangers

¹ The paper has been based on the oral presentation at the “Colloque international Masculins/Féminins, Dialogues géographiques et au-delà”, Biennale scientifique, December 10-12, 2012, Grenoble, France

that women experience “outside home”, compared with an assumption that men may take for granted their freedom in and dominance of these spaces (Mc Dowell, 1999). However, city spaces where women might escape from the confines of domesticity and male presence and control do exist, even if this happens only for short and temporary periods. The public and semi-public arenas of cities form those paradoxical spaces for women, where danger but also relative freedom awaits them (Mc Dowell, 1999).

The research is based on 11 interviews of young women, aged 21-27 years old that live and study or work in Athens, that are conducted in 2008-2009. All of the women are white, native-Athenian and belong to middle-class or bourgeois families. The interviews are semi-structured. They follow a series of questions about the leisure activities of the interviewees, the limitations that they face and the strategies that they follow. Some questions go back to the childhood and adolescence of the interviewees, as a way to better understand the context in which their femininity was created and how that affects their everyday life strategies.

2. A working definition of leisure

The term of leisure is defined through ideologies of masculinity and femininity, through ideas about the appropriate male and female roles, concerns and behavior (Green, 1996). After World War II, cities, mainly in Northern Europe, are formed through the assumption that men are travelling back and forth to the city centre for work and women are responsible for house-keeping and they are linked to their neighbourhood. The formation of the city in that way set the women away from the city centre and leisure activities and linked them with the house and the private sphere (Vaious, 1994, 2000; Vrychea, 2003; Wearing 1998). The definition of leisure as “time free for paid work” is based on working-class men and assumes that everyone has access to periods of “free time” (Green, 1996).

However, the everyday life of other social groups, such as women and young people, could not fit in that model. Young women, in this research context, define leisure as the time that they decide to spend on themselves, on activities that they wish to do. Most of the times, leisure has no specific characteristics, such as duration and frequency. Their free time is the time that remains from study or work obligations or other regular activities.

Time for leisure does not always exist. Because you always have things to do... but you decide to stop them and give some time to yourself. You know you do not have time for leisure... but you are so stressed that you really need a small break, so you go out. It is up to you to decide what to do. (Eleni, 24, postgraduate student on bioinformatics)

Other regular activities often include home-related chores, as shopping and house cleaning. The gender division of housework is evident in all interviews. It is women, either the interviewees or their mothers or sisters, which are responsible for house caring.

The men of the families are mostly related to business or errands outside home, and that only when it is necessary.

My mum is responsible for housework, but I help her a lot. I actually do a large part of home-related chores. (Mariza, 23, undergraduate student on Mining Engineering)

The time needed for home-related chores is an important part of what is defined as leisure. As Mariza mentions, if she could, she would like to take that time for herself.

Housework is a significant part of my free time. I like doing some of the chores, but, mostly, I do them in order to help my mother. I do the chores that I know my mum does not like doing. (Mariza, 23)

In their leisure time, the majority of the women that I interviewed choose activities without a specific plan, such as to go out for a coffee, to go to a theatre or a cinema. They mention as significant and important the fact that they can choose where to go, when and with whom. Those activities allow them to “escape”, even for a while, from their daily program. Some of the interviewees also choose to participate in a scheduled activity, such as foreign language lessons or sports, or to be a member of a sign-language group. Tzeni, the young woman that is doing the sign-language courses, stresses the necessity of being useful to the society, even through leisure activities.

Doing sign-language courses is something special. Through such a leisure activity, you can be useful to the others and to the society. (Tzeni, 24, undergraduate student in Medicine)

Therefore, leisure activities can act as “heterotopias”, as Foucault uses this term. Foucault suggests that “heterotopias” are “those singular spaces to be found in some given social spaces whose functions are different or even opposite of other” (Foucault, 1984: 252, cited in Wearing, 1998). In contrast to “utopias” which are fictional critiques of locality, without any locality, “heterotopias” could be real places of difference, which act as counter-sites or compensatory sites to everyday activity places (Wearing, 1998). Foucault uses the term “heterotopias” to describe spaces of resistance to dominant groups or ideologies, spaces for the renegotiation of the self. Leisure and leisure activities can act at that way. It could provide a personal space for resistance to domination, a space where there is room for the self to expand beyond what one is being told one should be. Leisure as “my space” could also include other people, relationships and group resistance. But it is the person that chooses how to use them in some way (Wearing, 1998).

Thus, spaces of leisure could be found everywhere, at home, at work or in city space. Young women in this sample, rarely mention time spent at home as leisure. However, when they choose to do home related chores, they have learned to enjoy them and consider them as part of their leisure. Open public spaces, like parks, squares and pedestrian ways, could be used as spaces of leisure. They could act as meeting spaces for people of different age, class and other social groupings. They are spaces where people could walk, meet friends, and get to know city space better.

3. The use of urban space through leisure

Examining the practices of leisure activities and spaces of leisure in the city, the differential types of restrictions of access and use of urban space faces among social groups cannot be ignored. Restrictions or limitations deriving from the family and wider social control, as well as from urban space, affect leisure and leisure activities. Issues of control from the family environment, self-control posed by the participants themselves and the concerns regarding matters of safety in city space are the main types of limitations that the interviewees mentioned.

3.1. Messages from the social environment

Inside the family space, parents are used to ask details about the leisure activities of their daughters, in order to control time spend outside the home. In most of the cases, they make phone calls or they wait awake until their children return home. The interviewees note that even in cases that parents do not express their disagreement verbally, they make their daughters feel guilty of their leisure activities.

I may tell him (my father) that I will be back at 1 am at night, but I know he does not like it. My father is used to stay awake till I return home. So, that way, even he does not express verbally, he shows his disagreement. It is like saying, “come back home, it is time for me to sleep”. (Tzeni, 24)

If it is late at night, after 12 am, and I am still outside home, my parents make phone calls. If I do not return home, they do not go to sleep. Especially my mum does. (Efi, 23, undergraduate student on Architecture)

The attitude expressed by women's parents, focusing on the concern to know where their daughters are, is a result of their anxiety about safety in urban space. This concern is related to gender-based roles and stereotypes. The dominant rules for women relate them with the home, the private sphere, and present the public sphere as dangerous for them (Green, 1990).

The construction of women identities often focuses on women vulnerability and, thus, the dangers of public space. But, what is known through several examples of empirical feminist research, it is that the fear and the insecurity of women in public are significantly greater than the real risk that they may encounter (Morrell, 1996). This fear is also socially constructed through parental warnings, discussions among friends, daily warnings that are being expressed in discussions with various parties, and the overall cultural reproduction of ideologies about women and the family (Valentine, 1992, cited in Koskela, 1997).

The stereotypes than link women with home still exist and they are transferred through the social environment. The interviewees mentioned that the gendered division of home-related chores and the gendered characteristics of some leisure activities tend to lead children to learn acceptable behavior patterns from the older persons of the same gender, the girls from their mothers, and the boys from their fathers (Shannon

and Shaw, 2008).

My mum prompted us, my sister and me, to learn and practice with embroidery act, to learn skills. She also does embroidery art and she likes it. (Tzeni, 24)

At the age of 8, my mum started asking me to do some chores. It was a motive to be more creative and gain a sense of duty inside home. (Mariza, 23)

As I. M. Young (1990) points out, women learn from a young age what is considered to be an appropriate spatial behavior code. They are encouraged to be less exploratory, more fearful and less physically active than men (see also Franck and Paxson, 1989).

Women do not use full capacities of their bodies: they rarely use whole body in physical effort, but just in parts; they usually hold their hands close to the body and legs close together, which make them more immobile; they often hesitate and are insecure in the abilities of their bodies; they experience their bodies as fragile and they are afraid of being hurt. (p. 33)

The female participants of the research, as they have been raised in a family environment with such limitations, they have also learned to follow what is considered to be the appropriate spatial code even in cases that there are no limitations from their families.

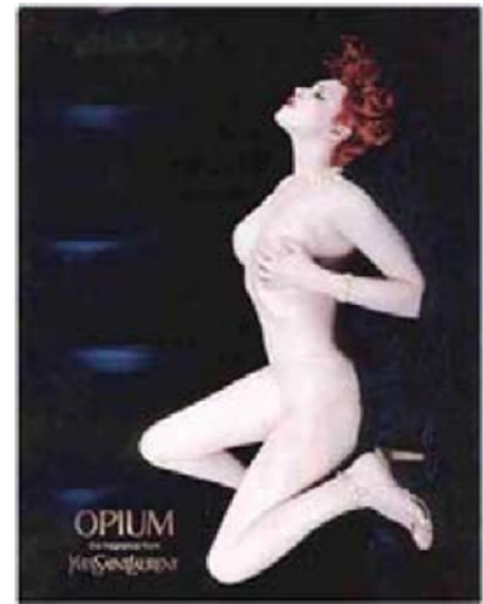
If, when I was 18, I would like to be out till 3 am, I would have limitations from my parents. But, I am used to be at home early; I do not like to be out till midnight. So, I do not have any limitations. (Eleni, 24)

Thus, they have learnt to return home early at night and inform their families about their leisure activities.

3.2. Messages from the urban environment

The urban city space is also gendered. It is full of images and messages about the proper roles and behaviors of women and men. Public monuments often represent sexual stereotyping images and roles. When men are portrayed, they are heroes, politicians or, more generally, prominent persons, who are shown strong and brave after a victory. In cases in which women are portrayed, it is primarily to symbolize justice, liberty, or some other impersonal concept (Franck and Paxson, 1989). Also, posters and advertisements show the accepted characteristics of men and women, the “macho” man and the “sexually available” woman (Weisman, 1994).

In contrary to the use of the female body to advertisements, which typically aims at showing pleasure and sexuality through leisure, the behavior of real women in spaces of leisure is controlled by the attitude of men (Green, 1990). While for men the fear of public space is based mainly on thefts or attempts of thefts, for women there are also small everyday incidents, such as teasing or signals from men on the street, which cause insecurity or fear. As surveys have shown, few of the women manage to escape from teasing, laughing, whistling or obscene gestures when they are in public. As one of the



interviewees describes:

It was about 5 or 6 pm and I was at the bus stop near my place. A strange man, probably immigrant, started asking me questions. At first he asked me about time, then he asked me if I speak English and, at last, that he loves me. He has grabbed also my hand. I managed to escape from his hand and I run to another bus stop. (Efi, 23)

The behavior of men sends the message that men are dominant in public space. Thus, this behavior discourages women to be active in public sphere. Also, it violates the female personality and it causes anger and uncertainty about what may happen (Franck and Paxson, 1989).

Moreover, the ideologies about the appropriate female behavior in the public sphere, allow women to be there only if they are accompanied by men. As research that focuses on everyday life and leisure indicates, women need an observable reason or “excuse” for being in public. Not only this may render their presence more justifiable, but it may also signal that they are not open to overtures (Franck and Paxson, 1989).

4. Strategies for the use of urban space

As it is already mentioned, women are more likely to feel unsafe in city space from messages that come from the others and from the lived environment. Those messages tend to discourage them from the use of city space through leisure activities.

Thus, for the use of urban space through leisure, women develop tactics or strategies in order to eliminate the possibilities of encountering an unpleasant situation. Many of women’s choices about leisure places and activities are the product of these “coping strategies”, which they adopt in order to feel that they stay as safe as possible. They pre-

Fig. 1 - The use of male and female bodies at advertisements. (Source: The Gender Ads Project, www.genderads.com)



*Fig. 2 - "Dangerous places": a park, an underground passage, an empty metro station.
(Source: personal archive)*

fer to go out in large groups and they take care of their clothes. They also construct mental maps of the places that they access as places to avoid.

One of the predominant strategies is the avoidance of perceived "dangerous places" of the city at "dangerous times". The types of places in which women do not feel safe are those where the behavior of others, mostly men, could be unregulated. Spaces of this type are large open spaces that are frequently deserted, such as parks. Another type of such spaces consists of spaces with limited exits where men may be able to attack women out of the visual range of others, like subways, alleyways and empty railway carriages. Such opportunities for concealed attacks are often reinforced by the bad lighting and the building and open space design (Valentine, 1989; Weisman, 1994).

If it is daytime, I do not mind. But, when at night, I avoid going from narrow, dark roads. It is preferable to walk more on a main road than to choose the shortest way through narrow streets. (Tzeni, 24)

Also, as Weisman (1994) points out, a woman walking alone in public is often considered as "open" to men, she could not protect her privacy. The presence of a man, even imaginary, helps at times women feel safer.

When I return home alone, I am calling my boyfriend. Just to show others that I am in contact with someone. (Eleni, 24)

However, some of the interviewees do have the courage to be active in public space; they take their place and enjoy it. Women are not merely objects in space in which they experience restrictions. They also do actively produce and reclaim space (Koskela, 1997). Contrary to descriptions of the media and the stories heard, when people have personal experience of a "dangerous" place, it is likely that they tend to come to perceive it as an ordinary place. Making use of space as part of everyday life can erase the myth of danger from it (Koskela, 1997).

I go to the city centre for the offices of "Medicines of the Word". The area is often described as dangerous, as migrants and low-income people live there. I am aware of the dangers, but I do not feel afraid going there. (Tzeni, 24)

5. Conclusions

Leisure, and activities through leisure, acts for women as a way to escape from everyday life, even for a short period of time. It is an "excuse" for them to explore city space, to learn new roles and behaviors and (re) construct their personal identities (Wearing, 1998). These identities and roles have a gender perspective, as the messages from city space control

proper behavior codes.

The presence of women in city space is controlled by fear or insecurity and the warning of not going out at “dangerous” times. It is a constant reminder that it is normal for women to be afraid, that it is not normal to have the courage to walk wherever she might want to walk, and even the women are meant to be afraid (Koskela, 1997). The behaviors of male users of city space and the messages from family and the lived environment put also limitations to women.

What is socially constructed and promoted as a proper gender-based behavior code affects leisure activities significantly. Women, often without recognizing it, impose restrictions and obstacles on leisure upon themselves. They avoid going out alone at night, for example, as a perceived precondition for feeling safe.

But women not only experience city space passively. Rather, they also take active part in its production (Koskela, 1997; Simonsen, 2003). They reclaim space for themselves through their everyday practices. Thus, women’s everyday practices and actions in city space can be seen as acts of resistance. “Walking in the street” or, just, “being there” can be seen as a political act (Koskela, 1997; Simonsen, 2003). It produces space that it is also available to other women. It is a motive for more women to do the same. The constant presence of women in city spaces of leisure could contribute to a contestation of women’s predefined and nearly exclusive relations to private space and proceed towards the (re)appropriation of urban space.

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LGBTQ2+ Experiences of public safety: theorizing violence in the *queer city*

Jen Robertson



Fig. 1 – Neighbourhood Watch sign in Toronto's Gay Village (Robertson, 2015b).

Abstract

The following paper uses geographies of identity around visibility and passing to frame safety and violence in public spaces through an LGBTQ2+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, two-spirit, and other sexual minorities) lens. Using the City of Toronto as a case study, the paper unpacks the current state of public safety as articulated by LGBTQ2+ people. Focus groups, interviews, an online survey and secondary readings are the data sources used. This study challenges conventional feminist safety planning and the concept of normal/abnormal uses espoused by proponents of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design by bringing queer intersectionality to the forefront of

discussion. The paper puts the recommendations suggested in the collected data into conversation with LGBTQ2+ specific needs around both creating safer cities and speaking of gender outside of the strict binary of cisgender heteronormative experiences. The proposed paper puts forward the concept that a safe city for queer and trans people is a city that is not just tolerant of LGBTQ2+ communities, or commodifying a facet of their inclusivity, but instead must be a city where queerness is actively integrated into its very fabric.

KEY WORDS

Safety Planning, Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, LGBTQ, Queer, Police

LGBTQ2+ Esperienze di sicurezza pubblica: teoria della violenza nella Queer City

Il seguente articolo utilizza le geografie dell'identità riflettendo intorno alla visibilità e passando a definire la sicurezza e la violenza negli spazi pubblici attraverso le lenti dei LGBTQ2+ (lesbiche, gay, bisessuali, transgender, queer, "due spiriti" e altre minoranze sessuali). Utilizzando la città di Toronto come caso studio, il paper scompone lo stato attuale della sicurezza pubblica, e lo articola secondo il punto di vista delle persone LGBTQ2+. Focus group, interviste, un sondaggio online e altre letture secondarie costituiscono le fonti dei dati utilizzate. Questo studio sfida la pianificazione convenzionale della sicurezza femminista e il concetto di usi normali/anormali esposti dai sostenitori della prevenzione del crimine attraverso la progettazione ambientale (CPTED) portando la disaggregazione della "diversità" all'attenzione del dibattito. L'articolo pone le raccomandazioni suggerite nei dati raccolti in colloquio con le esigenze specifiche dei LGBTQ2+ sia nella creazione di città più sicure e parlando di genere al di fuori dello stretto binario delle esperienze eteronormative cisgender. L'articolo propone il concetto che una città sicura per *queer* e *trans* è una città che non è solo una città tollerante delle comunità LGBTQ2+, o mercificante un aspetto della loro inclusione, ma invece deve essere una città in cui la "diversità" è attivamente integrata nel suo stesso tessuto.

PAROLE CHIAVE

Pianificazione della sicurezza, Prevenzione del crimine mediante la progettazione ambientale, LGBTQ, Queer, Polizia

LGBTQ2+ Experiences of public safety: theorizing violence in the queer city

Jen Robertson

Introduction

How can we plan and design safe inclusive cities? Who has the right to feel safe in cities? Who are these cities made safe for? Who is excluded from safety? What role does not only gender, but also sexuality, race and class play in identifying what a safe city should look like?

Many people researching and working in some form of city building may not have considered the multiplicity of safety and diversity along the axes of intersectional experiences. Much of the research, writings and practice on planning for public safety needs in cities erases LGBTQ2+ experiences (LGBTQ2+ refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and two-spirit. The plus sign stands in for the multiplicity of sexual and gender identities within and outside the LGBTQ2 acronym). The existing scholarship on safety planning tends to speak to designing out crime using primarily physical interventions done through Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), which centers on concerns that the aesthetic upkeep and design of cities is integral to maintaining safety and order as per the 'Broken Windows' theory (Crowe, 2013; Kelling & Wilson, 1982). Some feminist theorists do offer critiques of CPTED's limitations in the face of patriarchy, pointing out that highest rates of violence experienced by women is taking place in the domestic sphere instead of on poorly design streetscapes (Koskela & Pain, 2000). However, neither CPTED, nor feminist critics of CPTED, offer significant considerations on the needs of LGBTQ2+ communities within the impact of non-binary gender, white supremacy and economic injustice.

The research presented in the following paper seeks to both challenge the lack of LGBTQ2+ visibility in public safety planning, as well as build upon the existing literature to unpack the multitude of violence experienced by vulnerable populations in cities. In particular, we have seen transwomen of colour face a disproportionate amount of violence and consequently disappear from our communities, as well as violence enacted in the most brutal shooting in contemporary American history at Pulse nightclub, a gay semi-public space catering to the local Latinx community in Orlando, Florida (Doan, 2007; Ennis, 2015; Harris-Perry, 2016; Thériault, 2015). The paper concludes with some recommendations on how cities can be better planned and design for LGBTQ2+ communities, which are framed by the need to address systemic barriers to equitable cities.

Methods

The paper is built upon primary data and secondary readings on planning for public safety. Toronto, Canada is the case study context for this study, due to it being the country's largest city as well as a major hub of queer community (Nash, 2014; Nash & Gorman-Murray, 2014). Members of LGBTQ2+ communities are sampled through six interviews with service providers working with queer and trans people, four focus groups held in partnership with community organizations, and an online survey with one hundred and sixty seven qualifying respondents.

The service providers interviewed represent various facets of Toronto's queer and trans communities, including organizations serving religious queer communities, youth, pre-employment programming for trans people, trans healthcare, and a collective of queer and trans black, Indigenous, and people of colour. Since little has been written on LGBTQ2+ public safety, it is essential to talk to practitioners serving queer and trans communities to get a sense of their clients' specific experiences and needs around safety.

The focus groups were formed as an offshoot of the interview stage, sampling many of the groups who were interviewed previously. Four focus groups were conducted with community members, building upon the principles espoused by METRAC, a non-profit working to make safer cities for women and youth as well as a community partner in the data collection for this research. A principle framing METRAC's practices is that everyone is the expert of their own sense of safety, affirming that safety is both autode-termined and community-based (metracadmin, 2015). When planning for underserved communities, researchers and practitioners should establish lived experience as a valid and important source of knowledge (City of Ottawa & City for All Women Initiative, 2015).

The online survey was conducted to supplement the community based knowledge drawn from the focus groups and interviews. To qualify for the survey, participants must live in Toronto, and identify as a member of the LGBTQ2+ community. Although the survey got the most responses, the story based data on negotiating safety and violence in cities discussed in the focus groups and interviews frame the richest findings from the research.

Results

Participants frame a complex negotiation of safety, violence and harassment in public spaces. Many speak to facing verbal harassment or physical violence due to their gender presentation (whether it be as feminine or gender nonconforming) and race (most notably centering on the racial profiling experienced by participants of colour) (House of Constantine, 2015; Marvelous Grounds, 2015a; Open Call, 2015). Harassment is experienced and negotiated differently depending on participant positionality.

Some participants say that they fear masculine presenting people, particularly at

night. Others say that as a transwoman of colour, they experienced being a feared man of colour and now are negotiating feeling unsafe navigating the streets as a visibly transgender woman of colour (Marvelous Grounds, 2015a; Open Call, 2015). LGBTQ2+ communities consist of diverse experiences and positionalities, meaning that not all people in queer and trans communities are impacted by these diverse forms of violence in the same way. Special attention must be paid to the unique barriers faced by the most marginalized members of queer and trans communities from an intersectional lens, particularly along the axes of class and race.

LGBTQ2+ negotiation of safety is imagined in the coding of the data collected through four interlocking conceptualization of violence (see figure 1). They are systemic, interpersonal, lateral, and acts of violence (Ciccariello-Maher, 2010; College & Association of Registered Nurses of Alberta, n.d.; Government of Newfoundland Labrador Canada, 2015). Systemic, or institutionalized, violence is related to overarching societal and institutional structures. Participants who are low income experience systemic classism which limits their options around their transportation and living situation, which directly correlates to how they experience safety (Fred Victor, 2015). Many participants sampled want to live downtown, where they feel they may blend in and face less harassment, but are left trying to negotiate rising rents and unaffordability (Fred Victor, 2015; Open Call, 2015).

Participants of colour face systemic racism in the form of being stopped by the police or security guards without just cause. Many participants cite this form of racial profiling as the principle form of harassment they experience in cities (Marvelous Grounds,

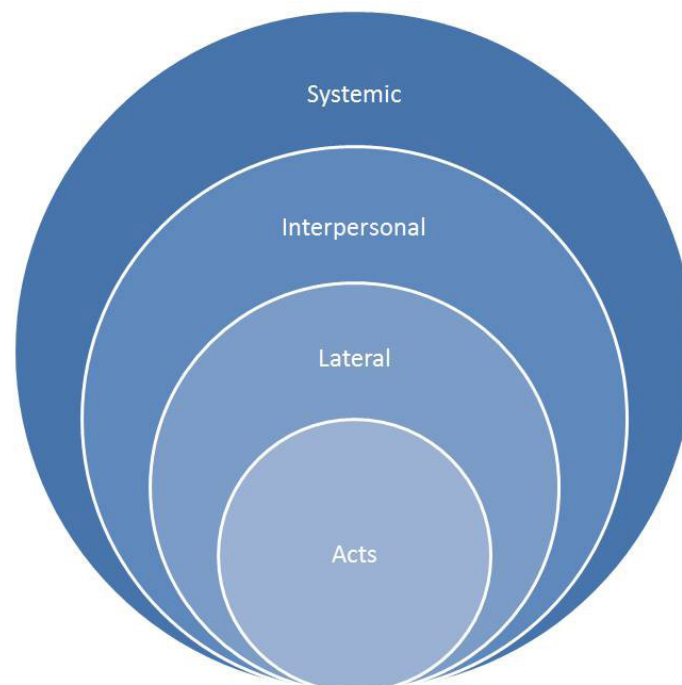


Figure 2 – Interlocking definitions of violence (Robertson, 2016b).

2015b). The racism that is institutionalized in policing disrupts the idea espoused by CPTED practitioners that spaces should be built for normal instead of abnormal users. A playground, for example, is built for normal usage by children, youth and their families. Abnormal users are those outside that catchment who may use the space regardless (Crowe, 2013). In a white supremacist society, non-white bodies are marked as more likely to be read as abnormal users in spaces (Collins, 1993; Dubrow & Sies, 2002). The conceptualization of normal and abnormal, and the subsequent assumed right for certain people to access public spaces over others, leads to the loose justifications of the murder of unarmed black men, as well as the harassment faced by the homeless and trans people reporting crimes to police (Cole, 2015; Fred Victor, 2015; House of Constantine, 2015).

Interpersonal violence occurs between two or more people and often, but not always, reflects systemic oppression. The principle difference between systemic and interpersonal violence is that systemic violence does not occur to society's most privileged, whereas interpersonal violence can feasibly occur to anyone, but often reflects oppression (Robertson, 2016b; Smith, 2011). For example, transphobia as barrier to employment and healthcare access is institutionalized violence. It becomes interpersonal when participants speak to doctors that will not serve trans people because they consider them outside their "scope of practice" (Rainbow Health Ontario, 2015). Interpersonal violence is intertwined with systemic violence, but as it is in its simplest form violence occurring between people, not all altercations will neatly occur between someone with extreme privilege and someone oppressed.

Lateral violence complicates the interplay of privilege, oppression and violence. Lateral violence occurs between peers instead of true adversaries within communities where some sort of power dynamic and a leveling force is at play. During one of the focus groups, a trans person says that they were attacked by a "group of Muslims" (Fred Victor, 2015). Muslim people, specifically immigrants from Somalia, are mentioned by focus group participants as "being the most transphobic and misogynistic" (Fred Victor, 2015). Another participant takes a taxi to work as they don't feel safe in their area because there are "lots of Muslims" (Fred Victor, 2015). The situations described by participants involve perpetrators who they read as being cisgender Muslim men of colour, who attack them as queer and trans people of various racial backgrounds due to their gender and/or sexual identity.

The situation assumes the gender, sexuality, religion and motivation of the perpetrators, as well as the intent of the attack, all of which may be untrue. Further, the complexity of oppressed groups enacting violence against each other is layered and multiple (Collins, 1993). One of the participants a focus group says that it is not uncommon for people from marginalized communities to behave oppressively towards each other. They say:

gay, straight, Black, White, mixed race, bisexual, etc ... we live in the same world as everyone else and it's not uncommon for us to internalize the same oppressive norms as everyone else, and then take it out on ourselves. (Open Call, 2015).

The participant is speaking specifically to the rampant discrimination against trans people both in the queer community and outside of the community. The analysis of lateral violence and intermingled systemic oppression holds true in a context where participants accuse Muslim people of being the most homophobic and transphobic as this claim strikingly erases the experiences and very existence of queer and trans Muslim people. This is particularly notable in the wake of the complicated analyses of the motives behind the mass shooting at Pulse Nightclub in Orlando by a rumored to be closeted but self-proclaimed Muslim extremist, and the death of Sumaya Dalmar, a Somali transwoman who was active in Toronto's queer Muslim and Somali community (Blinder, Robles, & Pérez-Peña, 2016; Harris-Perry, 2016; Mohyeddin, 2015). Intersectionality is helpful in framing queer people being Islamophobic as a form of lateral violence as it arguably hurts queer Muslims the most intimately.

The violence model proposed in this paper concludes with acts of violence. Acts of violence specifically describe the nature of the violent incident, including physical and emotional violence, as well as sexualized violence and microaggressions. Similar to interpersonal violence, although they often reflect institutionalized oppression in their enactment, many acts of violence can seemingly disrupt the narrative of the conventional perpetrator and victim. Notably, the conventional conception of violence espoused by many feminist theorists is that of women as victims and men as perpetrators in a heterosexual context, which is not necessarily applicable to a queer context where gender is more fluid and sexuality is non-normative.

Violence is intertwined in the systemic, interpersonal, lateral and acts. Although the framework put forth in this paper seeks to unpack the way violence is experienced in cities by LGBTQ2+ communities, there is no compartmentalized form of violence, and safety is complicated by the barriers faced by participants. The various positionalities experienced by participants, and in turn the LGBTQ2+ community, complicates how harassment is experienced.

Recommendations

Bridging the gap between results and policy, a number of recommendations are drawn from the collected data from LGBTQ2+ communities (Fred Victor, 2015, 2015; House of Constantine, 2015; Marvelous Grounds, 2015b; Open Call, 2015). The recommendations apply to all members of the public, but are outside the scope of what many urban planners would consider to be a part of their daily practices. City building as a whole should be built from the community up, and an awareness of the needs of marginalized communities helps frame the practices of bureaucrats, activists and politicians everywhere (Dubrow & Sies, 2002; Frisch, 2002; Sandercock, 1998).

Firstly, participants would like to see better reporting services to go to after incidents of hate crimes, assault, harassment, microaggressions or behaviour that makes them feel unsafe. This suggestion for policy stems from par-

ticipants feeling uneasy going to the police to report incidents due to fears that they will not be taken seriously, or will be blamed for an altercation that was not their fault, or be confronted with feeling re-traumatized. An independent reporting service that is not affiliated with the Toronto Police would help get a more accurate account of perceived and experienced safety, and would offer a reporting mechanism for incidents that may not seem appropriate to bring to the attention of the police (e.g. glances and stares, or institutional neglect).

The determinants of safety least affecting feelings of safety are insufficient signage, lack of maintenance of residential property and having too many people around, despite its prevalence in CPTED and 'Broken Windows' theories of aesthetic determinants of safety (Crowe, 2013; Kelling & Wilson, 1982). Participants also generally do not respond to feeling unsafe due to a **lack of territorial demarcation between private and public spaces**, despite it being emphasized as a source of safety in CPTED, but do feel as though being familiar with a neighbourhood greatly impacts their feeling of safety (Crowe, 2013). Despite the emphasis put on territoriality, maintenance and signage in CPTED practices, it was not a significant call to action for policymakers. However, other CPTED concepts are suggested as sites of change. Participants mention **insufficient**



Fig. 3 – Despite being emphasized by CPTED theorists, 'Broken Windows' aesthetic considerations for public safety factor as a low priority for participants (Robertson, 2016a).

lighting extensively, especially in parks and on the street, as a design intervention that could be changed by municipalities. They also **dislike entrapment areas, especially on public transit**, as well as some other design interventions done around isolation on streetcars and buses.

Public bathrooms are a site of discomfort and feeling unsafe by participants who identify as transgender and/or gender non-binary. **Retrofitting bathrooms in public and private venues to be fully gender inclusive through the use of single stalls and appropriate signage is a goal strongly emphasized by participants.** The emphasis put on making the semi-private space of a public bathroom stall safer for LGBTQ2+ communities also demonstrates the slippery divide between the private and public spaces that make up urbanized life. This paper is limited by its focus on public space exclusively, as public and private is an inseparable continuum. Despite public bathrooms being largely administered by private enterprises, such as restaurants and pubs, there is the potential to mandate gender inclusive bathrooms through municipal codes and property standards.

The criminalization of participants, particularly participants of colour, participants who use illegal substances, and/or sex workers, further marginalizes them. Participants call for the **decriminalization of marijuana and sex work**. They also call for dismantling, disarming, and **simply creating better relationships with the police**. They are collectively weary of cameras and security, but want better security around their own homes and communities that look out for their interests.

Poster campaigns and sensitivity training are strongly recommended by participants. Although participants were specifically prompted to speak to the value of a poster campaign on public transit due to METRAC's interest in the topic and status as a research partner, interviewees in particular mention safer space stickers and posters in schools, organizations and community centres as being an effective visibility tool. **Sensitivity training is also mentioned in the context of policing and public transit staff needing to be more aware of LGBTQ2+ issues, anti-racism and conflict resolution**, and as one focus group participants says, we need "sensitivity training for the entire world maybe" (House of Constantine, 2015).

Organizations seeking to make safer cities already exist in health care, education, local government, policing, housing, and other institutions. It is clear through the research results that these institutions have a ways to go around becoming holistically inclusive of LGBTQ2+ communities. **Participants encourage organizations to actively promote inclusivity and invite queer and trans communities explicitly to the table when making decisions. Organizations are also encouraged to engage with communities socially by coming to their neighbourhoods and actively building relationships with them.**

Systemic barriers impact participants, and so **they call upon systemic change**. Participants want a world without homophobia, racism, sexism, gay bashing, violence and jails. They do want better access to inclusive health care, employment, better wag-

es, no student loans or lines of credit, love, peace and happiness. Participants in one of the focus groups conceptualize their version of a safer city as being framed by an ideal, returning to a world before colonization, and a goal, which is the decolonization of our institutions and practices.

Conclusion

If everywhere is potentially unsafe for LGBTQ2+ individuals in cities, the iterative utopian ideal to be worked towards is a world where every space is at least a little bit queer. In Hanhardt's (2013) *Safe Space*, she ends the book with a chapter centered on the work done by the contemporary New York City queer people of colour activist group FIERCE. FIERCE members drew up their version of what they wanted the Christopher Pier, a gentrifying area in New York, to look like on their terms. Handhardt (2013) writes that FIERCE's mapped 'Dream City' "makes distinctively gay spaces more inclusive and, in fact, imagines spaces everywhere as potentially queer, both by loosening the status of gayness as unique – and exclusive – commodity (as Gay Index proponents would have it) and by making numerous peoples and places marginalized by heteronormativity central to broad queer political imagining" (p. 215). **A safe city for queer and trans people is a city that is not just tolerant of LGBTQ2+ communities, or commodifying their superficial inclusivity, but instead must be a city where queerness is actively integrated into its very fabric.** A safer city then, as envisioned in this research, must iterate through a series of goals to make a city safer with the ideal safe city always in mind.



Fig.4 – Mural in Toronto's Gay Village (Robertson, 2015a).

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Habitat III: Towards Gender Sensitive Urban Planning

Ana Sancho Martínez

Abstract

The Habitat III Conference, which aims to launch a new urban agenda, will take place in Quito, Ecuador, from October 17-20, 2016. In Resolution 66/207, and in line with its twenty-year cycle (1976, 1996 and 2016), the United Nations General Assembly is convening the Habitat III Conference to revive global commitment to sustainable urban development, and to focus on carrying out this “new urban agenda” based on the Habitat II programme of the 1996 conference held in Istanbul.

The question of urban planning in relation to gender, within the framework of its defence of urban settlements, has become essential for the national organisation of the United Nations in the Habitat I (Vancouver, 1976) and Habitat II (Istanbul, 1996) Conferences, and the consequent Istanbul Declaration of Human Settlements (1996). Since then, the Habitat programme has been a fundamental reference in establishing priorities for sustainable urban development suited to the needs of persons – among these



Quito, venue of Habitat III Conference

priorities is taking into consideration gender issues. The road leading to Habitat III is marked by many milestones, and several of them are cited because of their importance.

Habitat III is one of the first major world summits to be held after the adoption of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and its Sustainable Development Goals. It offers a unique venue to discuss the important challenge of how cities, towns, and villages are planned and managed, with the goal of fulfilling their roles as sustainable development driving forces; and therefore, to define the implementation of new objectives of global development and the Paris Agreement on climate change.

Likewise, Habitat III offers a renewed opportunity to analyse to what degree the gender perspective can be included transversally in urban planning, in order to promote everyone's rights to the city and design a genuinely inclusive public space.

KEY WORDS

Gender, cities, urban planning, Habitat III

Habitat III: Verso una pianificazione urbanistica sensibile al genere

La Conferenza Habitat III, che si propone di lanciare una nuova agenda urbana, avrà luogo a Quito, Ecuador, dal 17-20 ottobre, 2016. Nella Risoluzione 66/207, e in linea con il suo ciclo ventennale (1976, 1996 e 2016), l'Assemblea Generale delle Nazioni Unite ha convocato la Conferenza Habitat III per rilanciare l'impegno globale per lo sviluppo urbano sostenibile, e per concentrarsi sulla realizzazione di questa "nuova agenda urbana" sulla base del programma Habitat II della Conferenza del 1996 tenutasi ad Istanbul.

Il tema della pianificazione urbana in relazione al genere, entro il quadro della difesa degli insediamenti urbani, è diventato essenziale per l'organizzazione nazionale delle Nazioni Unite nelle Conferenze Habitat I (Vancouver, 1976) e Habitat II (Istanbul, 1996), e la conseguente Dichiarazione di Istanbul sugli insediamenti umani (1996). Da allora, il programma Habitat è stato un punto di riferimento fondamentale per stabilire le priorità per lo sviluppo urbano sostenibile, adattato alle esigenze delle persone - tra queste priorità sono da prendere in considerazione le questioni di genere. La strada che ha condotto ad Habitat III è segnata da molti traguardi, e molti di loro sono citati per la loro importanza.

Habitat III è uno dei primi grandi vertici mondiali che si terrà dopo l'adozione dell'Agenda 2030 delle Nazioni Unite per lo sviluppo sostenibile, e i suoi obiettivi di sviluppo sostenibile. Rappresenta un luogo unico per discutere la sfida importante di come le città e i villaggi sono pianificati e gestiti, con l'obiettivo di soddisfare i rispettivi ruoli come forze motrici dello sviluppo sostenibile; e quindi, per definire l'attuazione di nuovi obiettivi di sviluppo globale e l'Accordo di Parigi sul cambiamento climatico.

Allo stesso modo, Habitat III offre una rinnovata opportunità di analizzare fino a che punto la prospettiva di genere può essere inclusa trasversalmente nella pianificazione urbana, al fine di promuovere i diritti di tutti alla città e progettare uno spazio pubblico veramente inclusivo.

PAROLE CHIAVE

genere, città, pianificazione urbana, Habitat III

Hábitat III: hacia una planificación sensible al género

Ana Sancho Martínez

La conferencia Hábitat III, que pondrá en marcha una nueva agenda urbana, tendrá lugar en Quito (Ecuador) del 17 al 20 de octubre de este año 2016. En la resolución 66/207 y en línea con el ciclo bi-decenal (1976, 1996 y 2016), la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas decidió convocar la Conferencia Hábitat III para revitalizar el compromiso mundial de la urbanización sostenible y centrarse en la implementación de una “Nueva Agenda Urbana” basándose en el Programa de Hábitat de Estambul en 1996.

La cuestión del urbanismo y el género en el marco de su defensa de los asentamientos urbanos ha resultado primordial por parte de la Organización Nacional de las Naciones Unidas en las Conferencias Hábitat I (Vancouver 76) y Hábitat II (Estambul 96) y la posterior Declaración de Estambul sobre los asentamientos humanos (1996). Desde entonces, el programa Hábitat ha constituido una referencia fundamental a la hora de establecer prioridades para el desarrollo urbano sostenible adecuado a las necesidades de las personas, una de ellas, la de tener en cuenta las cuestiones de género. El camino hacia Hábitat III está jalonado por muchos hitos, reseñándose varios por su importancia.

Hábitat III es una de las primeras grandes conferencias mundiales que se celebrará después de la adopción de la Agenda 2030 para el Desarrollo Sostenible y los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible. Ofrece una oportunidad única para debatir el reto importante de cómo se planifican y gestionan las ciudades, pueblos y aldeas, con el fin de cumplir con su papel como motores del desarrollo sostenible y por lo tanto dar forma a la implementación de unos nuevos objetivos de desarrollo global y al Acuerdo de París sobre el cambio climático.

Asimismo, Hábitat III se constituye en una nueva oportunidad para analizar en qué medida puede incluirse la perspectiva de género en la planificación urbana de manera transversal, con el fin de hacer efectivo el derecho a la ciudad y de diseñar un espacio público realmente inclusivo.

Antecedentes

La I Conferencia de Naciones Unidas sobre Asentamientos Humanos tuvo lugar en Vancouver (Canadá) en 1976. Esta Conferencia dio lugar a la elaboración del Informe Mundial sobre los Asentamientos Humanos y a la aparición del Centro de las Naciones Unidas para los Asentamientos Humanos (CNUAH), precursor de la actual ONU-Hábitat (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para los Asentamientos Humanos). El tema prin-

cial de esta conferencia fue la administración y mejora de los asentamientos humanos en un contexto de urbanización sin control en los países en desarrollo.

La Segunda Conferencia de las Naciones Unidas sobre los Asentamientos Humanos (Hábitat II) se celebró en Estambul (Turquía) en 1996. El objetivo de Hábitat II fue tratar dos temas de igual importancia a escala mundial: “Vivienda adecuada para todos” y “Desarrollo sostenible de los asentamientos humanos en un mundo en proceso de urbanización”. En relación con el primer tema, el objetivo que propone Hábitat es conseguir que todas las personas dispongan de una vivienda adecuada, especialmente los pobres de las ciudades y el campo que carecen de ella, mediante un criterio que favorezca el desarrollo y la mejora de la vivienda sin perjudicar al medio ambiente. En este contexto, incluye una referencia expresa a las mujeres al plantear “ayudar a las organizaciones no gubernamentales y otros grupos a lograr la participación plena y en condiciones de igualdad de las mujeres y las personas con discapacidad en la planificación, el diseño y la construcción de viviendas adecuadas a sus necesidades concretas de índole personal y familiar” (UN-Habitat, 1996). En cuanto al segundo tema, el desarrollo sostenible de los asentamientos humanos, aunque tanto hombres como mujeres sufren ante las desarticulaciones y carencias producto de un desarrollo urbano excluyente, llama la atención sobre el hecho de que las mujeres son especialmente excluidas por cuestiones legales, culturales, políticas y económicas.

Fruto de la conferencia Hábitat II fue la aprobación de dos documentos: la “Declaración de Estambul sobre los Asentamientos Humanos”, que contiene los objetivos y compromisos adoptados por los estados miembro de la ONU para mejorar las condiciones de los asentamientos humanos, y el Programa Hábitat, que recoge el Plan de Acción Mundial: Estrategias para la Aplicación, también conocido como Agenda Hábitat.

Entre las prioridades del Plan de Acción Mundial destaca el objetivo de garantizar el acceso universal a una vivienda adecuada. Desde la adopción de la Declaración Universal sobre los Derechos Humanos en 1948, el acceso a una vivienda ha sido reconocido como un componente importante del derecho a un nivel de vida digno por el que los estados deben velar. Pero los gobiernos son conscientes de que no basta con un compromiso general para favorecer el acceso a la vivienda, sino que declaran expresamente la necesidad de atender a la situación específica de las mujeres, ya que a menudo tienen un acceso desigual a recursos como propiedad, crédito, capacitación y tecnología, lo que dificulta aún más sus condiciones de vida y las de sus hijos e hijas. Por ello, se comprometen a integrar la perspectiva de género en los programas relativos a los asentamientos humanos. De alguna manera, los gobiernos manifiestan una apuesta por la política de la diferencia que apunta a la necesidad de llevar a cabo políticas “encarnadas” que, más allá del objetivo general de garantizar el derecho universal a la vivienda, atiendan a las situaciones específicas en las que se encuentran las mujeres. Para ello, frente a la universalidad, la abstracción, la racionalidad que, de acuerdo con los postulados liberales, deben regir el espacio público y el diseño de las instituciones que lo ordenan, es preciso escuchar las voces de las mujeres, impulsando medidas que faciliten su participación (Innerarity y Sancho, 2014).

Esta apuesta por una política de la diferencia se manifiesta de manera especial en dos principios. En ellos se recogen dos consideraciones fundamentales que debe tener en cuenta el diseño de los asentamientos humanos en relación con el género.

El principio número 15 es sobre el rol de la mujer: la mujer tiene un papel de primer orden que desempeñar en el logro de asentamientos humanos sostenibles. No obstante, a causa de diversos factores, entre los que figura la persistente y creciente carga de la pobreza para las mujeres y la discriminación en razón del género, la mujer tropieza con obstáculos particulares cuando trata de obtener una vivienda adecuada y de participar plenamente en la adopción de decisiones relativas a los asentamientos humanos sostenibles. La emancipación de la mujer y su participación plena y en condiciones de igualdad en la vida política, social y económica, la mejora de la salud y la erradicación de la pobreza son indispensables para lograr la sostenibilidad de los asentamientos humanos (UN-Habitat, 1996: 15).

El principio número 31 hace referencia a la planificación: al planificar los asentamientos humanos debe tener presente el papel constructivo de la familia en el diseño, el desarrollo y la ordenación de esos asentamientos. La sociedad deberá facilitar, cuando proceda, todas las condiciones necesarias para su integración, reunificación, conservación, mejora y protección en viviendas adecuadas que tengan acceso a los servicios básicos y a medios de vida sostenibles” (UN-Habitat, 1996: 31).

Como se observa, atañen en primer lugar, a la situación de desigualdad que afecta a la mujer y la necesidad de remover los obstáculos que impiden su plena participación en el espacio público y, en segundo lugar, la exigencia de considerar las necesidades de la familia y favorecer su preservación con vivienda adecuada y acceso a los servicios básicos.

Hábitat II considera la necesidad de mejorar los asentamientos humanos, para lo cual deben ser coordinadas las políticas de vivienda con otras referidas a la mejora de servicios (como transporte urbano), evitando la segregación de áreas desfavorecidas que pueden convertirse en guetos y promoviendo la mejora socioeconómica de la población y el cuidado del medio ambiente (Elósegui, 1999; Loscertales, 2003). En sentido más general, la aparición de la perspectiva de género nos lleva a promover el papel de la mujer en el desarrollo urbano. Tenemos que repensar la ciudad para que el eje del planteamiento urbanístico y de la planificación de sus servicios y equipamientos, públicos y privados, sea el tiempo de las personas (Sancho, 2011).

En conclusión, la “Declaración de Estambul” del año 1996 constituyó una llamada de atención sobre la necesidad de lograr el compromiso de los gobiernos para integrar la perspectiva de género en las políticas relativas a los asentamientos humanos. Desde entonces, como hemos visto, el compromiso de Naciones Unidas con una política de planificación urbana que atienda a la diferencia de género ha sido constante.

El camino hacia Hábitat III

La implementación de las conclusiones de Hábitat II fue progresiva, tal y como reco-

noía su directora ejecutiva, Anna K. Tibaijuka en el documento “Igualdad de género para Ciudades más inteligentes. Desafíos y avances”, publicado por Naciones Unidas el año 2010 para presentar “un panorama de los diversos esfuerzos realizados por UN-Habitat con el fin de promover la igualdad de género en todos sus esfuerzos y programas” (UN-Habitat, 2010). En este proceso cabe destacar una serie de hitos importantes que reseñamos a continuación.

En primer lugar, uno de los primeros pasos en la aplicación de las recomendaciones de Hábitat fue la creación en 1997 de la Comisión de Naciones Unidas para los Asentamientos Humanos con el fin de dar seguimiento al progreso global en la implementación de la Agenda Hábitat y a las condiciones y tendencias urbanas globales. Fue el llamado Observatorio Urbano Global (GUO), la base mundial de datos urbanos de una amplia serie de ciudades en el mundo. Además, cinco años después de Estambul, Estambul+5 llevó a cabo un proceso de revisión oficial que comenzó en octubre de 1999 con el lanzamiento de la Guía para los informes de país, con el título “Indicadores Urbanos Estambul + 5” (2001), desarrollada por UN-Habitat. Esta Guía fue elaborada por medio de un proceso de consulta que involucró a los funcionarios de Hábitat, a gobiernos nacionales y a los socios de la Agenda de Hábitat. Se solicitó a los países que llevaran a cabo informes nacionales mediante un proceso consultivo utilizando comités de amplia base y haciendo un balance de género. Los informes debían realizarse a la luz de los compromisos y estrategias claves seleccionadas de la Agenda de Hábitat. La “Declaración sobre ciudades y otros asentamientos humanos en el nuevo milenio”, el principal documento resultado de la sesión de Estambul+5, reafirma todos los compromisos importantes de género de la Agenda Hábitat. Durante los comités preparatorios y la Sesión Especial, las redes de mujeres se conformaron para asegurar que el principio de igualdad de género fuese re-enfatizado, incluyendo el derecho de las mujeres a la seguridad de tenencia de vivienda y la participación efectiva en la gobernabilidad.

Desde entonces y hasta la actualidad, UN-Habitat publica toda una serie de documentos sobre estos temas que reflejan cómo el compromiso con la integración de la perspectiva de género en la planificación urbana sigue vivo. En este sentido, se publicaron en 2015: “Policy and Plan for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women in Urban Development”; en 2014: “Women and Housing Book: towards inclusive cities”; en 2013: “Women in Post-Conflict Settlement Planning”; en 2012: “A Compendium of Case Studies on Gender Mainstreaming Initiatives in UN-Habitat”, “Gender and Urban Planning: Issues and Trends”, “Progress Report: The implementation of the UN-Habitat Gender Equality Action Plan (GEAP), 2008-2013”, “Gender Issue Guide: Gender Responsive Urban Economy”, “Gender Issue Guide: Housing and Slum Upgrading”, “Gender Issue Guide: Urban Planning and Design”; y en 2011: “Designing and Evaluating Land Tools with a Gender Perspective”, y “Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming in UN-Habitat”.

En 2013, se reunió en Nairobi el Consejo de Gobierno del Programa de asentamientos Humanos de las Naciones Unidas en su 24ª sesión. En ella se debatieron temas de gran interés para el desarrollo urbano y el género. En la resolución 24/4 se trató sobre la

igualdad de género y el empoderamiento de las mujeres para contribuir al desarrollo sostenible, reafirmando la importancia de la cooperación entre el programa de las Naciones Unidas para los asentamientos humanos y la entidad de las Naciones Unidas para la igualdad de género y el empoderamiento de la mujer UN-Women, en la promoción del desarrollo urbano sostenible con perspectiva de género, tareas llevadas a cabo a través de los programas de evaluación de mainstreaming de género, como las realizadas por UN-Habitat en 2011. Se consideró, asimismo, la necesidad de eliminar la violencia contra las mujeres en los espacios urbanos públicos y privados, mejorando el diseño de los espacios e invirtiendo en infraestructuras y mejoras de seguridad, así como de incrementar el liderazgo de las mujeres en la participación en la gestión y planificación urbanas (UN-Habitat, 2013). La resolución de género (“Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment to contribute to Sustainable Urban Development”), fue presentada por Tanzania y apoyada por Noruega, Suráfrica y España (UN-Habitat, 2013; Boccia 2013).

En la resolución 24/11 de la misma sesión, se trató de la promoción del desarrollo urbano sostenible mediante la creación de mejora de las oportunidades económicas para todos, con especial referencia a la juventud y el género. Se considera la necesidad de ofrecer a las mujeres oportunidades económicas justas (acceso a trabajo decente, a infraestructuras y servicios básicos, a la tenencia y posesión de vivienda y tierra). En las ponencias presentadas por el grupo asesor en cuestiones de género en la 4ª sesión de trabajo, se discutió sobre el empoderamiento económico de las mujeres, considerando cómo la urbanización y la prosperidad no garantizan de por sí la igualdad de género y cómo se han de entender las condiciones de la vida cotidiana de mujeres y hombres en la ciudad: históricamente, las mujeres han sido relegados a espacios privados, como el hogar, y no han tenido presencia en el espacio público. La planificación debe, por ello, no ser neutral ni abstracta, sino que debe atender a las vidas concretas, siendo este el gran desafío para el desarrollo sostenible de la ciudad (UN-Habitat, 2013; Boccia 2013).

De especial interés con respecto a estos temas es la publicación “Planificación y diseño de una movilidad urbana sostenible: Informe Mundial sobre Asentamientos Humanos 2013”. El informe busca poner de relieve los retos del transporte a que se enfrentan las ciudades en todo el mundo e identificar ejemplos de buenas prácticas para abordar estos desafíos de una manera más sostenible. El Resumen Ejecutivo del Informe señala que “en todas las sociedades del mundo, los hombres y las mujeres a menudo suelen desempeñar diferentes roles. Hay razones sobradas para incorporar las cuestiones de género en la filosofía de trabajo de las organizaciones del transporte urbano. En los países desarrollados, los modelos de desplazamiento de las mujeres son a menudo diferentes de los de los hombres, sobre todo si están casadas y tienen hijos. En promedio, las mujeres tienen más probabilidades de trabajar a tiempo parcial y con salarios más bajos que los hombres, lo que a la larga contribuye a un aumento de los gastos en términos de tiempo destinado al desplazamiento. Tanto en las zonas urbanas como en las periurbanas, las mujeres tienden a hacer más viajes, aunque sobre distancias más cortas que los hombres” (UN-Habitat 2013). En la misma línea destaca Falú que el uso de la ciudad es diferente por parte de hombres y mujeres, puesto que las ciudades no son vividas ni

percibidas igual por ellas y ellos. (Falú 2013: 39). Es decir, una vez más, Naciones Unidas subraya la necesidad de atender al hecho de que las mujeres tienen necesidades específicas derivadas del peso que aún tiene en nuestras sociedades la tradicional división de funciones, que se plasma también en el diseño de las ciudades. De ahí que sea necesario no sólo atender al punto de vista de las mujeres en la planificación urbana, sino también, tomar medidas -en este caso relativas al transporte- que faciliten el tránsito del espacio privado al espacio público.

Ya en 2016, el encuentro temático sobre espacios públicos Hábitat III ha tenido lugar en Barcelona del 4 al 5 de abril. Como espacio público se define aquel que es de propiedad pública, o de propiedad privada pero destinado al uso público, y es accesible para el uso y disfrute de cualquiera de la ciudadanía de forma libre y gratuita. Para Joan Clos, director de UN-Habitat y secretario general de la conferencia Hábitat III, “cada vez más, los espacios públicos son percibidos como ejes vertebradores de las ciudades”.

El espacio público proporciona seguridad si tiene un diseño adecuado, y refuerza la identidad de los lugares y sus gentes, porque permite el desarrollo de actividades económicas, sociales o culturales a la ciudadanía. Además, el espacio público mejora la igualdad al promover la inclusión y ayudar a combatir la discriminación.

Los Objetivos para el Desarrollo del Planeta o SDG (“Sustainable Development Goals”), adoptados en septiembre de 2015, contienen el Objetivo N° 11, cuya finalidad es “hacer las ciudades y los asentamientos informales más inclusivos, seguros, resilientes y sostenibles”. Dentro de este apartado, se incluye el subíndice 11.7, indicando que; “para el año 2030, se garantizará el acceso a espacios públicos seguros, inclusivos, accesibles y verdes, particularmente a mujeres, niños, personas mayores y con discapacidad”. Se hace un énfasis en los espacios públicos porque éstos constituyen una parte fundamental del proceso de desarrollo urbano que trata de ser inclusivo, equitativo y sostenible.

En este sentido, en los eventos paralelos de la conferencia de Barcelona se trataron también temas de urbanismo y género, como la mesa redonda “¿Son los espacios públicos la llave para hacer ciudades más seguras e inclusivas en cuanto al género?”. Se expuso cómo los espacios públicos ofrecen oportunidades y retos para transformar los entornos urbanos para ser más seguros y más inclusivo para las mujeres y las niñas, así como para todo el mundo. Se exploró cómo las cuestiones de género y la planificación de la política urbana pueden ayudar a crear espacios públicos que promuevan la inclusión y el acceso a las oportunidades urbanas, con la participación significativa de las mujeres. Se trató, asimismo, de cómo los espacios públicos pueden lograr una mayor cohesión social, contribuyendo a que las mujeres vivan sin temor a acoso o a victimización basada en el género, y promoviendo la visibilización de las mujeres mediante acciones positivas.

Contando la participación de ponentes de Women in Cities International, Huairou



Fig.1 - Abandoibarra. Bilbao

Fig. 2 - RiaNervion.Bilbao



Commission, Col·lectiu Punt 6 y United Cities and Local Government (UCLG), entre otras instituciones, fue la ocasión de traer a colación temas como la no neutralidad del espacio al género o la edad (lo que debe ser reflejado en instalaciones e infraestructuras), o la necesidad de la ruptura de la dicotomía entre espacios públicos y privados para hacer ciudades más seguras.

Tras este análisis, la “Declaración de Barcelona” recoge en su primera página esta preocupación por crear espacios públicos inclusivos de los que forme parte el género: “En un mundo cada vez más urbanizado, el derecho a la ciudad se debe garantizar a las personas que comparten el espacio urbano hoy en día y para las próximas generaciones que lo van a heredar la mañana. Esto significa que es necesario que la planificación urbana y las políticas públicas sean capaces de producir ciudades más compactas y mixtas y que los asentamientos humanos estén marcados por el género y la justicia social.”

En mayo de 2016, se ha lanzado el “borrador cero” de la nueva agenda urbana Hábitat III, siendo elaborado sobre la base de las aportaciones de regiones y de consultas temáticas, así como las recomendaciones elaboradas por las unidades de políticas y los comentarios al respecto recibidos por los estados y por todas las partes participantes.

En su introducción, el “borrador cero” de Hábitat III destaca que “las ciudades son creaciones humanas, lugares en los que los habitantes aspiramos a llevar una vida pacífica; lugares saludables, prósperos y libres con pleno respeto de los derechos humanos para todos. Son lugares en los que nosotros, todas las personas, queremos alcanzar el objetivo de lograr la igualdad de género, capacitar a las mujeres y las niñas, reducir la pobreza, crear puestos de trabajo y generar una prosperidad equitativa” (UN-Habitat,

2016a: 1). Es de destacar la forma clara en que se relaciona lo urbano y la igualdad de género. Se concretan además otros aspectos, como la seguridad en la tenencia de la tierra asociada al empoderamiento, igualdad de género y realización de los derechos humanos (UN-Habitat, 2016a: 6); y destaca la diversidad en la ciudad, reforzada por la cohesión social, la inclusión y la igualdad de género, como elementos que fomentan una economía urbana activa (UN-Habitat, 2016a: 6).

En uno de sus compromisos hace referencia a la participación de las mujeres en la ciudad: “nos comprometemos a invertir en mecanismos sostenibles en las ciudades y los asentamientos humanos para que intervengan plataformas democrática que permitan la participación en los procesos de toma de decisiones y planificación, incluyendo enfoques sensibles al género” (UN-Habitat, 2016a: 7).

Con fecha 18 de junio se ha publicado la versión “borrador cero revisado”, que busca ser un “documento final conciso, específico y orientado al futuro y a la acción, que intensificaría el compromiso y el apoyo mundial para la vivienda y el desarrollo urbano sostenible y para la ejecución de un “nuevo programa urbano” (UN-Habitat, 2016). El “borrador cero” se ha enriquecido con las aportaciones de reuniones de consulta de participación abierta, audiencias informales con asociaciones de autoridades locales, y reuniones informales intergubernamentales, incluyendo la respuesta de los GAP (General Assembly of Partners), uno de los cuales es Women’s Partners Constituent Group (WPCG), quien remarcó algunos puntos que debían ser reforzados en relación al compromiso con la igualdad de género en toda la nueva agenda urbana.

El proceso y el pacto sobre el contenido continúan hasta el tercer período de sesiones del Comité Preparatorio, que tendrá lugar en Surabaya, Indonesia, del 25 al 27 de julio de 2016. Para esta reunión, la Asamblea General alentó a los Estados Miembros a que concluyeran las negociaciones sobre el proyecto para poder examinar el documento final con vistas a transmitirlo a la Conferencia Hábitat III de Quito para su aprobación.

De forma paralela, la reciente publicación de UN-Habitat “World Cities Report 2016” que lleva por título “Urbanization and Development: Emerging Futures”, realiza un análisis de las más importantes cuestiones urbanas que han surgido desde la Conferencia Hábitat II. Considera que el patrón de urbanización tiene que cambiar para responder mejor a los desafíos de nuestro tiempo, y para hacer frente a cuestiones como la desigualdad, el cambio climático, la inseguridad y las formas insostenibles de expansión urbana. El informe es muy explícito sobre la necesidad de garantizar una fuerte convergencia entre Hábitat III, la Nueva Agenda Urbana y los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible (en particular los que tienen un componente urbano), lo que proporcionará una actuación más eficaz.

Así, señala que “el marco de planificación en la mayoría de las ciudades no es sensible al género; en consecuencia, las mujeres a menudo se dejan fuera del proceso de planificación y de la toma de decisiones” (UN-Habitat, 2016b: 121). Dicha afirmación alienta la necesidad de participación de las mujeres en la toma de decisiones, tanto a nivel institucional como en foros intermedios de observación de las dificultades cotidianas, con el fin de lograr una ciudadanía activa (Innerarity y Sancho, 2014: 351).

Conclusiones: Hábitat III y un urbanismo sensible al género

En el borrador final se han incluido varios puntos que deben ser promovidos para planificar ciudades sensibles al género:

En primer lugar, es necesaria la promoción de una planificación sensible que incluya a las mujeres y sus diferentes usos del espacio y facilite su acceso en igualdad de condiciones, incrementando la seguridad en la posesión de la tierra (UN-Habitat, 2016c: punto 40), invirtiendo en sistemas de movilidad urbana sostenible junto con el diseño de equipamientos y servicios sensibles al género (UN-Habitat, 2016c: punto 9d), y proporcionando respuesta a los derechos y necesidades de colectivos en situaciones más vulnerables, incluyendo personas mayores, jóvenes, niños y niñas, etc. (UN-Habitat, 2016c: puntos 43 y 49).

En segundo lugar, se destaca la importancia de empoderar a las mujeres y a las niñas para que tengan una completa y plena participación en la toma de decisiones (UN-Habitat, 2016c: punto 9c) en lo que atañe al diseño de la ciudad según sus necesidades concretas, incluyendo aquí la prevención y reducción de toda forma de violencia en el espacio público y privado.

En tercer lugar, considerar el género como posibilitador de heterogeneidad y diversidad, así como fortalecedor de la tolerancia, la inclusión, y la cohesión social (UN-Habitat, 2016c: punto 46).

En cuarto lugar, introducir elementos de análisis y medida compuestos por indicadores desagregados por género y presupuestos sensibles al género, que puedan ser audita-



Fig. 3 - Parque Bilbao

dos en la planificación y gestión local (UN-Habitat, 2016c: puntos 117, 133 y 135).

Como conclusión, en los veinte años sucedidos entre Hábitat II y Hábitat III, y gracias al trabajo de numerosas instituciones y personas vinculadas a grupos de mujeres, se observa la inclusión en el documento final de una planificación urbana sensible al género, que se aprobará previsiblemente en la Conferencia Hábitat III de octubre de 2016 en Quito.

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Cities for whom? Re-examining identity, to reclaim the right to the city for women

Alicia Yon, SriPallavi Nadimpalli

Abstract

The right to the city contests causes and manifestations of exclusion. A large part of this exclusion can be attributed to the way cities are perceived and designed—they tend to reinforce existing hierarchal (in most cases, patriarchal) structures, which can be discriminatory. Moreover, the narrow understanding of the ‘end user’ blurs the social complexity of identity for particular groups. This paper joins Fenster (2005) in search of a gendered notion of the right to the city vis-à-vis multilayered intricacies around social identity and discrimination. More specifically, and in recognition of the complexities of diversity and difference, there is a need to understand and acknowledge the value of intersectionality and multiple layers of disadvantage and discrimination in order to



Fig. 1 - Melbourne, Australia - right to be safe driving research

build more inclusive and safer cities. This paper discusses the multidimensional nature of identity within the context of exclusion and reduced citizenship by drawing from women's experiences in Melbourne, Australia and Bengaluru, India. In Melbourne, the alienation of women with disabilities facing violence is examined. While in Bengaluru, domestic workers' increased vulnerability due to their lack of recognition is examined. Both cases show that the right to the city is embedded in power relations, which need to be challenged in order to renegotiate the women's right to the city.

KEY WORDS

Identity, discrimination, right to the city, intersectionality, inclusion

Città per chi? Riesaminare l'identità, per rivendicare il diritto alla città per le donne

Il diritto alla città pone in discussione le cause e le manifestazioni di esclusione. Una gran parte di questa esclusione può essere attribuita al modo in cui le città sono percepite e progettate - esse tendono a rafforzare le esistenti strutture gerarchiche (nella maggior parte dei casi, patriarcali), che possono essere discriminatorie. Inoltre, la stretta definizione di "utente finale" offusca la complessità sociale dell'identità di particolari gruppi. Questo articolo si associa al pensiero di Fenster (2005) alla ricerca di una nozione di genere del diritto alla città di fronte alla complessità multidimensionale in relazione all'identità sociale e alla discriminazione. Più in particolare, e riconoscendo la complessità della diversità e della differenza, vi è la necessità di comprendere e riconoscere il valore della disaggregazione e dei molteplici strati che costituiscono le questioni della disabilità e della discriminazione al fine di costruire città più inclusive e più sicure. Questo articolo discute la natura multidimensionale dell'identità nel contesto dell'esclusione e della cittadinanza limitata attingendo dalle esperienze delle donne a Melbourne, in Australia e Bangalore, in India. A Melbourne, viene discusso il tema dell'alienazione delle donne con disabilità che affrontano la violenza. Mentre in Bangalore, si esamina la maggiore vulnerabilità dei lavoratori domestici a causa della loro mancanza di riconoscimento. Entrambi i casi dimostrano che il diritto alla città è incorporato nelle relazioni di potere, che hanno bisogno di essere messe in discussione, al fine di rinegoziare il diritto delle donne alla città.

PAROLE CHIAVE

Identità, discriminazione, diritto alla città, disaggregazione, inclusione

Cities for whom? Re-examining identity, to reclaim the right to the city for women

Alicia Yon, SriPallavi Nadimpalli

1. Theoretical positioning of the right to reclaim the city for women

Henri Lefebvre's 'right to the city' provides a reformist platform for reducing social exclusion, discrimination and inequality. More precisely, the Lefebvrian imaginary examines the right to access urban resources and the right to participate equitably in the city. However, a barrier to achieving any notion of rights to the city is asymmetrical power relations. Other barriers that impede the right to the city include violence (Whitzman et al. 2013), poverty (UNCHR, 2002), structural barriers (UN Habitat, 2015), which impact citizens' ability to fully and freely participate in city life. The lack of perception of gendered power relations (Fenster, 2005) also poses a barrier, and opens the debate to a feminist argument towards the politics of difference, highlighting the extent to which access and use rights for women are denied. The right to the city, from this standpoint, fails to address multiple disadvantage and multiple discrimination in everyday life.

Purcell (2002, p. 99) reminds us that 'the right to the city is not a panacea', but merely a starting point. One means of interpreting the right to the city is through an intersectional lens. Crenshaw's 'intersectionality' argues that multiple axes of social identity interrelate and create multiple forms of oppression or discrimination. Intersectionality can facilitate a more inclusive and integrated approach to framing urban policy, to enable access and participation.

This paper builds on two arguments for rights to the city—Fenster's (2005) gendered right to the city and Crenshaw's (1989) intersectional approach to rights discrimination. In doing so, this paper is organised in three parts. In the first two parts we explore two cases in the contrasting contexts of Melbourne and Bengaluru, by highlighting how particular rights are denied through the long condemned authoritarian mode of urban management. By taking into account the barriers faced by women on the margins of society, a situated analysis defines the multiple layers of identity and exclusion for each case. In the third part we make a case for intersectionality, to bring prominence to social inclusion of vulnerable groups within a right to the city argument. Importantly, better inclusion is a shared responsibility and can only be accomplished through collaboration within an integrated and multi-sectoral framework, essential for both broad-based intervention and long-term sustainable work (Whitzman et al. 2013); hence, this analysis is framed within an inclusive planning approach to policy.

2. The case of Melbourne, Australia

Disability-based violence in focus

It is widely acknowledged in Australia and beyond that women with disabilities experience disproportionately higher rates and a wider range of violence than other women (Nixon, 2009; Healey, Humphries & Howe, 2013) or than men with disabilities (Wensing, 2014). Women with disabilities experience violence for longer periods (Barrett et al. 2009), repeatedly and in more severe episodes (Frohman, 2011), by multiple perpetrators including carers (Sobsey, 2000), service providers (Frantz et al. 2006), family and intimate partners, in a variety of settings (Woodlock et al. 2014). In Australia, they are four times more likely to experience domestic violence than other women (Cox, 2015), and an alarming ninety per cent of women with intellectual disabilities have experienced sexual violence (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2010). Despite a heightened risk of violence for women with disabilities in Australia, there is a lack of systematic data collection (Frohman, 2011; Woodlock et al. 2014), making it difficult to quantify prevalence in order to make it visible.

Women with disabilities have limited pathways to safety (Healey et al. 2013; Healey, Humphries & Howe, 2013) when trying to flee violent situations, despite experiencing higher levels of violence and abuse. They continue to experience unmet needs in the current crisis response system around housing, physical access, access to information, structural and attitudinal barriers, and so forth. For example, Woodlock and colleagues (2014, pp. 17-18) discovered that local violence response services for women with disabilities in the State of Victoria are “difficult to navigate, ... often ... poor” and neither inclusive, nor appropriate or accessible. The lack of adequate support service provision is major source of social isolation and deprivation for people with disabilities overall. The confluence of these factors highlights a reality marred by injustice for these women, which manifest in barriers to their right to the city and thus reduced citizenship.

The intersecting nature of gender, disability and violence

Violence compounds the marginality effects of gender and disability. This ‘triple jeopardy’ (Astbury & Walji, 2013) phenomenon takes place at the intersection of multiple forms of oppression, discrimination and exclusion. Importantly, disability-based violence is not merely a subset of gender-based violence, but an intersectional category of the two, which significantly increases the threat of violence for women with disabilities (International Network of Women with Disabilities, 2010). Notwithstanding an inextricable link between gender, disability and violence, as elaborated by Nixon (2009), Astbury and Walji (2013), and Woodlock et al. (2014), there remains a gap around their intersection in current urban scholarship. Urban planning responses have hitherto failed to consider the combined effects of gender, disability and violence intersects. Consideration of their combined impact is paramount in the pursuit of inclusive cities, especially when viewed in the context of the well-recognised link between increased life expectancy and the prevalence of disability (Chappell & Cooke, 2010). Of particular relevance,

women are at an elevated risk of experiencing disability than men, both in working age (Schneider & Quist-Newins, 2012) and in old age (Andrade et al. 2011).

A lack of policy or a policy lack?

The Australian government's recent policy initiative currently being rolled out, the *National Disability Insurance Scheme* (NDIS), is a crucial social reform that paves the way for how disability support services are delivered across Australia. The NDIS is premised on making visible and integrating people with disabilities into the fabric of the society. It recognises that in Australia, a country where most people enjoy opportunity of access to public goods and services, people with disabilities do not have the same basic rights (Bennett, 2011, p. 8). The NDIS has parallels with a right to the city approach in that it contests (some) barriers to access and participation, by affording people with disabilities greater choice, autonomy and control for active participation in community life. Rooted in the *Convention of the Right of Persons with Disabilities*, the right of people with disabilities to be safe from violence, exploitation and neglect is identified as a key policy priority of the NDIS, with particular recognition that women and men with disabilities require different supports because of the differential in gendered experiences. However, individual action plans at the state level remain gender-neutral.

Even though the prevention of violence against women has become an important policy driver for Australian authorities, relevant policy objectives, including the NIDS, are eclipsed by a serious neglect around recognising the intersectional nature of violence against women with disabilities (VAWD) in all its manifestations. This neglect translates to 'legislative, policy and service delivery gaps' (Frohmader et al. 2015, p. 5), which can be attributed to a lack of a national integrated policy framework. For example, when it comes to violence, disability law and its supporting policy framework, such as the NDIS, do not address the rights of women with disabilities. Similarly, laws on preventing violence against women are not effective in respect of VAWD. VAWD continues to fall between policy cracks as a result of the failure to understand the intersectional nature of the violence that women with disabilities experience, and the intersecting forms of discrimination which make them more vulnerable to and at a higher risk of experiencing violence. The lack over recognising the multidimensionality of identity and discrimination not only constitutes a human rights violation but also undermines these women's right to the city.

Defining the right to the city for women with disability facing violence

Violence does not discriminate on the basis of, for example, gender, age, race, ability. The way in which the relationship between gender, disability and violence is understood has significant implications for how we identify and respond to violence against people with disabilities. Intersectional discrimination manifests in discrimination on more than one ground of identity markers, which are often interrelated and cannot be separated. Moreover, people with disabilities are subject to the effects of an ableist society and ableist practices. Pervasive ableist practices continue to discriminate, isolate

and severely limit people with disabilities' rights, aspirations, freedoms and prospects of human flourishing. The Melbourne case accentuates the 'triple jeopardy' complexity which flies in the face of current policy responses that tend to compartmentalise without recognising intersections with multiple disadvantage and vulnerability. Given the uniqueness, prevalence and particularity of impacts, violence against women with disabilities demand very specific consideration and redress. Any attempt to realise rights to the city for these women city must consider the intersectional nature of identity and discrimination as steps towards safer and more inclusive cities for *all* women.

3. The case of Bengaluru, India

Understanding the 'neutral' urban female in India

The physical manifestation of space is usually an extension of the pre-existing norms (*inter alia* social, economic, political, cultural) or societal hierarchies (Desai, 2007; Phadke, Khan & Ranade, 2011). The traditional gendered dichotomy of public and private space not only affects the design of both, but it also defines the 'sense of belonging' for different individuals based on their attributes like gender, caste, religion, age. In the Indian context, patriarchal control is relatively predominant in comparison to some other contexts. Women "traditionally seen as unsullied by the vagaries of the outside world, often become the symbolic markers of the community, the keepers of its tradition, and the bearers of its honour. Controlling them becomes synonymous with the protection of the community" (Phadke et al. 2011, p. 17-18). This protectionism offered to 'keep the women safe' imposes behavioural norms (in the way they walk, talk, dress, move, and so forth) and affects the way a woman perceives and accesses space. Safety and accessibility concerns further complicate everyday life and mobility for women of marginalised/disadvantaged groups.

Domestic workers need to be examined against the backdrop of these existing patriarchal controls, before understanding the complexities they face as migrants, as a low-income group, and as a marginalised group.

Domestic workers

Domestic workers make up one of the largest sectors of work in urban India, where a significant number of workers are women (Ministry of Labour and Employment, 2011). They are an invisible workforce that undertake menial tasks at the household level and indirectly support their employers to contribute effectively to the formal and 'productive' employment sector. In spite of their increasing numbers, their contribution is not recognised as 'work' and is undervalued (Bhattacharya & Sinha, 2009; Madhumathi, 2013; Chigateri, Zaidi & Ghosh, 2016). Domestic work is usually "characterised by informality, precarity, poor working conditions including poor pay, lack of minimum wages, long working hours, lack of rest periods and adequate leave, lack of job security, poor or non-existent maternity and other work benefits (such as child care, pensions, medical

insurance), arbitrary dismissals without notice or compensation, acute lack of social security and protection, and caste, class and gendered discrimination” (Chigateri et al., 2016, p. 93).

Domestic workers are an important workforce in Bengaluru. The city houses one of the largest Information Technology (IT) hubs (both in the state of Karnataka and nationally) that generates about 200,000 jobs a year and provides employment to nearly 10 million people (Kannan, 2013). These opportunities have brought with it a massive influx of internal migrant population of skilled professionals (to support the IT and related industries), as well as low-skilled workers (who typically engage in the informal sector). In addition to this, various micro-studies across the country have identified that migrants (low skilled) comprise of a large share of domestic workers (Bhagat, 2011; Madhumathi, 2013). With the increasing influx of professionals and double income households, there is an increasing need for domestic workers. Given the low-skill requirement of domestic work, it is the preferred employment option for few migrants, even with the poor work conditions and low wages. In spite of this socio-economic interdependence and the contribution of the domestic workers to the local and national economies, this group is overlooked in larger discussions about the city’s economy and growth.

Problems and limitations

a) *Defining and counting the ‘domestic worker’*: The nature of domestic work is diverse and it is difficult to categorize them solely based on the tasks performed. The tasks could range from household chores, care for the elderly, childcare, cooking, driving,



Fig. 2 - Domestic worker engaged in gardening

grocery shopping, pet care, running errands, to any ad hoc task assigned by the employer. Further, domestic workers can be either live in (a space assigned by the employer) or live out, work full-time or part-time with either a single employer or multiple employers (Mehrotra, 2010; Madhumathi, 2013). These variations make it extremely difficult to define the group based on a singular focus.

Recent discussion on the subject emphasises the need for a comprehensive definition that would include a “degree of specialization and the multiplicity of tasks performed, as well as the location at which the work is performed” (Chigateri et al. 2016, p. 94). An all-inclusive definition would give the group better recognition and support within regulatory frameworks. The existing definitions used in the Indian context are not comprehensive enough to take account of differences across domestic workers (based on gender, caste, religion, etcetera).

A major concern arising from definitional issues is the lack of reliable, consistent data that can be used to increase visibility of domestic workers in policy discussions. A recent ILO report (2013) noted a stark difference in the numbers reported on domestic worker numbers in India (by both government and NGOs)—which ranged between 2.5 million to 90 million workers. While obtaining reliable statistics on workers has become a challenging task, the lack of a gendered perspective within existing figures blurs the differences within the group. Further, as their ‘place of work’ is within a family household setting, it is not considered as an industry, leaving it out of the purview of the labour laws thereby resulting in unregulated working conditions (Mehrotra, 2010; Chigateri et al. 2016).

b) Domestic work as gendered and reproductive work: Domestic work is viewed as an extension of housework, which is usually considered feminised due to the existing patriarchal influence on the division of responsibilities/ tasks within the private sphere. This situation is paradoxical, as domestic work is devalued by employers (usually female), who struggle to balance the double burden of work and home due to gendered role expectations. Sometimes, domestic work undertaken by women of economically weaker classes and lower castes is even more undervalued because of their lower social status, and at times results in discriminatory and abusive behaviours.

Further, the gendered division of labour, affects the work assignment and pay scales. For example, menial household tasks like sweeping, cleaning, and so forth, are assigned to women, while some tasks, like cooking, tend to engage both men and women. Other tasks considered to be more skilled, like gardening, security work, driving, usually engage male domestic workers and the pay is relatively higher (Bhattacharya et al. 2009).

c) Lack of clear regulatory frameworks: In India, there is no comprehensive legislation that addresses domestic work. There is also a lack of strong implementation mechanisms to operationalise existing policies and legislations. However, at the national level, the “inclusion of domestic work in the Child Law (Prohibition and Regulation Act) 1986 (through an amendment in 2006), the Unorganised Social Security Act 2008 and



Fig. 3 - Domestic worker engaged in household chores

the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act 2013 have been landmark moments in the regulation of domestic work in India, and all of them have resulted from mobilisations by domestic workers.” (Chigateri et al. 2016, p. 106). In addition to this, organisations and activists have also been working since the 1980s, in multiple locations, to organise domestic workers, empower them and advocate for their rights (Mehrotra, 2010; Chigateri et al. 2016). Some states have rolled out some legislations to recognise their ‘work’ and ensure minimum wages.

The state of Karnataka has a relatively longer history of mobilisations on domestic workers and it currently has 6 sector-specific unions which includes one of the first unions (for domestic workers) to be established in India. It was also one of first states to fix a minimum living wages in 2004 between INR 1600 - 1800 (approx. USD 24 - 27) for an eight-hour day of domestic work. However, there is disagreement on the calculation methodology used, which assumes that the domestic worker is only an additional income contributor to the family. This also overlooks workers’ overall household expenses, making wages grossly insufficient to meet even a quarter of their needs (Hamid, 2006; Chigateri et al. 2016).

In spite of numerous initiatives at both state and national levels, to recognise and value domestic workers, they are insufficient and lack a holistic approach that considers inherent complexities and diversity.

d) The migrant problem: The study of migration of women in India has only recently gained recognition as a separate and different category, and not solely associated with patterns of male migration (Chigateri et al. 2016). While migration with spouse and families continue, there is an increase in women migrating for independent reasons. A micro-study in Bengaluru identifies the lack of employment, as one of the predominant reasons for migration of women, while marriage, poverty, and children’s education were identified as some other reasons (Madhumathi, 2013).

In spite of the contribution of internal migrants to the growth of Indian cities, they face several barriers in terms of “access to civic amenities, housing, employment, as well as restrictions on their political and cultural rights because of their linguistic and cultural differences” (Bhagat, 2011, p. 48). The lack of affordable housing sometimes forces these workers to live in make-shift tents. The lack of/limited accessibility to toilets or bathrooms (sometimes both at work and at home) force them to defecate in the open (Madhumathi, 2013). Living in informal settlements usually leaves the migrants with no proper identification (like proof of address), making it difficult to legitimise their presence in the city, vote, open a bank account, send their children to school, access medical facilities or access subsidies (specifically designed for the low income groups) and other facilities or services that are available to all citizens (Bhagat, 2011; Madhumathi, 2013). Further, difficulty in caring for their children and elderly family members, especially in

an unfamiliar environment, affects domestic workers' decisions on the hours/ terms of work (Bhattacharya et al. 2009), choice of domicile, commuting patterns, etcetera.

Migrants are rarely included in discussions of planning processes and other programmes, primarily because they are perceived as a nuisance or outsiders. City planning agendas remain technocratic, devoid of an inclusive approach that seldom includes citizen participation. The national government has rolled out development programmes, like the Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) and Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), to improve infrastructure, governance and accessibility to basic services for the urban poor, but they do not specifically include a gender lens and/or explicitly consider the issues of marginalised and excluded groups (Bhagat, 2011; UN Women, 2012).

Defining the 'right to the city' for domestic workers

Understanding the barriers to the 'right to the city' for domestic workers, particularly women, is a herculean task of uncovering multiple layers of discrimination and isolation. The first and biggest problem is reduced citizenship, emerging from the definitional constraints, thereby making them an invisible workforce that silently contributes to the city economy. Further, their low skill, low education, and migrant status make it difficult for them to be recognised as citizens with full access to urban resources. Secondly, patriarchal controls influence strongly at both public and private spheres. Patterns of movement - internal migration, movement within cities - are dictated by these patriarchal controls which limit the choice of work, place of work, hours of work, pay scales, location of domicile, doubles household and familial responsibilities, affects the feeling/fear of safety and security, among a multitude of other concerns. The juxtaposition of the lack of sufficient structural and institutional support for the domestic workers' group (to recognise their work and ensure fair working conditions) with an unfavourable built environment (access to affordable housing, basic amenities, transportation and mobility), social stereotypes (gender, caste, religion, class, age, etcetera) and negative stigmatisation as migrants, push them to lowest position on the social pyramid. These factors result in multiple levels of discrimination, and complicate domestic workers' 'sense of belonging' as well as limit their right to engage and participate in the city.

Evidently, the discussion on domestic workers, while not completely absent in national, state and local-level discussions, is insufficient. The case of the domestic workers is an indication of how important, yet invisible groups, can fall through the crevices of the larger policy discussions with respect to city development. The intersectional nature of the multiple levels of discrimination is lost in discussions dealing with isolated problems. Any rights discussions must go beyond narrow policy confines, to consider broader, multidimensional issues of discrimination and isolation, which otherwise amount to larger 'wicked problems'—that is, uncontrolled urbanisation, migration slums, and urban poverty.

5. Towards reclaiming a gendered right to the city

There is broad consensus that the right to the city is a potent tool for building safer and more inclusive cities through non-biased access and design related to basic services, and through ‘from below’ participation in local decision-making (for example, Fenster, 2005; Whitzman et al. 2013). However, reclaiming any right to the city on gendered grounds must consider intersectional discrimination. However, most countries do not understand and/or recognise intersectional discrimination and deal with identity markers in isolation (UN Doc. No. CRPD/C/14/R.1). Such reductionist approaches view identity along a single axis (for example, sex, race, age, ability), rather than multiple axes (for example, sex-race-age-ability). For example, women with disabilities incur double disadvantage because of the intersection of gender and disability, exacerbated by violence (‘triple jeopardy’). In the same way, Indian female domestic workers experience double disadvantage because of the intersection of their multiple identities as women, low income group and migrants, further exacerbated by their socio-economic status and/or other identity markers.

Reductionism fails to consider lived, everyday human experience, which proves problematic for analysing difference and diversity, and undermines the intersectionalist construction of identity as a multiple axes phenomenon. Intersectionality, as an analytical tool, holds great potential for more inclusive and safer cities for women precisely because it stretches current thinking of women’s safety from the conventional binary analysis of gender to a broader frame that considers women’s simultaneous, multiple and relational positioning (Whitzman et al. 2013). At the same time, intersectionality contests gender inequalities and hierarchies (Falú, 2009). Contra to reductionism, intersectionality is consistent with everyday experiences imbued with observations of the real world, criticising top-down approaches from the perspective of bottom-up (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1246). The bottom-up (or ‘from below’) perspective challenges the authoritarian mode of urban management through its anti-exclusionary premise (Nash, 2008). Intersectionality strengthens the right to the city analytically through a multidimensional analysis of gaining insights into how the dynamics of discrimination, differentiation and power interact. Thus, reconciling the two enables a more holistic understanding that recognises the unique experiences stemming from the confluence of multiple discriminatory grounds. Importantly, intersectionality is a positive step towards an inclusive local planning approach.

The most effective entry point for transformative action and participatory democracy (Satterthwaite & Mitlin, 2013) is through a locally-based inclusive approach; closest to the people and where most planning activity takes place. Inclusive local planning encompasses more than the traditional realm of planning and extends into other areas, for example, those tasked with community development and social service provision, as well as local governance and multi-sectoral partnerships. This expanded scope of local planning recognises that women’s vulnerability concerns extend to broader socio-economic concerns, thus requiring a comprehensive approach (Khosla, 2009; Lama-Rew-

al, 2011; Whitzman, 2011). Such a comprehensive approach integrates social, economic, environmental and political influences, while recognising gender as a cross-cutting issue, affecting *all* areas of policy and strategy work. Intersectionality as an ‘anti-exclusion’ (Nash, 2008, p. 10) tool allows us to work towards inclusion through recognition of those unique vulnerabilities, which are only possible through participatory democracy.

This paper examined how women experience intersectional discrimination on multiple grounds in Melbourne and Bengaluru, respectively. Both cases have demonstrated that uncovering the complexities of intersectionalities require certain preconditions, to achieve rights to the city in a meaningful and sustained way. These preconditions include the application of an intersectionalist lens and engagement ‘from below’, to contest exclusionary effects of multiple grounds of discrimination. The Melbourne case serves to highlight that narrow and compartmentalised legislative and policy instruments fail to address the intersecting nature of identity, discrimination and violence. Equally, the complexity of the discriminatory experience in the case of India underscores the need for comprehensive legislative and supporting policy frameworks that can accommodate diversity. Furthermore, in India, poor governance structures with overlapping responsibilities and limited citizen awareness make it difficult to initiate ‘from below’ dialogue that can inform local decision-making, rendering any right to the city discussions incomplete.

Reclaiming a gendered right to the city, to advance the interests of vulnerable and marginalised women’s groups, as well as combinations within those groups, necessitate making visible their presence in a way that links grounds of discrimination to contributory factors such as violence, poverty, homelessness, and so forth. This must start with an intersectional approach and ‘from below’ engagement, to ensure their needs are effectively represented. Only then can these women be brought from the margins to the mainstream, thereby helping them reclaim their right to the city to fully and freely exercise their citizenship.

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Does the domestic space belong to women? An Assessment of the Housing in the New Indian Urban Agenda through the lens of gender

Rewa Marathe, Suzana Jacob

Abstract

Households in the cultural context of a patriarchal society such as India, are primary headed by men. The reason why a female heads a household is not because of improving social and economic status of women—it is unlikely that a woman will be considered head of the household in the presence of her husband. It is mostly because there is no alternative (Masoodi, 2015). According to the 2011 Census, about 27 million households in India (11% of total households in the country), are headed by women. Still the socio cultural system places women as a outsider in their own family - the one who will marry and leave her parents' house for her husband - and as the outsider in their husband's



High Rise Residential Apartments, Mumbai

house who came into the family through the marriage. In spite of it all, the house remains at the heart of their lives. It is where they spend most of their time, look after their family and children and even run businesses. In such a conflicting scenario of ownership and belonging to the house, it is essential that we question our housing policies, building and property ownership regulations for their adequacy of providing safety and security to the women. This paper presents India's current scenario through the lens of gender, with focus on India's new urban agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals. The purpose is to highlight the gaps in the system which weaken women's position as an equal member of the society.

KEY WORDS

Gender, Housing, Policy, India, Mainstreaming

Lo spazio domestico appartiene alle donne? Una valutazione dell'Housing nella Nuova Agenda Urbana Indiana attraverso le lenti di genere

Le famiglie nel contesto culturale di una società patriarcale come l'India, sono prevalentemente guidate da uomini. Il motivo per cui una donna si trova a capo di un nucleo familiare non è una conseguenza del miglioramento della condizione sociale ed economica delle donne - è improbabile che una donna sarà considerata capo della famiglia, in presenza del marito. È soprattutto perché non ci sono alternative (Masoodi, 2015). Secondo il censimento 2011, circa 27 milioni di famiglie in India (11% delle famiglie nel paese), sono guidate da donne. Il sistema socio culturale pone ancora le donne in una posizione simile a quella di un estraneo nella propria famiglia - quella dell'uomo che sposerà e per il quale ha lasciato la casa dei propri genitori - che la rende un'outsider nella casa del marito in cui è entrata attraverso il matrimonio. A dispetto di tutto questo, la casa resta al centro della loro vita. E 'dove trascorrono la maggior parte del loro tempo, curano la loro famiglia e i bambini nonché dove conducono i propri business. In uno scenario così conflittuale di proprietà e appartenenza della casa, è essenziale che si mettano in discussione le politiche per la casa, le normative che regolano la costruzione e la proprietà delle abitazioni affinché si possano adeguare per garantire sicurezza e protezione alle donne. Questo articolo presenta lo scenario attuale in India attraverso la lente di genere, con particolare attenzione alla nuova agenda urbana dell'India e agli obiettivi di sviluppo sostenibile. Lo scopo è quello di evidenziare le lacune nel sistema che indeboliscono la posizione delle donne come membro paritario della società.

PAROLE CHIAVE

Genere, Housing, Politiche, India, Mainstreaming

Does the domestic space belong to women? An Assessment of the Housing in the New Indian Urban Agenda through the lens of gender

Rewa Marathe, Suzana Jacob

1- Introduction

This paper presents a broad analysis of housing and its influence on women in India, in terms of policy, programmes and design. It addresses housing sector in general and some issues of affordable housing, to highlight the diversity of struggles within the seemingly homogenous group of “women”. The study is limited to urban development and policy dialogue in the country and draws upon wide range of work done by experts in the housing sector in the last few years and theoretical research on the subject of gender mainstreaming. The aim of the paper is to highlight systemic ignorance and exclusion which is at the heart of this.

Lack of access to and control over land, housing and property constitutes a violation of human rights and contributes significantly to women’s increasing poverty (Housing and Land Rights Network). Women’s equality depends on restructuring the delivery of care in some way. While individual women have and will continue to make incredible strides, women as a class will not fully achieve social, economic, and political equality until responsibility for the care of society’s dependents becomes consistent with participation in public life. (Silbaugh, 2007).

2. Indian housing scenario

Urban population of India is about 377.1 million (31% of total) (Census, 2011). With more than 10 million people migrating to cities and towns every year, this number is expected to reach about 600 million by 2031 (Kumar, 2016). This is creating a large demand for housing in the cities. According to estimates of the Technical Group constituted by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA), the urban housing shortage in the country (quantitative and qualitative) at the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan (2013) was estimated to be 26.53 million for 75.01 million households (Ministry of Housing and Poverty Alleviation, 2007). The group further estimated that 99% of this shortage pertains to houses for Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) and Lower-Income Groups (LIG) (Ministry of Housing and Poverty Alleviation, 2007).

In the federal structure of the Indian polity, the matters pertaining to housing and urban development have been assigned by the Constitution to the State Governments. The Centre can, at the most, “issue directives, provide advisory services, set up model

legislation and fund programmes which the states can follow at will". Despite this, the states have rarely made housing policy (Batra, 2009). Thus the housing policies that are practiced in the different states are largely an off shoot of that outlined by centre. In the recent years, Government of India tried hard to cover the gap in the housing demand and supply through various schemes and programmes, but the target driven approach has done little in qualitatively improving the scenario.

Gender and Housing

Access to safe and secure housing is a factor of the traditional gender binaries. It is an extension of the patriarchal culture which contributes to the differences in boys' and girls' educational access, career aspirations, and the wage and social status advantage (Hughes, 2008). Enforcement of this biological gender dimorphism is the most basic power dynamic in society, allowing 'men' to coerce 'women' with their stronger bodies and dominance-driven behaviour (Hughes, 2008). But today, the definition of gender has evolved. It is now considered as a person's social gender, rather than the biological, and it includes the respective person's upbringing according to gender roles, social expectations and (behavioural) norms for women/girls and men/boys. These norms are mutable and vary both within and between cultures (Urban Development Vienna, 2013). Gender must be considered in the context of age, class, income group, and ethnic type and the differing degrees of power.

Even with this diversity it is easy to see that women or individuals with non-conforming gender identities, face similar issues (relatively speaking) due to their position in this society (Hughes, 2008). This is a result of gender blind policies and practices. Gender blindness¹ is ignorance of issues that are faced by "others" (including women and individuals with non-conforming gender identity). A gender blind policy assumes that everyone is affected in a same way by that given policy, programme or legislation, irrespective of their gender. India's housing sector, much like its other sectors, is driven by many policies which follow this pattern. While this ignorance affects everyone in the society, the negative consequences are severe for the "others".

The SDGs clearly advocate for gender equality through Goal No. 5 and safe, sustainable and resilient housing through Goal No. 11. Its targets indicate a more comprehensive approach addressing needs of women, than before, and will be important as many countries, including India, will use these targets to drive their urban agenda. India's new urban policies indicate a shift towards more inclusive practices, as discussed later in the paper, but they continue to exhibit major gaps on the implementation end.

House is a workplace for the caregiver. In the current Indian context, this is primarily women. This is where they do all the domestic tasks, from cooking food to raising children. It is a place of security for them. Safe and affordable housing for women is a key to combating urban poverty (Khosla). In spite of all this, they tend to be excluded from the housing planning and design process. Their participation usually begins where the housing project ends - in the maintenance of housing stock (Fernando, 1985). Women and men differ in their roles, needs, and perceptions regarding housing and conscious

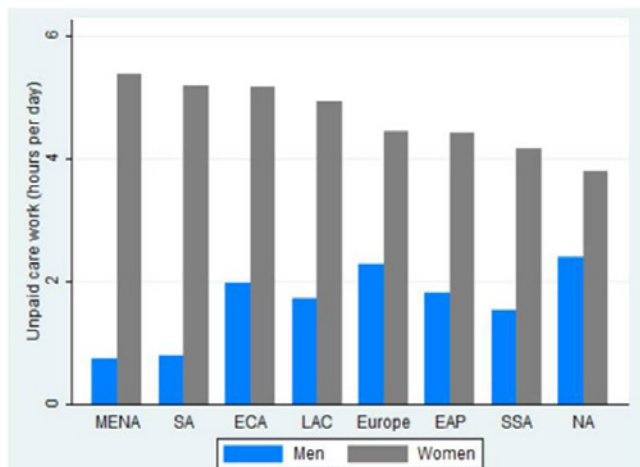
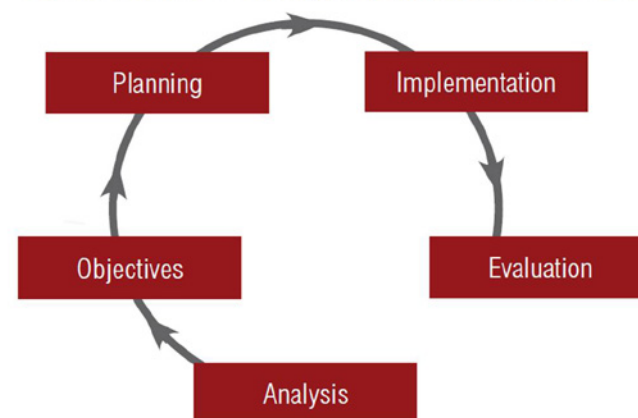


Fig. 1 - Time spent on unpaid care work varies by gender and region (Gaëlle Frant, December)

Fig. 2 - Gender Mainstreaming in Planning Process (Urban Development Vienna, 2013)

Gender mainstreaming in planning processes



efforts to address their views lead to better project design and performance. This is where gender sensitive planning brings in great value.

Needs of women are assumed by the largely male-dominated engineering, design and urban planning fraternity and included as “*special provisions for women*” (Ministry of Housing and Poverty Alleviation, 2007) in the policy, planning and legislation as if women’s needs stand apart from general needs of the society and that addressing them is a brownie point. The planning processes also perpetuates traditional gender roles assigned by the local socio-cultural paradigm. These are often stereotypes limiting all users groups in the society, not just women. The unequal distribution of unpaid work between women and men is an illustration of this as shown in Figure 1.

Adopting **Gender Mainstreaming** in India’s housing policies, will provide equal opportunities for people of all gender identities. It will enable equitable distribution of resources, developing a system which is more sensitive to the needs of the society and leads to greater transparency due to wider engagement with the members of the society at different stages of the planning processes. Gender-sensitive planning defines the concept of work not only as paid work but also as unpaid housework and family tasks (Urban Development Vienna, 2013).

This paper presents a broad picture of gender blindness in policy, legislation, finance and design in the housing sector in India. It does so by looking at the national level policies, housing programs, national building code and the current national urban development missions in the country.

3. Policy and programme

The ability of women to achieve political, economic, civic and educational equality depends upon the environment in which they live and the facilities they can access (Dory Reeves; Bonnie Parfitt; Carol Archer, 2012). Creation of environments which promotes their progress can only be achieved through deliberate policy interventions. Unfortu-

nately, women appear to have been excluded from majority of the discourse on the subject, being treated as a separate minority category, existing in the private realm (Greed, 1994).

Policy

Housing is a State subject, but states have rarely made policies for housing (Batra, 2009). Some states adopted the directives and policies issued by the Centre, while in other states, no housing policy exists. In addition to the policy, the central government in India also disburses funding to the states through schemes called Centrally Sponsored Schemes. This two pronged approach of policy and programmes is used to address the housing demand in India. India has consistently endorsed and adopted global strategies to shape its housing policies in both private and public sectors.

The National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy 2007 mentions women in two places - Under “*Special Provisions for Women*”: and Under “*Employment issues relating to the Housing Sector*”, stating the need for involvement of women in decision making and need to address concerns of female headed household in case of the former; and discussing disparity of wages, occupational health and safety, and toilet facilities in the latter.

The policy fails women in two ways -

- The policy is clearly gender-blind as it tries to encompass all needs of women within the single phrase of “*special provisions for women*”. These propagates the gender neutral language and approach through the programmes it supports. Pressing issues of women in housing, such as ownership, security of tenure, access of finance, domestic violence, home as work place, etc. are not addressed in the policy.
- Failure of the policy altogether to ensure its adoption at the state level, and thereby cities. This has resulted in lack of implementation of even the token measures currently covered by it, such as “*Employment issues relating to the Housing Sector*”.

In 2015, the country welcomed a Draft National Urban Rental Housing Policy, 2015. It presses for the need for rental housing for target groups which include single women among others; and it talks about provision of shelter for vulnerable groups (this includes women) (Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, 2015). The policy shows some recognition of gender based needs by attempting to identify working women as follows - “*this segment usually stays for 6 months to 5 years preferably at a single location. Mostly depend on hostels provided by educational institutes or private hostel operators or individual owners providing paying guest accommodation*” (Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, 2015). This is a feeble attempt for addressing requirements of half of the population. Similar attempts are made in the transit oriented development (TOD) policy of Delhi. (Delhi Development Authority). But these policies still fall short in addressing the diverse and complex issue of gender in the housing sector and the measures continue to be token in nature, without much influence in the situation on the ground.

In 2016, the Government of India developed a Draft National Policy for Women which

articulates a vision for empowerment of women (Women and Child Care Development, Government of India, 2016). The policy looks at enabling environments such as housing and shelter, drinking water and sanitation, social security and infrastructure among others. Though this policy gives hope of addressing women's needs, the country is still a far cry from meaningful mainstreaming of gender in the policy making process.

Even though quite complex, gender mainstreaming can begin with the simplest of interventions, as is seen in case of the City of Montreal, where METRAC² developed the system of gender based safety audits and the City of Vienna, which adopted gender mainstreaming as a cross cutting strategy for the whole municipality by establishing an Office of Gender Mainstreaming. Unfortunately, so far success of gender based safety audits in India has been limited and they are often turned into a publicity tools by local governments, failing to result in positive change on ground. In these cases, the audit recommendations are quickly forgotten about once the initial act has occurred and public attention has waned. (Women in Cities International, 2009; Jagori, 2008; Wekerle, 2005)

Programmes/Schemes

Housing schemes for poor (women) have to be designed to address women's issues of lower incomes, informal sector employment, lack of access to collateral, formal credit, low control over family finances and low levels of literacy (Khosla). Unfortunately methods for recruitment of beneficiaries, including means of announcing the scheme, applications procedures and down payment requirements often inadvertently exclude women as there is no effort to reach women who are often unable to participate in activities where information is likely to be available.

Previous housing policies and programs failed to consider the significance of female home ownership in poor households (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2013). The recent Pradhan Manthri Awas Yojana (PMAY), a scheme under the New Urban Agenda makes an attempt to address this issue. The mission supports construction of affordable houses for the homeless with basic civic infrastructure and mandates its registration in the name of a woman in the family (Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, 2015). Allocation of houses to beneficiaries is through a transparent process using an online portal. Further, government used Aadhar cards³ for recruitment of beneficiaries (Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, 2015). Still, the success of the programme will depend on the advocacy and engagement of women at all levels.

The recent attempts to understand the interaction of women and home ownership, and inclusion of women as equal partners in housing has not been sufficient. The activity of housing should not end with provision of house, but as Turner says, should create environments that help make good decisions (Fernando, 1985). Looking beyond the EWS and LIG, programmes should address several other factors such as lower wages as compared to male counterparts, social stigma with single mothers and unmarried women, and many more, that restrict the ownership and access to affordable housing to

the diverse group of women.

Legislation

Gender based gaps in housing legislation can be explored through the lens of home (and land) ownership, and housing (and land) acts. Constitutional right for gender equality does not reach the religious and customary laws that dictate most property rights relative to marriage, divorce, and inheritance (Gopal, 1993). In majority of Indian communities, property is mostly inherited by the male members of the household. Even outside the forte of inheritance, most women do not enjoy property rights for house or land acquired with the participation of women in paid work and unpaid care work. Women are more often excluded from secure land tenure and housing than men (UN Habitat, 2012). This is largely due to the socio-cultural paradigm, which places them as an outsider in their own family - the one who will marry and leave her parent's house for her husband - and as the outsider in their husband's house who came into the family through the marriage. The situation has several important implications for women. This includes their inability to escape situations of domestic violence due to fear of homelessness; their inability to raise finances using the property, whether it is to educate the children or to finance a business ventures; their weak legal status keeping them from benefitting from the sale of the property among many others. The current system of property rights tend to reinforce the control of man as the primary breadwinner, giving them power over the household. This further continues as a result of the practice of beneficiary recruitment, which assumes that the beneficiary is the "head of the household", who is always considered to be the father or the husband (unless there is no adult male member in the household).

Land acquisition is one of the most commonly used tool for land assembly in India. It has huge impact on lives of women, particularly as displacement affects their access to work and mobility. The burden of displacement may affect women differently (may affect women negatively) because of the fact that there exist gender disparities in the country (National Commission for Women). Further, the latest ordinance to the Land Acquisition Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act 2013 exempts several type of development projects (including schools, hospitals) from mandatory social impact assessment (SIA) for "*ease of business*". Absence of SIA makes acquisition and hence displacement easy. It causes loss of access to common property resources, livelihood, services, sanitation facilities and breakdown of family life during transition period with many other effects. Also, women as project affected person (PAPs), stand little claim to the re-imbursement in presence of male family members.

In practice, many recent land registration and housing programmes, as well as wider land and planning policies, are not gender sensitive. Even when gender considerations are integrated into the design, they have not always been implemented in practice. It is rare for all the ingredients of a progressive legal framework to be in place and often inconsistencies between sources of law and individual pieces of legislation remain. In addition, there are gaps between legal provisions and social norms and practices (Ra-

kodi, 2014).

Finance

A house is a significant and often the only asset for many individuals and purchasing one requires major financial support. However, current formal financing systems tends to be latently exclusionary for women. Broadly speaking, there are two challenges regarding financing housing - financing to build a house and house as a financing medium. Women and women headed households have perpetually been in a form of Catch-22 situation, where absence of property registered to their name limits their capacity to raise finances and the limitation of raising finances keeps them from acquiring property. Given that women-headed⁴ households tend to be poorer than those headed by men, and may lack time and skills to self-build, financing housing is particularly problematic for them (Moser, 1992). Lack of information on the subject, low and irregular incomes, lack of collateral, complicated loan application procedures, discrimination on the part of male bureaucrats, high interest rates and women's lack of legal standing in certain areas, all contribute to weaken their position in purchase of a dwelling unit. Where financing agencies are not closely informed about the characteristics of income earning of subgroups of beneficiaries charges may discriminate against the neediest groups (Moser, 1992). In cases where these households manage to secure financing, they are at a disadvantage if the cost-recovery payments are based on the average household earnings for the community as a whole. Further, women working on low and irregular incomes might struggle with payment of fixed sum each month in a formal housing finance scheme.

Despite greater economic difficulties amongst women, and their primary role in providing for family welfare, it is often found women appeared more responsible about their debts. The instances of women in male-headed households making personal payments on mortgage loans to ensure that they protect the shelter for their children and themselves is also common (East Africa Development Library). Where housing financing fail to address needs of women, finance is made available at the expense of the domestic budget. In such situations women may end up cutting back on food and other vital household items and working much harder in the home to compensate for the drop in resources and to save money (Moser, 1992).

SEWA Bank is a cooperative that runs exclusively on the deposits of members, who are the bank's shareholders. It aims to provide poor women with access to financial services that are tailored to self-employed women's needs and means. The disbursement of loans is integrated within a number of additional financial and non-financial services: savings, deposits, insurance; but also legal aid, childcare and vocational trainings. A study of how SEWA members were using credit revealed that over 44 per cent of the money borrowed was being used for the single purpose of repairing or upgrading the family house (Obino, 2013)

4. Design

Purpose of gender mainstreaming is to identify gender-specific inequalities under all the various elements of urban development (Rebecca Chestnutt, 2011). Planning and Design are two of these key elements, and they continue to be a reflection of the limited understanding of a culturally privileged⁵ and male dominated profession. Even with the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) giving constitutional status to municipalities, the processes have remained out of the reach of the broader population⁶ and hence women.

Planning

Planning a city is a perpetual process which shapes our everyday lives and its influence is different in the lives of men and women. The failure of Indian cities to adopt an integrated strategic planning approach in the past has led to a disconnect between transportation and land use planning (as a result of poor citizen engagement and gaps in resources and capacity). This lack of integration between land use and transportation (National Institute of Urban Affairs, 2015) has significant consequences for women. Their travel patterns are different from those of men, and these differences are characterized by deep and persistent inequalities. Within any given urban setting, women have inferior access to both private and public means of transport while at the same time assuming a higher share of their household's travel burden and making more trips for reproductive and caretaking responsibilities (Peters, 2013).

Accessibility is a product of three main factors - appropriate land use, suitable location of transit stop and urban design that enables comfortable pedestrian and barrier free movement. Many cities show a clear failure on these fronts. This is frequently observed in many of Delhi Metro's inner city stations, which suffer from terrible pedestrian and NMT accessibility, an absence of dense mixed used development in the vicinity, and an alignment of metro lines along arterial streets, which removes the stations from comfortable reach of many residential neighbourhoods. Poor integration of land use and transportation planning has greater consequences for women in slum settlements. These women tend to work as domestic help in adjacent affluent neighbourhood. In the past, slum redevelopment has been done through resettlement of the slum residents to remote parts of the city or its periphery, removing their access to their job or adding countless hours of commute, which is also unaffordable for them (both in time and money). Under the new urban agenda, these issues are addressed by making in-situ redevelopment a condition for national programme funds.

Design

As suggested by (Greed, 1994), built space is designed with kind of a "God's Eye Perspective", willingly or unwillingly blind to the plight of the "others". In India, the built space is guided by the National Building Code (NBC), prepared by the Bureau of Indian Standards. Prepared over four decades ago by professionals in fields which were and



Fig. 3 - Delegation of Responsibility for preparation of the NBC

still are dominated by men⁷, The sectional committee established to address any difficulties in adoption of the Code has 309 positions, out of which only 7 officer holders are clearly female. As we discuss some of the components of the Code, we will be able to understand the significance of this overwhelmingly male authorship.

The dismissal of the 'feminine' and 'neuter' gender in the language, as shown in Figure 4, indicates a gender blindness in the document. This simple statement highlights the 'god's eye view' attitude which eliminates the need of the language which recognizes the diversity of our society. Language shapes our thinking and our ideas of gender roles. Its influence should not be underestimated, for the spoken and written word also convey images. It is not enough to say or write that gender-specific terms "*apply to women as well*". In the long term, this reinforces gender roles. Gender sensitive language is critical to breaking up these traditional roles (Executive Group for Organisation, Safety and Security (MD-OS)).

The design process again shows a top down approach, where the professionals engage with the owner for requirements, approvals and payments. There is no regulations regarding data collection and the user base. Discussing this prescribed design process is important in context of housing, particularly in case of large scale multi-family low income

housing, because the lack of engagement with users indicates all but elimination of any inputs from women. There is a need for a detailed gender based analysis of the Building Bye-laws, but some key elements which indicate the gender blind nature of the document include:

- An ignorance of the significance of a community space for small scale manufacturing and home run businesses owned by women
- Failure to address the failure of service delivery system - This is especially important for home-based workers, for whom, services directly translate into more time at productive work. Our cities continue to function with failures in service delivery because the caregivers end up filling the gaps, acting as a "sustainability saviour".
- Absence of guidance on active engagement of different user groups in the design process means many of the small details of their daily lives are lost.
- Absence of design norms regarding visibility for safety. There is room for integrating elements of design which prevent crime.
- Absence of norms for conducting gender based safety audits in cities⁸.

In addition to the gender blindness of the code, ensuring inclusion in housing design is also contingent upon successful enforcement of the code. Long approval processes, corruption in many offices and absence of post-occupancy evaluation results in built spaces which do not conform to the building bye laws. Thus, beyond having gender sensitive building byelaws, there is a need post-occupancy evaluation.

Design is a logical and contextual response to the needs of the user, rooted in their

Fig. 4 - NBC, Part 2 Administration, page 7

4 INTERPRETATION

4.1 The heading which appears at the beginning of a clause or sub-clause of the Code shall be deemed to be a part of such clause or sub-clause respectively.

4.2 The use of present tense includes the future tense, the masculine gender includes the feminine and the neuter, the singular number includes the plural and the plural includes the singular. The word 'person' includes a corporation as well as an individual; writing includes printing and typing and 'signature' includes thumb impression made by a person who cannot write if his name is written near to such thumb impression.

realities. Gender mainstreaming leads to acceptance of the wide range of needs of the different user groups based in the domestic space. It accepts that care giving, house-keeping, child care and other tasks are all work even if they are unpaid and carried out in the 'private space'. Treating a house as a workplace for domestic tasks enables the designer to address the diverse needs of the different user groups. Actively engaging women and other user groups in the design process will produce spaces they way they are needed. They will encourage equitable distribution of family duties and paid work, access to services delivery, and safety and security.

5. Conclusion

Policy, planning and design together define the housing environment. Through careful coordinated national/state level policies, city wide strategic planning, inclusive building regulations, gender can be mainstreamed into the housing sector in India. This is a complicated task which can succeed with political will, technical capacity, public participation and financial support. There must be a change in the language of our regulatory and statutory documents which define our built spaces. The approach towards the design of houses must respond to the many uses of the house and its occupants. And our decision making processes need to be more inclusive, encouraging shared ownership of home and public space among all. There is a need for coordinated implementation of gender sensitive policies and programmes such as the current national level missions on smart cities, infrastructure upgrade (AMRUT), heritage conservation (HRIDAY) and sanitation (Swachh Bharat). The Smart Cities Mission already presents promise in form of a stronger citizen engagement and inclusive projects, such as in-situ slum redevelopment and transit oriented development. Still the mission does not specifically talk about gender inclusion, so it is left up to the cities to address the issue (which will likely fail due to gaps in institutional capacities) (NIUA-CIDCO Smart City Lab, 2016).

Adoption of Gender based analysis for our policies and practices will help correct the gender blindness our decision makers suffer and ensure quality in our planning and processes. India should learn from Vienna and Berlin to bring about institutional change which ensures gender inclusion. There has to be a change in the discourse on gender and housing, breaking down the stereotypes and biased attitudes. Consistent participatory urban planning and management with true engagement of women and other user in decision making process is important along with a clear mapping of housing related policies objectives to the actions on ground.

So, the answer to the question - "Does the Domestic Space belong to women?" - is clearly no. Even though women obviously work as the captains of the domestic realm and managers of households, they don't have ownership or control of their domestic space, irrespective of their role in the public sphere. However, this does not mean that the domestic space should belong completely to women. It must be shared, just as the design and decision making processes. Sharing, not only empowers women, it also helps

break down the traditional gender roles and blows away the dichotomies of man/'other', real/unimportant, work/home, male/female, majority/minority, good/bad, acceptable/unacceptable (Greed, 1994).

ENDNOTES

1 Same as gender neutral

2 The Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children

3 Unique Identity Cards, similar to the SSN in the United States of America

4 11% households in India are headed by women

5 To say that architecture is a culturally privileged profession is not to suggest that the majority of architects today enjoy a privileged existence; on the contrary, architects struggle to design in a way that responds to their ideals (such as sustainability), to make ends meet and keep firms alive. (Hammond, 2009).

6 Implementation of the 74th Amendment began with JnNURM in 2005, a whole decade after the Amendment in 1992 (Mahin, 2015).

7 20 women /100 men in the Sciences and 2 women/ 100 men in Engineering (2%) in 1970-71 (Goel, 2007).15 % to 17 % of the total practitioners are female (Desai).

8 Currently Gender Based Safety Audits are conducted in different cities in India. There are also mobile based apps, such as SafetiPin, which enable crowd sourcing of gender based "safety rating" for public spaces.

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Metropolitan dynamics in the XXIst century: some elements to think about gender and sexuality in urban spaces

María Jazmín López

Abstract

Nowadays, urban contexts should be object of new reflections and re-conceptualizations. To think of “the right to the city” implies wondering not only about the kind of society and bonds to be built, but also about the ways to inhabit spaces –and bodies–.

Neoliberal policies, mainly those empowered by dictatorships since the 70’s up to the beginning of the XXIst Century over the territories of Latin American metropolis, have resulted in profound socio-spatial contrasts, being the accessibility to urban goods and services and their distribution on the territory uneven and unequal, the city having been reduced to merchandise. The metropolitan area of Tucumán –a metropolitan region in



San Miguel de Tucumán, Argentina

Argentina- is a clear example of these processes.

Dealing with urban problems from a gender perspective shall let us visualize the inequality within the frame of capitalist urbanization and the hetero-patriarchal dominant logic. Actually, this should be a matter of concern to be raised by State governments and public policies.

This article proposes elements to think of a new urbanism: an urban development towards more flexible territories, where people's diversity, citizen's participation and the development of local policies should be taken into consideration. Answers should be favourable to social –and spacial- justice, and sensitive to inclusion policies which guarantee “the right to the city” for everyone.

KEY WORDS

gender, urban spaces, metropolitan dynamics

Dinamiche metropolitane nel XXI secolo: alcuni elementi per riflettere sul genere e la sessualità negli spazi urbani

Al giorno d'oggi, i contesti urbani dovrebbero essere oggetto di nuove riflessioni e ri-concettualizzazioni. Pensare al “diritto alla città” induce ad interrogarsi non solo sul tipo di società e di impegni da costruire, ma anche sui modi di abitare gli spazi e i corpi.

Le politiche neoliberiste, soprattutto quelle accordate dalle dittature dagli anni '70 fino all'inizio del XXI secolo sui territori delle metropoli dell'America Latina, hanno portato a profondi contrasti socio-spaziali, rendendo l'accessibilità a beni e servizi urbani e la loro distribuzione sul territorio irregolare e diseguale, avendo ridotto la città a merce. L'area metropolitana di Tucumán - una regione metropolitana in Argentina - è un chiaro esempio di questi processi.

Discutere i problemi urbani da una prospettiva di genere ci permette di visualizzare la disuguaglianza all'interno della cornice di urbanizzazione capitalista e della logica dominante etero-patriarcale. In realtà, questo dovrebbe essere un motivo di preoccupazione posto all'attenzione da parte dei governi nazionali e delle politiche pubbliche.

In questo articolo si propongono elementi per pensare ad una nuova urbanistica: uno sviluppo urbano verso territori più flessibili, in cui la diversità popolare, la partecipazione dei cittadini e lo sviluppo di politiche locali dovrebbero essere presi in considerazione. Le risposte dovrebbero favorire una giustizia sociale e spaziale, ed essere sensibili alle politiche di inclusione che garantiscano “il diritto alla città” per tutti.

PAROLE CHIAVE

genere, spazi urbani, dinamiche metropolitane

Dinámicas metropolitanas en el siglo XXI: elementos para pensar los géneros y las sexualidades en los espacios urbanos

María Jazmín López*

Introducción

En la actualidad nos encontramos frente a escenarios urbanos que requieren de nuevas reflexiones y re-conceptualizaciones. La rápida urbanización y metropolización por la que atraviesan nuestras ciudades nos interpela a construir soluciones de una manera creativa, revisando categorías, desde una mirada más inclusiva y democrática, con vistas a generar instrumentos de planificación que amplíen derechos de ciudadanía para todas las personas. En este sentido, se parte de reflexionar acerca del “derecho a la ciudad”, concepto acuñado por Lefebvre, y que ha sido resignificado por muchas/os autoras/es y adaptado a distintas problemáticas urbanas.

Pensar el derecho a la ciudad implica, no sólo pensar qué tipo de sociedad y de lazos queremos construir, sino también qué formas de habitar los espacios -y los cuerpos- deseamos. Asimismo este concepto se refiere a un derecho común antes que individual, ya que depende inevitablemente del ejercicio de un poder colectivo para remodelar los procesos de urbanización (Harvey, 2008), es decir, que sólo puede formularse como *derecho a la vida urbana*, transformada y renovada (Lefebvre, 1978) por y para todas y todos. Es así que no podemos dejar de posicionar al derecho a la ciudad como un derecho humano, colectivo y de gran significación para las políticas públicas. De esta manera, y retomando el concepto de ciudad como “bien común”, se plantea:

El derecho a utilizar ese bien común debe reconocerse sin duda a todos los que han participado en su producción y esta es, evidentemente, la base para la reivindicación del derecho a la ciudad por parte de los colectivos que la han creado. (Harvey, 2013: 123)

Las políticas neoliberales, sobre todo desde las dictaduras de los '70 hasta principios del siglo XXI, en la gestión de los territorios de las metrópolis latinoamericanas, dieron como resultado profundos contrastes socio-espaciales, donde el acceso a los bienes urbanos y su distribución en el territorio es desigual e inequitativo, y donde la ciudad quedó reducida, en mayor o menor medida, a una mercancía. Czytajlo (2009) explica que en un contexto de globalización y de cambios a diferentes escalas, el ámbito de la ciudad emerge fuertemente, ya que se manifiestan dimensiones pertenecientes a lo global y a lo local de manera contradictoria. Harvey (2013) se refiere a Hardt y Negri, quienes argumentan que deberíamos ver “la metrópolis como una fábrica en la que se produce el bien común” y destacan su potencialidad para la crítica y el activismo político anticapitalista; ello, en un marco de producción capitalista de las ciudades que, como expresa el autor, “*tiende perpetuamente a destruir la ciudad como bien común social, político y vital*”. En este sentido, resulta importante el estudio de la

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escala metropolitana, como ámbito de democratización y como potencial impulsora de transformaciones sociales.

Géneros/Sexualidades – Espacios urbanos

Abordar problemáticas urbanas desde la perspectiva de género nos permite visualizar desigualdades socio-espaciales, en el marco de la urbanización capitalista y de lógicas de dominación heteropatriarcal¹. Se parte de considerar que las desigualdades de género y sexuales se expresan en usos diferenciados de espacios, prácticas desiguales, fragmentación de relaciones sociales, participación desigual en decisiones políticas y exclusión física y simbólica, generando diversas estrategias de apropiación del territorio. Así, la perspectiva de género nos lleva a comprender que la accesibilidad a los bienes urbanos se encuentra ligada a las desigualdades sexo-genéricas y nos invita a desnaturalizar las construcciones simbólicas de atributos asignados a las personas, constituyendo una herramienta útil para analizar relaciones de poder.

Se supone que el *espacio* -como constructor de subjetividades y entendido como resultado de una construcción social y política- acompaña y legitima determinadas relaciones de *poder*, es decir, que el espacio está formado y modelado por procesos ideológicos y políticos; es escenario de conflictos, de constante interacción y lucha entre dominación y resistencia; impone reglas y normas particulares sobre los sujetos, pero también es transformado experimentalmente por ellos.

Resulta pertinente, en este marco, tener presente el concepto de *performatividad*, como “una repetición y un ritual que consigue su efecto a través de la naturalización en el contexto de un cuerpo, entendido, hasta cierto punto, como una duración temporal sostenida culturalmente” (Butler, 2007). La performatividad ocurre en un espacio o secuencia de espacios que, a su vez, tienden a producir y reproducir las lógicas de dominación, y el poder se asienta en esa producción continua y la refuerza.²

Sin embargo, junto a formas de apropiación hegemónica de los espacios, existen otras que cuestionan la organización dominante. Para poder “ver” esas manifestaciones, las categorías conocidas fueron resultando insuficientes, al tiempo que emergían nuevas formas de territorialidades no contempladas en los estudios urbanos. Maite Amaya³ explica que hay particularidades en el abordaje de las problemáticas de género “porque partimos de diferentes lugares vivenciales en lo que es el género y tenemos diferentes formas para abordarlo políticamente” (en Alippi & Gómez, 2012), en tanto también existen particularidades que se deberían tener en cuenta a la hora de analizar y proyectar la ciudad.

El hito de Hábitat III nos invita a reflexionar sobre estas cuestiones y a pensar alternativas a las problemáticas urbanas de nuestras ciudades para superar las desigualdades. Respecto a esta discusión, la dimensión de género se ha incluido en los documentos elaborados ad hoc, que serán la base para el consenso de la Nueva Agenda Urbana que tendrá validez para las próximas dos décadas (Falú, 2016); no obstante, está casi exclusivamente ligada a las problemáticas de las mujeres, refiriéndose tangencialmente a sujetos no auto-identificados dentro de categorías heteronormativas.

A partir de la distinción entre sexo –como característica biológica- y *género* –como construcción social-, se abren las puertas del debate y se plantean los límites a la hora de analizar los espacios, produciendo un quiebre en las categorías binarias: “*un binarismo terriblenete opresor de la multiplicidad de identidades (...) también oprimidas por el heteropatriarcado*” (Alippi & Gómez, 2012).

Dinámicas metropolitanas

Desde el auge de las políticas neoliberales de los 90, las metrópolis latinoamericanas manifestaron transformaciones territoriales en consonancia con el auge del crecimiento de las ciudades secundarias y terciarias del sistema urbano⁴. En la República Argentina, se definieron 7 categorías o nodos a partir de la jerarquización del sistema de ciudades. (Fig. 1)

Fig. 1 - Jerarquización del Sistema Urbano en Argentina.
Fuente: Programa Argentina Urbana -PAU-. Plan Estratégico Territorial -PET-. Avance II, 2011.

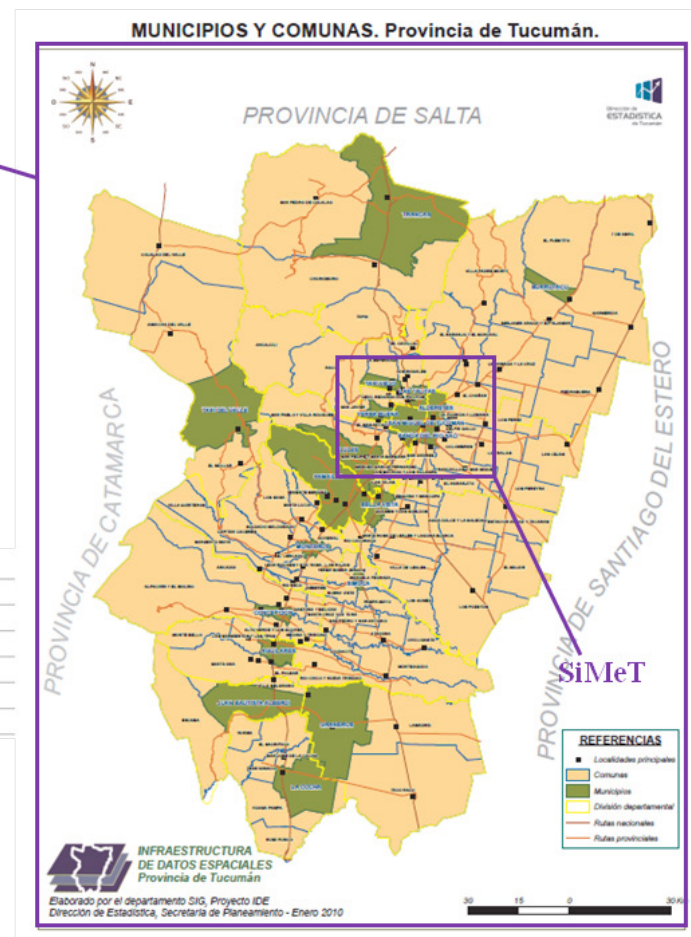
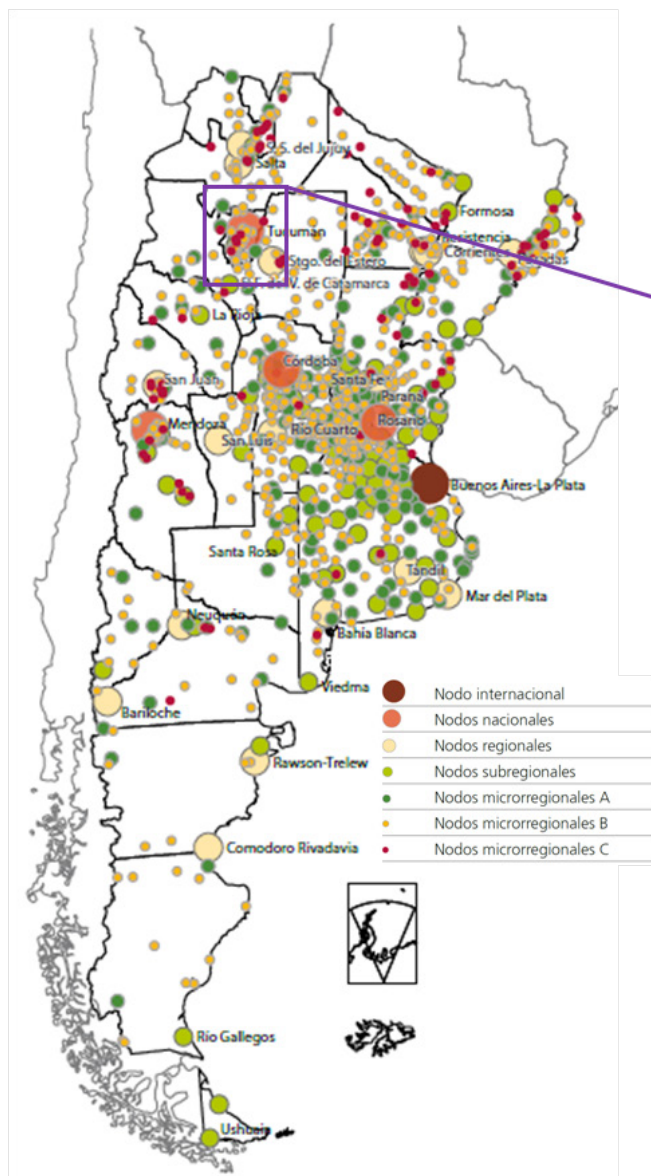


Fig. 2 - Provincia de Tucumán.
Fuente: Infraestructura de Datos Espaciales de Tucumán

El Sistema Metropolitano de Tucumán (SiMeT), perteneciente a la provincia argentina de Tucumán (Figura 2), es materia de estudio del equipo de investigación del Observatorio de Fenómenos Urbanos y Territoriales (OFUT)⁵. Es un aglomerado urbano de segundo orden en la jerarquía del sistema de ciudades argentinas, considerado un nodo nacional por la escala de sus funciones de intermediación y articulación de flujos principalmente (PAU-PET, 2011), y considera, además de las jurisdicciones que integran el Gran San Miguel de Tucumán (definido por el Censo 2010), otros ámbitos administrativos⁶ que mantienen vínculos funcionales cotidianos o frecuentes en la conurbación de Tucumán (Casares; Jarra, 2009). (Figura 3)

Esta metrópolis regional ha revelado un fuerte proceso de metropolización: la expansión de la urbanización de San Miguel de Tucumán (Municipio Capital) hacia localidades vecinas, producida en los últimos cincuenta años, dio como resultado la conurbación con otros cinco municipios (Yerba Buena, Tañi Viejo, Alderetes, Banda del Río Salí y Las Talitas) y con una docena de otras jurisdicciones menores, constituidas en comunas rurales. Para explicar el crecimiento y expansión urbana de las últimas décadas, Borja expresa:

Los nuevos territorios urbanos ya no se reducen a la ciudad central y su entorno más o menos aglomerado, lo que se llamó el “área metropolitana”, es decir el modelo de ciudad de la sociedad industrial. El territorio urbano-regional es discontinuo, mezcla de zonas compactas con otras difusas, de centralidades diversas y áreas marginales, de espacios urbanizados y otros preservados o expectantes (2007: 42).

La ciudad de San Miguel de Tucumán, que es el caso de estudio de mi investigación, como centro polifuncional del SiMeT, muestra indicadores sociales

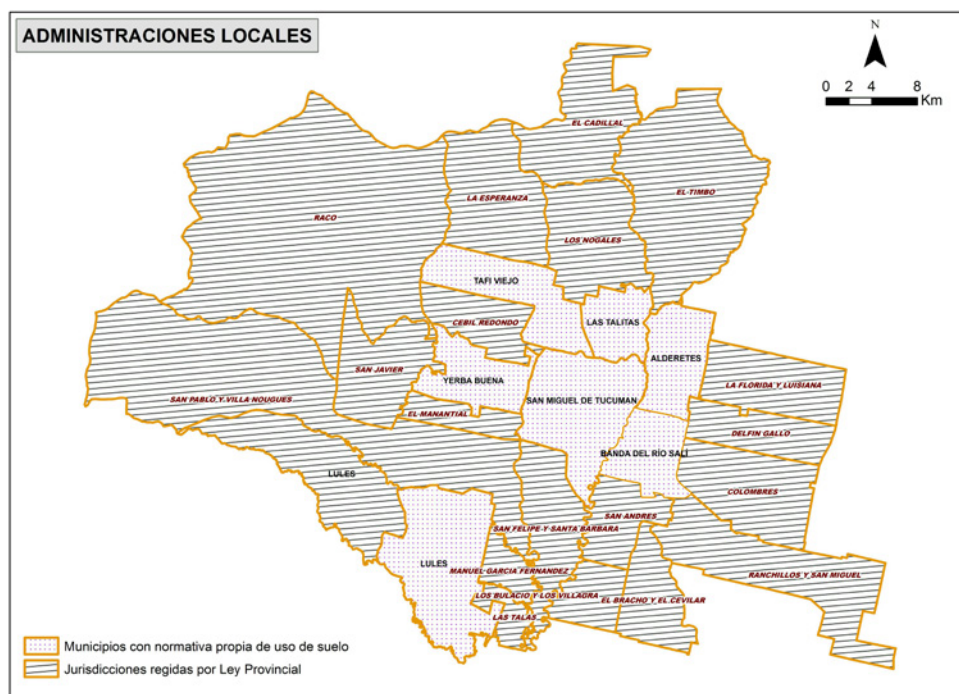


Fig. 3 - Administraciones locales Si-MeT. (Fuente: Elaboración OFUT para LEM-DAMI, 2015 (BID 2499 OC AR).

críticos y serios problemas medioambientales y de coordinación política, lo cual, nos permite afirmar que una de las problemáticas más acuciantes en relación a este tipo de forma urbana (metropolitana) es la gestión de los territorios. Borja (2007) alude a la gobernabilidad de los territorios urbanoregionales como un difícil desafío, debido a diversos factores, entre los que menciona *“la nueva complejidad de la sociedad urbana y la diversidad de sus demandas y de sus comportamientos”*.

Algunos/as autores/as ya planteaban, desde hace algunos años, la necesidad de obtener datos desagregados por sexo -para visualizar desigualdades, conocer y diagnosticar problemas, y para legitimar y orientar acciones vinculadas a la planificación de la ciudad-, lo cual llevó a avanzar en el estudio sobre las problemáticas de las mujeres en relación al derecho a la ciudad. Czytajlo (2009, 2010) realiza aportes importantes referidos a la problemática para el caso del SiMeT. Czytajlo (2010) analiza el estado del marco institucional respecto de la incorporación de la cuestión de género en la política social y habitacional en la provincia de Tucumán y el aglomerado, en el período 2004–2008, y propone una serie de indicadores a partir del análisis sobre el rol de mujeres residentes en barrios de pobreza estructural en la Ciudad de San Miguel de Tucumán.

Ahora bien, contemplando la distinción sexo-género, anteriormente mencionada, y, por lo tanto, la existencia de sujetos que no se autoperciben, identifican o sienten contenidas/os dentro de las categorías binarias hombre/mujer, se plantean algunas incógnitas. Surgen, entonces, incertidumbres *“sobre el devenir de la democracia en el territorio”* (Borja, 2007), reconociendo aquellas formas de poder que afirman representar a los individuos que se ajustan a las versiones identitarias socialmente normativizadas y que, en nombre de la democracia representativa, prolongan su capacidad para regular los cuerpos y las sexualidades (Butler, Prólogo, 2011). Maite Amaya considera:

Hay que deconstruir esa rigidez lineal desde donde se fijan las identidades porque, en definitiva, eso es la reproducción de los mecanismos normalizadores de la heterosexualidad, que hace mucho más fácil el disciplinamiento de las identidades rígidas y clasificadas para darles un lugar específico dentro de los mandatos de la heteronormatividad, ya sea para nombrar lo que está dentro o aquello que atenta contra la misma norma (en Alippi & Gómez, 2012: 101).

Esto nos lleva a cuestionar la política espacial mediante la que se construyen nociones de género y ciudadanía (Butler, Prólogo, 2011).

Avances normativos y legislativos respecto del género en el contexto argentino

En Argentina, en el período 2003-2015, se generó un escenario de transición desde el punto de vista de las políticas públicas de inclusión y a partir de leyes que permitieron ampliar derechos de muchas personas, entre las que se destacan (Bernazza, 2013):

- Sanción Ley 26.618 de Matrimonio Igualitario, 2010.
- Registro de parejas convivientes del mismo sexo, Censo 2010.⁷
- Ley 26.743 de Identidad de Género, 2012.
- Primera Encuesta sobre Población Trans: Travestis, Transexuales, Transgéneros y Hombres Trans, en el Municipio de La Matanza - INDEC, 2012.⁸

Hasta el Censo 2010 se mantuvo una clasificación de familias que responde a formas

asociadas a parejas heterosexuales y a estructuras heteronormativas. El Informe sobre parejas convivientes del mismo sexo permite avanzar en el estudio sobre los cambios en los tipos de familia, fundamental para el análisis de la estructura social.

Por otro lado, la ley de identidad de género permitió instalar el debate en la escena pública; empero, los avances en materia jurídica no garantizan el real acceso al derecho a la ciudad por parte de todos los sujetos, es decir, que no se verifica directamente en lo urbano ni en lo habitacional.

Se advierte acerca de la insuficiencia de datos que permitan abordar estos temas para el caso de Tucumán, por lo cual, para el análisis, resulta significativa la encuesta sobre población trans para el Municipio de La Matanza, Buenos Aires, por ser un estudio pionero, sin precedentes internacionales (en términos de iniciativa estatal) y porque considera como registro clasificatorio de la población la *identidad de género*, en lugar del sexo, y, desde esa autoidentificación, se plantea elaborar un instrumento estadístico destinado a registrar características sociodemográficas, condiciones de vida, vínculos con el ámbito de la justicia y experiencias de discriminación de este grupo de población. Hay una identidad como sujetos, como también hay una identidad territorial, en la que estos sujetos de ciudadanía tienen *territorios particulares* en los *fragmentos de la segregación urbana*: vinculados a la pobreza y a los sectores urbanos más degradados.

Reflexiones hacia un nuevo urbanismo

Es materia de mi investigación el abordaje de problemáticas urbanas desde una postura posfeminista –o feminismo transgénero– en la que se pretende dar visibilidad, en el aglomerado metropolitano de Tucumán, a las personas trans como identidades no heteronormadas y contrahegemónicas en el sistema político de la heterosexualidad, cuestionadoras de la estructura binaria varón-mujer y desnaturalizadoras de las ficciones

Fotografías 1 y 2. Lemme, Gabriel (2015). Marcha del Orgullo, Tucumán, Argentina.

Recuperado de:

<https://www.facebook.com/gabriel>.



identitarias. Lo transgenérico se entiende como una transición, como experiencia de tránsito identitario, como transgresión de las fronteras asignadas para el cuerpo, los sexos, el deseo y las subjetividades (Alippi & Gómez, 2012).

En el contexto de Hábitat III, surgen algunas preguntas: ¿cómo viven estas personas que no se autoidentifican dentro de las categorías heteronormativas?; ¿en qué territorios están en la ciudad de San Miguel de Tucumán?; ¿cuáles son sus recorridos?; ¿de qué manera se apropian de los espacios y cómo construyen su identidad en/a través de ellos?; ¿qué regulaciones podrían existir, o no?; ¿qué políticas públicas? A partir de las dificultades que tienen muchas de las personas trans para acceder a derechos básicos de ciudadanía, ¿cómo son sus condiciones habitacionales? En definitiva, ¿podría una planificación urbana más inclusiva proporcionarles mejores condiciones de vida y garantizarles el derecho a la ciudad?

Se considera que es una responsabilidad de los estados y de la política pública abordar estas cuestiones, ya que articula e impugna los presupuestos principales del liberalismo político en cuanto soporte de la expansión del capitalismo urbano (Butler, Prólogo, 2011). Si bien el urbanismo no garantiza la integración ciudadana plena, sí puede crear condiciones que faciliten considerablemente la integración ciudadana (Borja, 2007). Se trata, pues, de potenciar el espacio público y los equipamientos como redes favorables a la relación, el conocimiento y la sociabilidad. *“El desafío consiste en construir un espacio sin género ni orden patriarcal; por tanto, un espacio sin jerarquías, horizontal, un espacio que visibilice las diferencias y no las desigualdades”* (Muxí, 2011).

Retomando algunos conceptos de Asher (2004), el neourbanismo debería:

- apoyarse en una gestión más reflexiva, adaptada a una sociedad compleja y a un futuro incierto;

Fotografía 3. Becker, Valentina (2014). Marcha del Orgullo, Tucumán, Argentina. En La Palta, Comunicación popular.
Recuperado de: <http://www.colectivolapalta.com.ar/>



Fotografía 4. López, M. Jazmín (2014). Marcha del Orgullo, Mendoza, Argentina.

- integrar modelos nuevos de productividad y de gestión, esforzándose por conjugar territorios y situaciones complejas, es decir, desde la multiterritorialidad;
- enfrentarse a grupos sociales diversificados, a individuos multipertenecientes y a territorios social y espacialmente heterogéneos.

El neourbanismo debe permitir un desarrollo urbano hacia territorios más flexibles, considerando la diversidad de sujetos y procurando fortalecer las instancias de participación ciudadana y de políticas de desarrollo local. Grupos Marginados, vulnerables y excluidos pueden utilizar el espacio urbano para proyectar sus voces, para participar en la política de la comunidad, e influir en los procesos sociales y políticos (Hábitat III / Documento sobre ciudades inclusivas, 2015). En este sentido, es importante descubrir cómo se construyen esos territorios y espacios alternativos – *contraespacios*-, en donde estos grupos construyen otras formas y lógicas de relación, otros discursos –*contradiscursos*- transgresores y rebeldes.

Es necesario, entonces, hablar del derecho a la ciudad desde políticas concretas que protejan la extensión del territorio urbano, que promuevan la justicia social, la equidad de género, el efectivo cumplimiento de los derechos y la responsabilidad frente a la naturaleza y las futuras generaciones. (Falú, 2016)

Nos encontramos frente a una situación de dinámicas diversas y simultáneas – complejidades-, en la que las respuestas deben estar no sólo formuladas en favor de la justicia social –y espacial- sino también cargadas de sensibilidad y de una amplia capacidad inclusiva que permita el derecho a la ciudad para todas y todos.

ENDNOTES

1 La heteronormatividad como parte del sistema patriarcal, entendida como mandato, como régimen político regulador del cuerpo y de la experiencia humana (Alippi & Gómez, 2012).

2 La teoría performativa del género se entiende comúnmente como la repetida puesta en acto de normas sociales en –y a través de- la vida del cuerpo, haciendo hincapié en las normas genéricas que producen a los sujetos que pueden, bajo ciertas condiciones, encontrar maneras de resistir o resignificar esas normas (Butler, Prólogo, 2011).

3 Ver Boria, A. et. al. (2012). Itinerarios de la transgresión. Políticas, sujetos y experiencias. Capítulo: Transición, transgresión, deconstrucción: militancia política y vida. Maite Amaya, por Josefina Alippi y María Luz Gómez. Córdoba, Argentina: Editorial Comunicarte.

4 PROGRAMA - Agenda Urbana 3.0. Transformaciones territoriales y dinámicas metropolitanas. Problemáticas y desafíos. PROYECTO: Transformaciones territoriales. Dinámicas intrametropolitanas, mutaciones y cuestiones ambientales. Enfoques y herramientas innovadoras para la gestión. Código de proyecto: 60020120100304TU

5 Web OFUT: <http://www.observatoriofau.org/>

6 Municipios: S. M. de Tucumán –Capital-, Yerba Buena, Las Talitas, Tafi Viejo, Alderetes, La Banda del Río Salí y Lules. Comunas Rurales: Florida y Luisiana, Ranchillos y San Miguel, Colombres, El Naranjito, El Bracho y El Cavilar, Los Bulacio, Los Villagra, San Andrés, Delfín Gallo, Manuel García Fernandez, El Manantial, San Pablo y Villa Nogués, San Felipe, Santa Bárbara, Raco, La Esperanza, El Cadillal, Los Nogales, Cevil Redondo, San Javier y El Timbó.

7 http://www.94diez.com/media/adjuntos/censo-2010-informe-parejas-convivientes-del-mismo-sexo_409_50.pdf

8 http://www.indec.gov.ar/desaweb/micro_sitios/WebEncuestaTrans/pp_encuesta_trans_set2012.pdf

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Better half of Bangalore Improving spatial conditions for women working in blue- and white-collar industry

Nikita Baliga, Lidewij Tummers

Abstract

In the case of a relatively traditional society like India, on the one hand gender roles are strongly enforced, while on the other hand the continuous feminization of the workforce has been a result of the liberalization of global policies in the early 90's. The still present binary definition of gender is confining men to the productive space and relegating women to the domestic sphere. The entrance of women in the labor force implies the entrance of women in the public urban space. This paper challenges this spatial separation of industry from the urban life of the city in the current context, when the landscape of industries is changing from manufacturing to service. This relationship between urban morphology of the industry and the gendering of paid work will be



Bangalore, women & technology event (source www.panorama.it)

illustrated in the Indian context. A case study of two industries in Bangalore highlights the unique challenges of women participating in the workforce. The paper explores if another urban model is possible, responding better to women's needs.

KEY WORDS

Gender, Women, Industry, Urban model, Bangalore, spatial planning.

La metà migliore di Bangalore. Migliorare le condizioni spaziali per le donne che lavorano nell'industria come operaie e colletti bianchi

Nel caso di una società sostanzialmente tradizionale come l'India, da un lato, i ruoli di genere sono fortemente consolidati, mentre d'altra parte la crescente femminilizzazione della forza lavoro è stata una conseguenza della liberalizzazione delle politiche globali dei primi anni '90. L'attuale ed ancora presente definizione binaria dei ruoli di genere sta confinando gli uomini nello spazio produttivo e relegando le donne nella sfera domestica. L'ingresso delle donne nel mercato del lavoro comporta il loro ingresso nello spazio pubblico urbano. Questo articolo contesta la separazione spaziale dell'industria dalla vita urbana della città nell'attuale contesto, in cui il paesaggio industriale sta cambiando dalla produzione manifatturiera ai servizi.

Questa relazione tra morfologia urbana dell'industria e dimensione di genere del lavoro retribuito nel contesto indiano. Un caso di studio di due industrie a Bangalore, mette in evidenza le sfide uniche delle donne che partecipano alla forza lavoro. Il saggio esplora se è possibile pensare ad un altro modello urbano, che risponde meglio alle esigenze di genere o delle donne.

PAROLE CHIAVE

Genere, donne, industria, modello urbano, Bangalore, pianificazione spaziale

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1. Introduction

Globalization means the opening of the markets of the world. The availability of cheap labor has resulted in the industries from the global north finding their way into the Global South. With the entry of the service-oriented industries, the face of the Indian industrial sector is gradually transforming. Before globalization, industries were involved in manufacturing or heavy labor-intensive jobs. This resulted in the industry being male dominated until the end of the 1990s. But post industrialization, the change of job work, demanding less physical strength, challenged gender stereotypes, encouraging the entry of women into the workforce. Before only men went into the public sphere to work, and women were confined to the private sphere.

To question the spatial manifestation of this feminization of the labor force, this paper first outlines our understanding of the mutual impact of gender roles and spatial structure of cities. We particularly look at the concept of segregation of industrial work or production spaces and the spatial principles of organization of industry, which are investigated from the gender perspective. Consequently the paper presents the results of a survey, held in two upcoming branches: the production of garment and ICT-related work, in the city of Bangalore. The survey identified key-issues related to gender, revealed that these may differ between blue-collar and white-collar workers. We then look at best practices of gender mainstreaming in spatial planning, using examples both from the global north as well as global south, followed by a selection of spatial principles that are applied on the case study of Bangalore. Using the tools of urban design, proposals to improve spatial conditions have been developed which could benefit both the societal position of women and the sustainable development of urban industry. To conclude, we critically review the proposals to see in how far these are replicable in different planning systems.

2. Theoretical framework: gender perspectives

2.1 Planning

In the paper 'What would a non-sexist city look like?' Hayden argues that numerous principles in architecture and urban planning are derived from the 'woman's place is in the home' (Hayden, 1989). Although it is not mentioned explicitly in many texts, gen-

der has always been a consideration in the way cities are developed. The primary idea she highlights is the consideration of sharing care-work or valuing unpaid work while designing across scales. Hayden suggested that architects and urban designers must attempt to redefine this traditional definition of home, neighborhood and city and workplace in order to make challenge this sexual division of labor (Hayden, 1989). Hayden's ideas on housing, urban design and human work have been instrumental in relooking at space from a gender perspective. By elaborating different ways in spatial design she shows the influence it has on promoting women's economic independency.

Fainstein and Servon (2005), identify different aspects of the city as critically seen through the gender lens, such as the binary way of thinking of home in opposition to work, production to reproduction and personal to political. This formidable dichotomy was often regulated by public policy by relegating women to the private realm of the home and men to the public worlds of the workplace and community (Fainstein and Servon, 2005). These activities are further distanced with the geographical separation of work and home, which is a result of planning system, where planners work within their defined silos of transportation planning, housing, economic development and land use. The authors argue that in designing the workplace or the private domain, there has been little reflection on the variety of needs and aspirations to cater to the diverse demography and in this case women in specific. They state a clear need for a gender inclusive planning process where clear fields of spatial planning are identified to connect the home, community and workplace.

Moreover, besides production and reproduction, women have a third role to play in society. Moser emphasizes this triple role of women in the developing context, explaining how women in the global south, besides reproductive work of childbearing and rearing are often secondary income earners, as well as being involved in the community managing work at the local neighborhood level (Moser, 1989). This involves the responsibility of attaining the basic provisions and infrastructural services from the governmental authorities. Moser also suggests how there is a need to consider these different roles while making policies. Moser highlights another aspect of the gendered needs. The construction of gender is partly attributed to the cultural context in which it is framed, and the issues will not be the same from one culture to another (Moser, 1989). Therefore, she classifies these gender needs to be *practical*, basic or universal gender needs, and the *strategic* gender needs, that emerge from the cultural context. This research analyzes the spatial implications of the multiple roles, performed by women in Bangalore today.

2.2 Industrial planning

Looking through a gender lens at how cities were designed traditionally reveals a spatial mismatch. Planning of the cities in the past has been through the programmatic organization of spaces. To start with, the industrial revolution in the late nineteenth century especially in American cities, lead to the influx of migrants to cities in search for job opportunities, which further resulted in overcrowded and unhealthy living conditions of workers and their families. These conditions were not favorable for the workers

and in turn resulted in lower productivity. This was one of the main triggers in the shift towards separating the functions in the city. A large number of employers reconsidered their plant locations and resolved housing issues in search for industrial order. The functionalist view of the city was implemented with the aim of creating a large and smoothly operating machine to achieve maximum efficiency.

This 'functionalist' approach resulted in a spatial division, which reinforced the sexual division of labor (Tummers & Zibell, 2012). This type of planning or the "single use planning" came to be called the "Euclidean zoning principles" promoted the separation of uses and its comprehensive planning with dimensional standards (Wickersham, 2016). This zoning contributed immensely to achieve a higher profit for industries and the industrial clustering facilitated the owners to benefit from the agglomeration advantages. The long-term profits that were obtained with this type of segregated planning made industries economically viable and further reinforced the need for the detachment between home and work.

In the light of gender this separation is highly unfavorable, especially to the sexual division of labor. The distancing of home from work made it difficult for women to participate in the labor force, which also called for the prolonged presence of women in public space, when compared to their dominant presence in the private space.

2.3 Accessibility

Looking in retrospect, the spatial and functional division established over time has also been problematic for accessibility. Connectivity is now high on the planner's agenda, but this responds to large-scale industrial interests, rather than to every-day household needs (Tummers & Zibell, 2012). The term accessibility is a concept, which is defined differently in the fields of transport planning, urban planning and geography. But spatial accessibility is dependent on many spatial attributes, arrangements and distribution of programs in the city. It depends on safety, the mode of access, availability and economic affordability of the transportation system. The spatial factors that do affect the woman's right to the city and her ability to be an equal participant in the city are present across all scales. Guers & Wee identifies four components of accessibility:

1. Land use - Amount and spatial distribution of opportunities, etc.
2. Transport - Travel speed, travel cost, travel time, etc.
3. Individual - Trip based stratification based on income, education, gender, etc.
4. Temporal - Travel time during Peak & non-peak hours, Day and night travel, etc.

(Geurs and van Wee, 2004).

Ideally, there is a close relationship between transport and land-use strategies in a city to enhance accessibility. From their study, it follows that the accessibility of a place for two different individuals can be different. Therefore, the four fundamental aspects of accessibility need to be scrutinized from the women's perspective for the chosen case studies. The organization of productive and reproductive spaces in cities is of primary concern in the way cities are planned and consequently how they are connected. But

apart from the functional and structural aspects of space, it is also essential to pay attention to the public space, which is produced as a result for women's needs (Viswanath and Basu, 2015).

Resuming earlier research on accessibility for women, four inequalities have been identified:

1. First: mobility of care, where the purpose of moving in the city is for care of a more dependent section, for example children or the elderly.
2. Second: time poverty, the lack of time for women due to their multiple roles.
3. Third: forced mobility, when women are forced to move in space for difference reasons. These could vary from the need for movement to access urban services, to displacement as a result of social or physical safety.
4. Finally the forced *immobility*, where women's movement is restricted in the city due to cultural or social restrictions. The perceived lack of safety especially during the night is one of the most common reasons for forced immobility (Shah, 2016). Safety in public space affects the freedom of movement, and this perception of safety is different for men and women.

On overlaying the aspects of industry, planning and space, it can be concluded that the traditional planning principles of cities with respect to work and home are not socially sustainable for all genders. There is a spatial mismatch at different scales, due to functional segregation, poor accessibility and quality of space, which are inter-related and restrict women's involvement in the labor market. There is an urgent need to examine space to promote easier accessibility and improved spatial quality, to make it gender inclusive. In different parts of the world, gender issues in space are addressed with a variety of tools and techniques. Then the question arises if similar spatial tools can be used in different contexts? Or do they need to be specific for the global north and global south? We reflect on best practices from both contexts.

3. Best Practices

In the global north, the relation between gender and space is looked at mainly from the convenience point of view. Central to Gender mainstreaming is reconciling job and home [<http://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/what-is-gender-mainstreaming>]. The cultural context differs from that in the South, but there are overlaps in women's roles. The case studies explored here, guidelines from the cities of Vienna and Barcelona, are attempts to improve conditions for women in unique ways that follow from their respective planning context. The priorities in considering gender in space in the Indian context in particular have been different and these attempts to include women in public space are guided by the social position of women. One of the main issues addressed is that of safety of women in public space.

Vienna: Manual of Planning Department

The urban development authorities in Vienna have published a manual for *Gender mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban development* (Damyanovic et al, 2013). This document lays out the gender- sensitive principles to be considered in the process of planning. These principles are a result of a detailed study of the patterns of inhabitants of different genders and age groups in the specific context of Vienna. The main focal themes of this manual are a comprehensive planning strategy, public space and mobility as it identifies the clear differences of gender usage in cities. The main spatial objectives are polycentric urban structure, city of short distances, high quality public spaces, environmentally friendly transport, safe city and barrier-free city. A set of criteria is outlined to evaluate the development of a specific space in order to propose interventions with objective characteristics.

Vienna has incorporated gender-mainstreaming principles from the manual in the master plan Flugfeld (Airport) Aspern. A series of workshops with the experts and inhabitants were held to take all the needs of the diverse groups for a harmonious environment. One of the principles that was applied is the multi-functionality of the neighborhood consisting of residential, shopping, offices, educational institutions and flexible functions. This was done after noting that women have a pattern of trip chaining, which is a complex route in order to carry out multiple tasks including productive as well as care work. The functional organization was strategic in order to make them accessible with daily provisions around transport nodes or routes with a differentiated priority of motorized and non-motorized transport. To ensure safety & security, the functions along the preferred routes are treated, especially on the ground floor (Damyanovic et al., 2013).

Barcelona: Manual for grass root mobilization

In Barcelona, an NGO called Col.lectiu Punt 6 is the main steering body to contribute to gender equality in urban planning. Through their work, Punt 6 rethinks domestic, community and public spaces to promote social diversity without discrimination. Their approach involves activities, workshops and training sessions conducted with the help of community participation. This unique method of learning through sharing experiences of women who use the city has been published in an '*urban assessment guide from a gender perspective*' (Casanovas et al., 2013). The purpose of the guidebook is firstly to make women visible as the unique source of knowledge and agents of transformation. It provides various tools in the form of participatory processes, which actively involves women to analyze their neighborhood on the basis of their everyday experiences. They assess the existing conditions and identify the favorable and unfavorable aspects of the environment in which we live that benefit everyday life. This guide is used as a model for the survey in Bangalore.

India : Safety audits

In the Indian context, the aspect of safety is essential in defining the accessibility for

women, especially at night. Kalpana Viswanath, uses nine categories that are parameters to measure safety of public space, out of which eight are physical parameters and one is subjective. These parameters are based on intense research especially in the Indian context (Viswanath and Basu, 2015). With these parameters, Viswanath has devised a mobile phone application to perform safety audits called “SafetiPin”. The main intention of this safety audit that forms the core of SafetiPin, assesses different parameters linked to safer and more inclusive public spaces. They are categorized based on physical parameters like proximity to public transport, path, openness, visibility & lighting and social parameters like crowding, security & gendering usage.

The conclusions of this safety audit in 8 cities in India, with over 300 audits in each city, show the different degrees of importance of each of these parameters, which contribute to safety. It shows the balance of all genders, as present in public space is the ideal or most preferable. When there is no diversity or only women, then women have a higher tendency of feeling unsafe. The lack of lights on the street at night is a big point of concern, where as the perception of safety increases when the area is brightly lit. The toolbox describes high visibility as more than 10 windows or entrances overlooking the place. When there is no possibility for eyes to be on the street then, the level of safety is lesser. The other aspects that affect safety are walking path, crowdedness, transport, openness and security in decreasing order of preference (Viswanath and Basu, 2015). Therefore, it can be concluded that spatial parameters are as important as social parameters in contributing to safety in public space.

Many common conclusions can be drawn from the cases of the global north and south. The attempts to increase the functional diversity in space in order to make it convenient for work beyond productive or paid work are shared in most parts of the world. This also makes spaces safer and more inclusive. Though safety is an issue addressed in the global north and south, the urgency is higher in India due to the cultural context. This is reflected in the results of the safety audits and the reasons for spaces to be unsafe. Another aspect that cannot be ignored in the global south is the economic differences in society. These differences lead to spatial constraints for the low-income women, leaving them at a disadvantage in accessing the city. Therefore, while considering the global south a larger range of differences in the economic capacity of people needs to be accounted for.

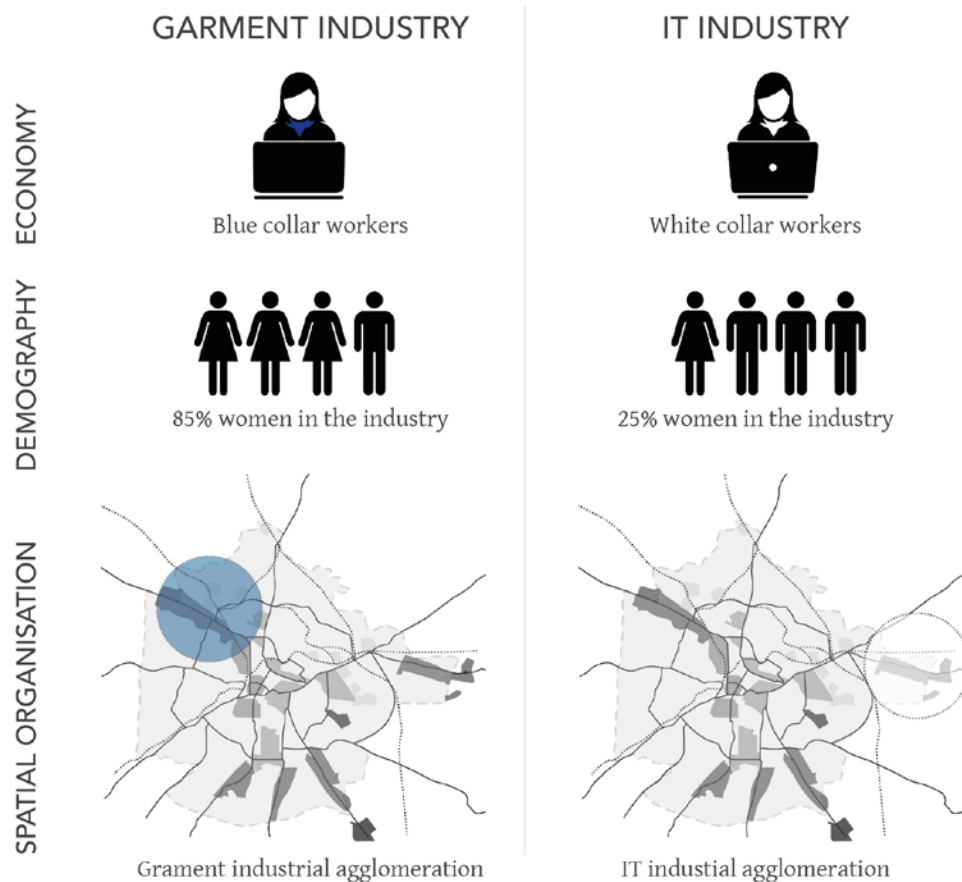
4. Test case: Bangalore

Saskia Sassen reflects on the critical role that women are playing in the international economic processes. As she illustrates, there have been many positive as well as negative outcomes of this feminization of the labor force. One problematic phenomenon is the ‘chain of care’ whereby migration of female domestic workers from Asia to US and Europe allows more women in the western world to develop a career (Sassen, 2002).

In the Indian context, the involvement of urban women can be seen as a sign of empowerment, a sign of granting independence and security to the urban women. Ban-

galore has seen one of the largest impacts of globalization. The study focuses on two industries in Bangalore, which are part of the global market and have seen a substantial increase in the workforce participation, namely the garment manufacturing and the ICT industry: see figure 1. As Sassen puts it, one symbolizes the feminization of the proletariat and the other is part of the global information economy (Sassen, 2002). Finally, the spatial distribution of both these industries is different in Bangalore and this is shown in figure 1.

Fig. 1 - Choice of industries [source: Drawn by N. Baliga]



The methodology followed for this research has two parts: first the field work, which was conducted in the form of interviews and group discussions. In order to understand the way women access work, their patterns of accessibility and their challenges during this accessibility, a survey was conducted amongst ± 50 women (Table 1). This survey was formulated following a format from the Collectiu.Punt6 urban assessment guide, primarily documenting the everyday lives of women. The survey enabled to document both the social background as well as the spatial patterns and deduce their mutual relationship (figure 2).

SURVEY COMPONENTS**General information**

This section comprises of the basic information of the workingwomen, which is important was analysing the patterns of different women. Information of the marital status and number of children of the women determines the roles and responsibilities they have to carry out in their daily routine, which further defines their movement in the city.

Itinerary

The itinerary contains the details of the when, what, with whom, how and where of the daily patterns of the women who were interviewed. The itinerary traces the activities of the women on a typical working day. It is a documentation of the place it is carried out, with or for whom it is carried out and how long the activity takes. In this way, the movement of these women was mapped with respect to their industry.

Evaluation of space

This is the subjective component, which is an individual evaluation of the city/ neighbourhood/ industry. The evaluation could be positive or negative, stating the spatial factors in the daily activities that these women encounter. With this individual evaluation, there were some common and uncommon trends that were mapped. This trend was then correlated to space by observations and mapping.

Industry wise	
Garment industry	IT Industry
11	11
Location wise	
Peenya	Whitefield
15	7
TOTAL	
26	18

Table 1: Interviewees [source: Drawn by N. Baliga]

Fig. 2 - Survey components [source: (Casanovas et al., 2013)]

The second part was an analysis of the spatial characteristics of the industry in terms of the archetype, morphology and aesthetic qualities of the built environment. The existing conditions were then examined based on the urban design principles proposed by Jan Gehl in reference to his book 'Cities for People' (Gehl, 2010). The morphological conditions are analyzed based on principles elaborated by Jane Jacobs in her book 'The Death and life of Great American cities' (Jacobs, 1992).

The third step is to overlap this analysis on the conclusions from the social patterns that women in these two industries have. On this basis, a set of spatial principles that could function is proposed for both the areas. As a conclusion, a method of evaluating and proposing interventions in space from the gender perspective is formulated so that it could be replicated in all contexts.

4.1 Results of the survey

Though there were universal factors that all women were observed to experience and practice, there were some specific patterns, which in this case differ due to the educational and economic background. Highlights include:

Trip chaining

This characteristic female travel pattern has been observed, documented and researched extensively. What makes this pattern unique in India is the social structure of the Indian society. The tradition of the joint family or the domestic support system changes the way women need to use public space. By mapping the itinerary of the women surveyed and co-relating it to their marital status, it could be clearly seen how women with different roles and family structures use public space differently. For example, women who live in nuclear families have higher trip chaining trends in comparison to women who have extended families.

Space negotiation for safety

Safety was a critical concern for all the women interviewees, no matter which industry they worked in, but the kind of space the women felt safe or the aspect of safety they mentioned varied. Women in the IT industry were more concerned about physical safety, such as road safety whereas women in the garment industry were mainly affected by social safety. The presence of women in public space was a definite attribute of safety for both women, but the garment industry workers were significantly affected by it. This was substantiated by empirical evidence that the presence of women in public space in the garment industrial area was scarce, which was not the case in IT industrial area. This was also the reason garment industry employees were always accompanied during their commute, in contrast to IT industrial employees. The dominant presence of men in the garment industrial area will be elaborated in the sections below.

Trip Mode & distance

Two main patterns observed were the choice of the transport mode and travel distance. The transport was governed mainly by the economic capacity of the working-women, affecting their choice of industry based on the distance the women were able to travel. For example, garment industry workers could only afford to walk to work. This meant that they had to either compromise their options to work in a particular industry or live in a particular locality. In the case of IT, women workers can afford public or private transport enabling them to choose to work in areas farther away from their home. This provided them with a larger range of possibilities and opportunities.

Planning goals

The conclusions of the fieldwork and the comparative study lead to a set of goals to improve inclusion, convenience and safety for women working in Bangalore:

- Where the transition between women being in the private sphere to public sphere is undergoing a gradual shift, the presence of women in public space becomes a critical concern.
- Convenience is relevant due to the multiple roles women have to play within the framework of gendering in societies, which makes it difficult to balance their professional and family responsibilities. Spatial attributes that make the daily patterns of women easy and short will be needed.
- Better accessibility to not only work or production but also the reproductive and community managing duties that women have to carry out.
- Safety has been one of the main reasons behind women's restricted freedom.

Though space is not the only factor that affects that safety, it is believed that space can be a trigger for social and economic change.

In addition the strategy also considers the logistics of the industry in order to not disturb the movement of goods and raw materials to retain the efficiency of the industry. Since the way the two types of women chose, use and move through the city, the inter-

ventions are accordingly organized, but the larger intention is to make accessibility in the city safe and convenient.

4.2 Spatial analysis

Garment industry

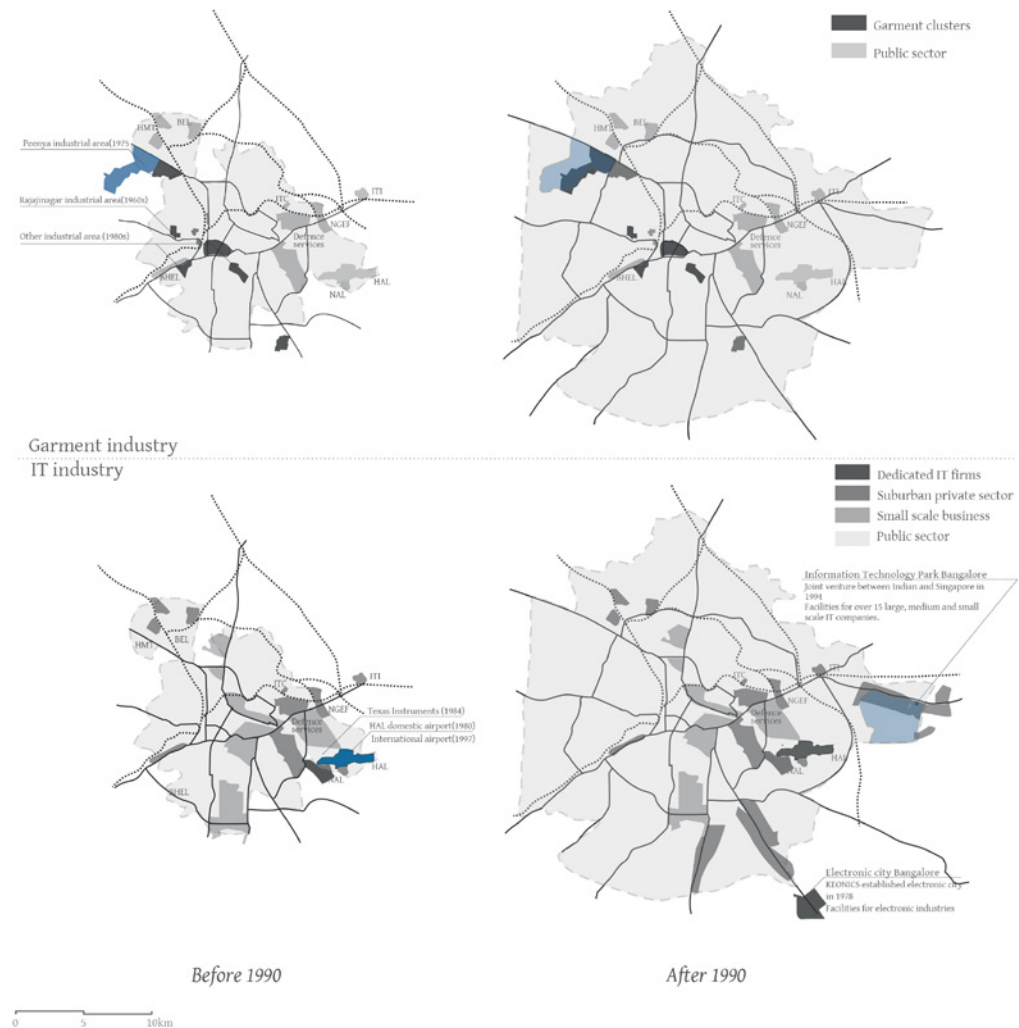
Bangalore has been a center for establishing garment-manufacturing industries since early 1990s. Before independence it was known for cottage industries for textiles. After the industrial revolution and the influence of the colonization, these industries developed into cotton mills, and later into dress making industries to meet the demand of the British colonized India. The already set up industries encouraged the large-scale international companies to find Bangalore as an appropriate location. In Peenya, a suburban industrial area, the existing industrial infrastructure, a dense road network, close proximity of the railway station and airport made this a feasible business location. Peenya was set up as an engineering industrial hub in the 1970's, when the availability of cheap labor around the industrial area was an added advantage for the establishment of the garment industry (Pani and Singh, 2012). The added incentives that the government gave the industries facilitated the growth of this industrial cluster (Figure 3).

IT Industry

The primary reason for Bangalore to be the hub for the IT sector was the government's incentives for foreign investments by the IT sector into the city. The established science and technology sector, which meant the presence of technical expertise, international connectivity, good weather and the English speaking population in Bangalore, were additional reasons. The presence of the IT sector in Whitefield, a suburb east of the city was due to the then presence of the airport in the 1990s. These IT companies mostly catered to the international companies in the US, which had high standards for the working environment of the office, drove the investors to build large multifunctional campus offices in Bangalore (Aranya, 2008). The availability of the vast agricultural land facilitated the establishing the large campuses in Whitefield. Hence, the IT sector expanded in a suburban location in the city (figure 3).

On analyzing the industry and the needs of the employees, the main issue in the Garment industry identified was the gendering in public space. The industrial area of Peenya had been dominated mainly by the engineering industries up until 1990 making it a gendered industry. The historical phenomenon of the male domination in public space still continues today in spite of the feminization in the industrial area post globalization. The industrial area had a surge of industries like the garment manufacturing, pharmaceutical and other industries, which preferred to employ women. But the social construction of space in the past by dominance of men means the area has been claimed. Through observation it could be seen that women are not seen in the recreational spaces that men are usually seen. Their discomfort in public space reflects also in the way they commute to work, always accompanied. One of the main reasons is the mono-functional nature of the area, which has resulted in the gendering of public space. This leads to

Figure 3: Spatial development of the industry [source: (Nair, 2005)]



inequality in job opportunities and needs to be addressed urgently.

The IT industrial employees confront a different set of problems. The suburbanization of jobs in Bangalore has caused a lot of pressure on the development in the city. The lack of relation between the global and the local economy has disconnected IT companies from the local structure of the city. Decisions taken to choose the industrial location did not consider any local factors. Since employees could afford their own private transport, there has been no initiative to develop public transport as well. Additionally, the high skilled migrants coming to the city every year has also caused an unregulated housing development and a steep real estate market. This has caused development around the IT industry to be exclusive and privatized, driven by the market and the increasing demand. This is further affecting the urban life and spatial quality of public space, encouraging women to choose the private realm of their car rather than using public transport.

4.3 Spatial interventions

Both industries each call for specific spatial strategies addressing different challenges

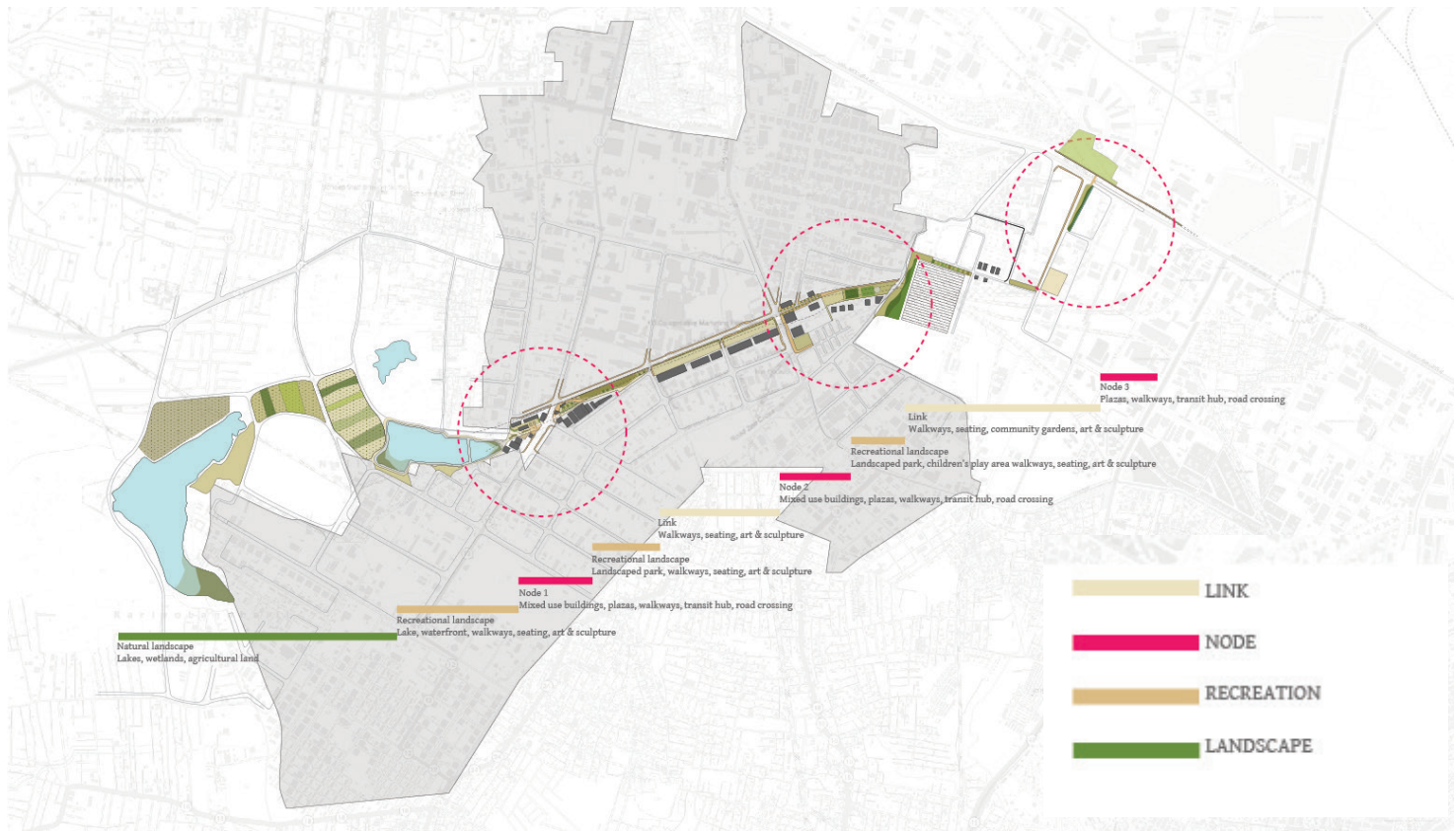


Fig. 4 - Inclusive spine in the garment

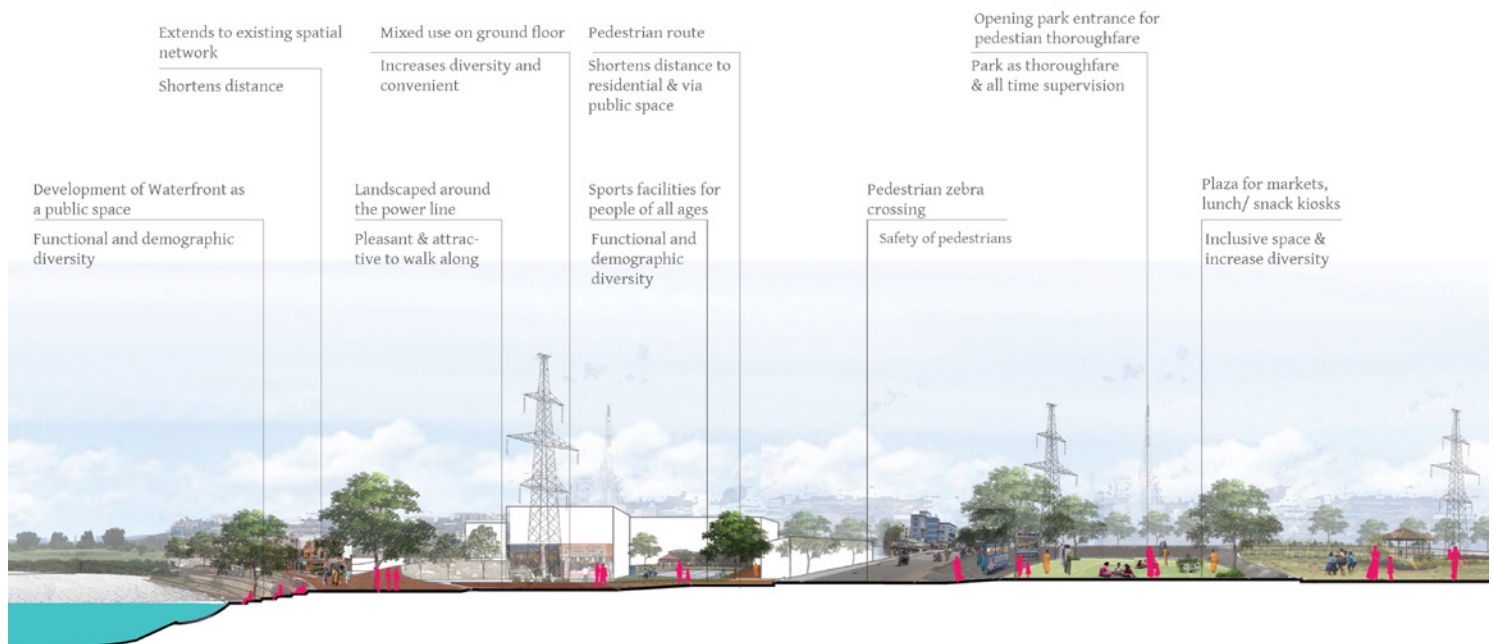
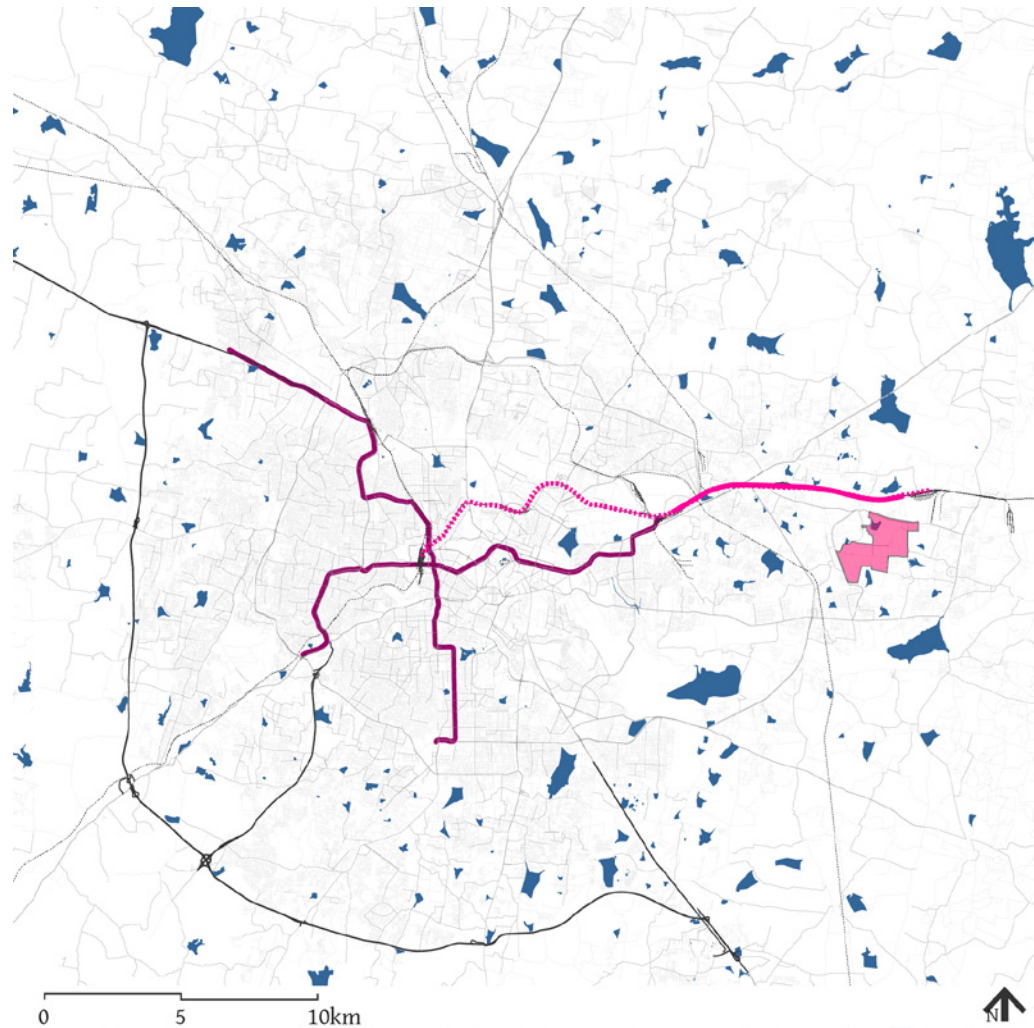


Fig. 5 - Sectional view of the Inclusive spine at Node 1 [source: Drawn by N.Baliga]

Figure 6: Proposed public transport to IT Industry [source: Drawn by N.Baliga]

- Existing rail line
- Existing metro line
- Proposed corridor



in the city. To address the issue of gendering in public space in the industrial area of Peenya, firstly the spatial segregation of industry is challenged. To increase the secondary diversity of the industrial area an inclusive spine is proposed, which diagonally spans the industrial neighborhood. The spine provides additional functions in the neighborhood to complement the primary industrial use and encourages the residents of the adjacent neighborhoods to visit the area. This also responds to the industry's time segregated functionality, promoting activity during working and non-working hours of the day. The complementary functions, shown in figure 4, include leisure activities in open air spaces like public waterfront, children's park & sports facilities and reproductive or care facilities like markets, childcare, etc. and community managing facilities like banks, community offices, etc.

The intervention for the IT industry mainly addresses the connectivity to the city. The proposal is to promote an alternative public transport mode to reduce the dependency on private transport. The abandoned railway line (figure 6), which connects the industry to the metro line in the city, is reactivated. The aspect of safety in using public transport

is addressed by making the transit hubs multifunctional with leisure, care and community facilities. The transit hubs are connected to each other through a pedestrian route, which maintains the walkability of the neighborhood, encouraging a more vibrant urban life in public space.

Multi-functionality and the structure of the spine in the garment industry can be replicated in the case of the IT Industry to make the transport hubs the nodes of activity and diversity. The spine attempts to reduce the perception of distance, provide high quality spaces for a diverse group of users and make everyday life convenient.

5. Conclusions

This research showed that there is a relation between gender roles and spatial organization in the city. Through literature reviews, the key points that affect women's participation in the labor force and the spatial attributes were identified. These spatial attributes were mainly functional distribution of industry, its connectivity to other functions and the spatial quality of the areas. Best Practices were studied in the global north and south, to understand the similarities and differences that arise from the cultural background. The participatory tools that Punt 6 has devised for Barcelona were tested in Bangalore, in the global south. The socio-spatial process in the daily life of the workingwomen was documented and evaluated, bringing to light these gaps specific to the two industries. On this basis different spatial interventions were proposed. In the conclusions we reflect on this research by design.

The first lesson concerns how spatial analysis should be carried out from the gender perspective. The aspect of gender is important to consider in creating inclusive cities. This was evident in the fieldwork, illustrating the characteristics of women's travel patterns and use of public space. The second lesson is the tools of urbanism that influence women's use of the city, namely accessibility, public space and governance. The first two were explored in detail in the two proposals of the IT and the garment industry respectively. The dimension of governance and the implementation of these proposals are yet to be investigated.

Through this research, it was understood that tools and techniques in urban planning that were used in the global north were applicable in the global south. But there were additional issues that needed more attention in the global south such as: safety and the economic differences in the population. Similarly, the same tools and techniques may not be implementable in more traditional contexts like Cairo, Egypt where only spatial interventions will not contribute in resolving the issues but larger transformations are required. Therefore, the solutions can be applicable but with further investigation on the cultural and social context that is being studied.

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Where is women's right to the night in the New Urban Agenda? The need to include an intersectional gender perspective in *planning the night*

Sara Ortiz Escalante

Abstract

Based on a literature review of research conducted on *planning the night-time*, this paper argues for the need to include in the new urban agenda an intersectional gender perspective in planning the urban night. The paper analyses the existing research on how gendered bodies have been conceptualized in planning and at night, how urban planning has approached the nocturnal sphere, and how fear and safety affect women's mobility in the nightlife. The literature review reveals that the role of planning in relation to the nocturnal sphere has been to regulate and control what happens at night and



"We can be strong, we can do it together, the night is ours"
(Author: Lara Mazagatos, <https://laramazagatos.wordpress.com/>)

who has the right to the night city, but *planning the night* lacks a gender and intersectional perspective, element that challenges the everyday/everynight life of those people who, due to productive, care and reproductive work, use the city after dark on a regular basis. The paper finishes advocating for including in the New Urban Agenda diverse gendered bodies in planning the night, expanding the debate of planning the night beyond the night-time economy of leisure and consumption, and making visible women's role in planning the night.

KEY WORDS

Gender, planning, night, fear, mobility

Dov'è il diritto delle donne alla notte nella Nuova Agenda Urbana?

La necessità di includere una prospettiva di genere intersettoriale nella pianificazione della notte

Sulla base di una revisione della letteratura di ricerca condotta sulla pianificazione dei tempi notturni urbani, questo articolo sostiene la necessità di includere nella nuova agenda urbana una prospettiva di genere intersettoriale nella pianificazione della notte urbana. L'articolo analizza la ricerca esistente su come i corpi di genere sono stati concettualizzati nella pianificazione e durante la notte, come la pianificazione urbana ha approcciato la sfera notturna, e come la paura e la sicurezza influenzano la mobilità delle donne nella vita notturna. La rassegna della letteratura rivela che il ruolo della pianificazione in relazione alla sfera notturna è stato quello di regolare e controllare ciò che accade durante la notte e chi ha il diritto a vivere la città di notte, ma la *pianificazione della notte* manca di una prospettiva di genere e intersettoriale, elemento che sfida la vita quotidiana, diurna e notturna, di quelle persone che, a causa del lavoro produttivo, di cura e riproduttivo, utilizzano la città regolarmente dopo il tramonto. L'articolo termina sostenendo l'inclusione nella Nuova Agenda Urbana dei diversi corpi di genere nella pianificazione della vita notturna, ampliando il dibattito sulla pianificare della notte al di là dell'economia notturna del tempo libero e del consumo, e rendendo visibile il ruolo delle donne nella pianificazione della notte.

PAROLE CHIAVE

Genere, pianificazione, notte, paura, mobilità

Where is women's right to the night in the New Urban Agenda? The need to include an intersectional gender perspective in *planning the night*

Sara Ortiz Escalante

Introduction

The history of planning has omitted the contributions of women, people of color, Indigenous people, LGBTQ2S+ and other groups historically excluded from power structures and decision-making (Sandercock, 1998; Fainstein and Servon, 2005). Under the umbrella of planning for the public interest, often seen as a single, universalistic and standardized interest, for a century planners were oblivious to the diversity of realities in our society, and replicated inequalities, privileging the most powerful (Healey, 1997; Fainstein and Servon, 2005). In particular, women have been excluded and restricted at night-time because of how their bodies are socially defined and controlled. The night has been historically conceptualized as a forbidden and dangerous time and space for women (Wilson, 1991; Hooper, 1998). Therefore, women transgressing this imaginary and using the space at night are still seen as out of place in many social contexts.

Since the 1970s feminist planners and geographers have provided a wide variety of insights and contributions to planning theory and practice (e.g. Falú, 2009; Greed, 1994; Hayden, 1980; Leavitt, 2003; Muxí Martínez et al, 2011; Rahder and Altilia, 2004; Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992; Sandercock, 1998; Wilson 1991) that can be applied to *planning the night* and advance women's right to the city.

Fig. 1 - Exploratory Walk with feminist organizations organizes during the II Congress of Women of Barcelona, Barcelona 2009 (Author: Col·lectiu Punt 6)



This paper is part of a doctoral dissertation¹ that examines how the everyday/everynight life (Smith 1990) of self-identified women working at night is considered and addressed in urban planning, looking in particular at two interrelated aspects of planning that affect women's everynight life: fear/safety and mobility. The research explores from an intersectional feminist analysis², how fear and safety perceptions are attached to sociocultural constructions of gendered bodies in public spaces and how these influence working women's mobility and right to the city at night. The research is currently collecting qualitative data through fieldwork in Barcelona, Spain. Although some preliminary results are available, the paper focuses on the theoretical framework to argue for the need of including a gender perspective in the New Urban Agenda, and particularly

when planning cities at night.

The goal of the paper is to examine how the role of planning in relation to the nocturnal sphere has been to regulate and control what happens at night and who has the right to the night city. But little has been done to enable and facilitate the everyday/everynight life of those people who, due to productive, care and reproductive work, use the city after dark on a regular basis. At the same time, the paper reveals that *planning the night* lacks a gender and intersectional perspective. It has included the gendered bodies of the White young adult males, but continues excluding other gendered bodies: the bodies of women, particularly low-income women, women of color, migrant women, as well as trans people, and non-White men.

The paper argues for the need to include in planning the study of women's everyday/everynight life with the goal to; make visible how the diverse gendered realities have not been included in *planning the night* policies; give equal relevance to women's contributions in the paid formal and informal work, and the unpaid reproductive, domestic, care, and community work; and emphasize how the work of women at night is essential for keeping the world running during daytime. Finally, including a gender perspective in the urban agenda, and in particular in planning the urban night can push policy makers to respond to the needs resulting from women's double presence in the paid night-economy and the unpaid domestic and care work. Planning can contribute to transforming unpaid work into a social and collective responsibility instead of a burden that often falls on women's shoulders.

The following section includes a review of the literature that analyzes the interrelation between gender, planning and the night. The paper concludes with some reflections towards including in the New Urban Agenda a gender perspective in planning the night.



Fig. 2 - Collective mapping of a safer city for women, during the Third International Conference on Women's Safety, Delhi, 2010 (Author: Sara Ortiz Escalante)

A gender lens in urban planning and the night-time

Analysing how a gender perspective has been included/excluded in *planning the night* implies looking at the research conducted on how gendered bodies have been conceptualized in planning and at night, how urban planning has approached the nocturnal sphere, and how fear and safety affect women's mobility in the nightlife.

Gendered bodies in planning the night

Feminist scholars have documented how gendered, racialized and sexually diverse bodies have been constructed and regulated through planning (Doan 2010, Green & Singleton 2006, Hooper 1998, Sandercock 1999). Women's bodies in particular have been conceptualized in the public sphere as a threat to social order, as a source of fear that "undoes the idea of plan" (Sandercock 2003, 30); but also as a vulnerable and objectified body to be dominated (Wesely & Gaarder 2004). This exclusion has been reinforced through historical connotations attached to women in public spaces, and the false public-private divide. For example, the term "public women" has been often associated with a prostitute, a 'not respectable' woman, being a sexual temptation to the male self-discipline, to the 'public man', which is perceived as the statesman (Wilson 1991, Duncan 1996, Hooper 1998, Massolo 2007). Thus, planning has been complicit in reproducing the oppressive public-private binary, that places women in the private realm associated with the domestic, the emotional, the embodied, the family, and the unpaid and informal work; and men in the public sphere of the production, the paid employment, the rationality, the disembodiment, the market, the state, and the power (Duncan 1996, Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2010).

In addition to being androcentric, the public-private dichotomy is ethnocentric and oppressive against queer and trans people. It is ethnocentric because this dichotomy becomes even more limited when used in contexts of informal settlements where "home" does not exist because people live in a shack, a very vulnerable structure where doors cannot be locked or windows secured (Meth 2003). It is queer and trans oppressive when the sexual division of space force people to respond to hegemonic expectations of gender behaviour restricted to the male-female binary (Doan, 2010).

The reproduction of this binary and the exclusion of women from the public sphere become more evident when the sun goes down. Women have been restricted at night-time because of how their bodies are defined and controlled. The context, as well as women's intersectional identities, restrains their night activity. The night has been historically conceptualized as a forbidden and dangerous time-space for women. The expression 'woman of the night,' like 'public woman', is negatively charged and also associated with prostitution, disorder or being a "loose" woman (Patel 2010). Therefore, women transgressing this imaginary and using the space at night are still seen as out of place in many social contexts.

Including an intersectional gender perspective to the urban agenda can make visible a more fluid relationship between gendered bodies and the city (Milroy in Miranne and Young, 2000; Doan, 2010, Sweet and Ortiz Escalante, 2014), seeing bodies as a spatial

scale that connect public-private spaces, as a biographical space, a space of memory of violences, but also a space of resistance (Falú 2009, Vargas 2009). Looking at the body as a space of self-awareness and resistance, as a unique and private space, the first to be appropriated by us women, in order to be able to take ownership of other territories: the home, the neighbourhood, the city, the country (Falú, 2009; Vargas, 2009).

But also an intersectional gender perspective in the urban agenda implies to incorporate the everyday/everynight life of women as a source of knowledge and a methodology. Examining the everyday life means giving equal relevance to the needs of the paid productive work and the unpaid reproductive/domestic/care and community work, to promote a more equitable gender division of labour, in addition to make visible women's contributions to the domestic and community economy (Healey, 1997; Gilroy and Booth, 1999; Bofill Levi, 2005; Muxí Martínez et al, 2011). There are few references to everynight life in the feminist literature about the everyday life. The only specific reference is from sociologist Dorothy Smith (1990) who talks about everyday/everynight life and from whom the concept of everynight is borrowed. Therefore, there is also a need to make women visible on the everynight life, and argue that the concept of everyday life needs to be extended to everyday/everynight life.

Planning the night-life

Night is a contested term that has been socially and culturally shaped through history. How night is conceptualized and when night begins and ends also differ across cultures, historical periods, and geographic locations. The spread of public lighting in the 19th century changed the meaning and use of the city after dark, and enabled the increase of night-life above all in urban areas, expanding the night-time economy (Melbin 1978, 1987, Schivelbusch 1988, Edensor 2013).

In Western societies, the night has been associated with fear, chaos, devil, sin, death and the dark side of society (Schivelbusch 1988, Palmer 2000, Edensor 2013); and the day with the creation of the world, God, the “good”, the “safe”. This Euro-centric, Western imaginary has associated the night with those people that transgress the rational order of society, with transgressive sexualities, practices, occupations and ideas, for example, prostitutes, revolutionaries, musicians, or drug dealers (Palmer 2000). However, in non-Western cultures, there are also positive perceptions of the night, where people use this time for community rituals, family events, or religious activities (Amid 2013).

Historical accounts of night-time use have also reinforced dualisms between day and night, good and bad, even feminine and masculine (Melbin 1987, Schivelbusch 1988, Palmer 2000). This simplistic dualism between day and night, has constructed them as opposite, obviating the diversity of each condition and how artificial lighting has complicated this binary, as well as legitimised conservative social and political agendas that

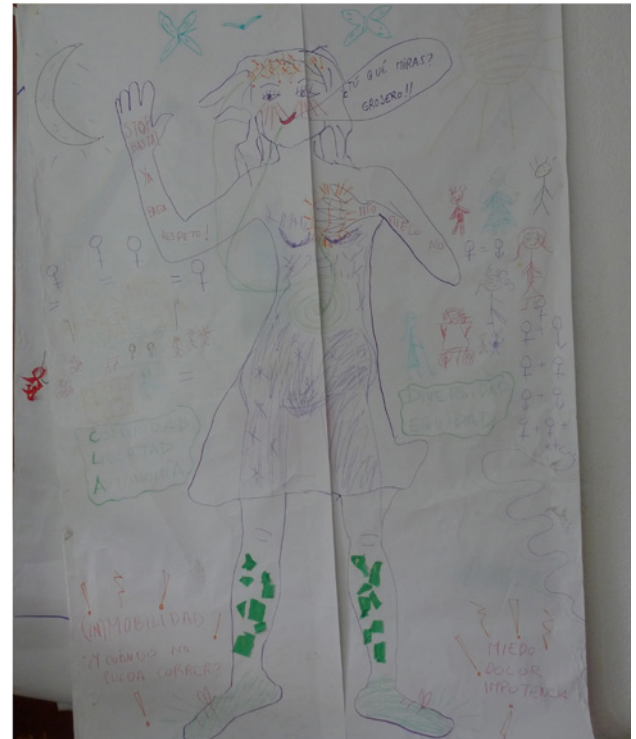


Fig. 3 - Body map on the impact of safety issues on women's bodies. Mexico city, 2013 (Author: Sara Ortiz Escalante)



Fig. 4 - People waiting the metro in Barcelona after a night out, Barcelona 2016 (Author: Sara Ortiz Escalante)

constrain access to the night for certain groups of people (Gallan and Gibson 2011).

In the planning field, most research on the night focuses on the so-called 'night-time economy'. This research has taken place mostly in Western contexts, particularly in the UK, and to a lesser degree, in the USA and Australia. These studies are focused on the 'night-time economy' of city centers that seek economic revitalization, with an emphasis on entertainment and leisure activities, generally associated with alcohol consumption. The term night-time economy was first used by Franco Bianchini from the creative cities organization Comedia Consultancy in the 1990s (Bianchini, 1995; van Liempt et al, 2014; Shaw, 2014). 'Night-time economy' initially referred to a multi-industry of night cultural production, in which alcohol and leisure would be a part of night activity (Shaw, 2014). However, most night-time economy policies have concentrated on the deregulation of alcohol and leisure consumption (Shaw, 2014; van Liempt et al, 2014), and become neoliberalization strategies for "cities re-inventing themselves as consumption sites" (van Liempt et al, 2014: 6). In sum, most research on the night-time economy looks at the consumptionist side of the 24-hour city in downtown areas, and at issues encountered such as violence and insecurity (Bromley et al, 2000; Thomas and Bromley, 2000; Bromley et al, 2003; Crawford and Flint, 2009; Beer, 2011; Evans, 2012; Eldridge and Roberts, 2013).

Some studies have included a gender perspective or a critical race and ethnicity analysis (Roberts, 2006; Talbot, 2007; Sheard, 2011; Waitt and Gorman-Murray, 2011; Roberts and Eldridge, 2012; Schwanen et al, 2012; Roberts, 2013). The studies on gender look at exclusion, inequality or access to the night-time economy. They reveal that the dominant mainstream forms of nightlife are male dominated and heterosexual (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Sheard, 2011; Hubbard and Colosi, 2013). For example, young women's access to the night-time economy has been in male terms, adopting heavy drinking and involvement in violence (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Waitt and Gorman-Murray, 2011), or assessing women's risk perception of sexual abuse (Sheard, 2011).

Few studies look at the production side of the night-time economy (e.g. Shaw 2014), despite the night has been always a time of production, and women have always been part of the nightlife as workers regardless of historical attempts to exclude them (Melbin, 1987; Patel, 2010; Lowson and Arber, 2013). Research on gendered experiences of night work is mostly found in other fields of study such as sociology or labor studies. This research has focused more on the physiological than in the social consequences of women's night work, and the few examples of research looking at social aspects are mostly quantitative (Lowson and Arber, 2013). The social research about night and shift work with a gender lens looks at the impact of women's night work in household relationships (Melbin, 1987; Garey, 1995; Lowson and Arber, 2013).

In general, research on planning the night overlooks night-time cycles outside of the downtown, without looking at other parts of the city or other type of night-time activities. Fewer studies are found about the people that use the night-time for non-leisure activities or in non-Western contexts (Patel 2010, Amid 2013).

Thus, planning the night has focused on a small part of the night-life: the consumptionist side of the night-time economy related to leisure and alcohol consumption in downtown areas of Western cities. In general, accounts of night-life have romanticized night users as a special group of the population, without acknowledging that the night is also a space of work, care and reproduction, a space of everyday/everynight life, without any glamour for those constrained to work the night shift.

In sum, there is a need to include in *planning the night* policies the production side of the night economy from an intersectional feminist perspective; that moves beyond downtowns to other neighbourhoods, working centers, towns, and homes; that breaks with the male centered night culture; makes visible night workers everyday/everynight needs and analyzes how planning can contribute to improve their quality of life and right to the city.

Fear, safety and mobility

Feminist planning research makes reference to the night-time in relation to issues of fear, safety and mobility. These studies look at how women's perceptions of fear increase at night (Valentine 1989, Koskela 1999, Pain 2001, Loukaitou-Sideris 2006, Dammert 2007, Falú 2009) or discuss how fear and safety restrict women's mobility (Atkins 1989, Ganjavi et al. 2000, Carter 2005, Whitzman 2012).

Fear and safety have been deeply studied in planning. "Planning and urban management discourses are, and always have been, saturated with fear. The history of planning could be rewritten as the attempt to manage fear in the city" (Sandercock 2002, 203). At the same time, research has demonstrated how fear and safety restrict women's mobility, particularly at night (Pain 1991 and 1997, Koskela 1999, Loukaitou-Sideris 2005).

In planning, many theories and interventions have focused on how to control and prevent crime through the design of the physical environment, such as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) or Safer Cities programs. However, these initiatives respond mostly on crime committed by strangers in the public space. Feminists have criticized them for being gender blind, focusing only on the physical aspect of designing out fear and not including a social analysis of how safety is perceived differently by gender and other intersecting identities (Koskela and Pain 2000, Pain 2001, Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2010).

Feminist planning research focuses on fear and safety instead of crime, because crime only refers to those violent acts recognized in legislation, which vary depending on the context. Instead, fear and safety are broader concepts that take a more complex approach of the impact of violence in people's lives, not only in the public space and by strangers, but also as a continuum between the private and the public sphere. Indeed, looking at fear and safety allows including sexual harassment on the street, "a form of

non-criminal street violence that has a remarkable impact on women's access to urban space" (Koskela and Tani 2000).

Fear can be defined as embodied emotional and practical responses of people and communities to violence concerns (Pain 2001, Koskela 2010). Fear is based on gendered power relations in spaces (Epstein 1998, Koskela 1999 and 2010, Dammert 2007) and reproduced in everyday life practices (Gordon and Riger 1989, Valentine 1989, Koskela 2010, Sandberg and Rönnblom 2014). Research from different fields such as sociology, evolutionary and developmental psychology or educational studies have documented how fear is reproduced in the socialization process through the replication of traditional gender roles that define women as vulnerable and men as strong and aggressive. This social production of fear is unfolded through formal and informal channels, from warnings received at home, to news in the media, daily conversations, or police crime prevention advice (Mackie 1987, Maccoby 1992, Valentine 1992, Stockard 1999, Dammert 2007, Koskela 2010).

There are also gender differences in reporting violence and fear (Pain 1997, Dammert 2007, Koskela 2010). The vast majority of violence against women happens in the private space and by known people (Stanko 1988, Valentine 1989, 1992, Pain 1997, Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2010). The sexual and intimate nature of this violence contributes to the lack of report, because women are afraid of reprisal and because the violence is related intimately with their sexualized bodies (Koskela 2010, Falú 2011, Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2014). On the other hand, experiences and manifestations of fear are gendered and reported differently. Women tend to fear sexual violence and rape, the type of violence that attacks their intimate body (Pain 1991, Falú 2011, Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2014). In addition, women are more likely to adapt and restrict their everyday life because of violence (Pain 1991).

As previously mentioned, fear and safety affect women's everyday life and women's mobility, use and participation in the city (Pain 1991, Moser 2012), and these limitations become more acute after dark (Lynch and Atkins 1988, Atkins 1989, Pain 1991 and 1997, Koskela 1999, Ganjavi et al. 2000, Carter 2005, Loukaitou-Sideris 2005, Laub 2007, Morey 2007, Whitzman 2012). Feminist researchers have adopted the term "mobility" to push the boundaries of traditional transportation planning by examining the full suite of interacting and complex activities that involves the household, the community and the larger society, instead of viewing transportation as an individual choice of unidirectional trips from home to work that prioritize commute to paid work (Law 1999, Hanson 2010, Miralles-Guasch 2010). Studies on women's mobility patterns in the North American and European contexts have shown that women have a more sustainable, complex and diverse mobility patterns than men during the day (Grieco et al 1989, Grieco and McQuaid 2012, Hanson and Hanson 1980 and 1981, Hanson and Johnston 1985, Law 1999, Hanson 2010, Miralles-Guasch and Martínez-Melo 2012, Miralles-Guasch 2010, Sánchez de Madariaga 2013). However, women's mobility can be paralyzed at night because of fear of violence. After dark, women avoid certain parts of the city, do not use certain modes of transportation, or refrain from going out at all

(Atkins 1989, Ganjavi et al. 2000, Carter 2005, Loukaitou-Sideris 2005 and 2006, Whitzman 2012). The New Urban Agenda needs to respond to this paradox to guarantee women's full right to the city in both the day and night.

Towards including diverse gendered bodies in planning the night

This review leads to conclude that the role of planning has been to regulate and control what happens at night and who has the right to the night city. But little has been done to enable and facilitate the everyday/everynight life of people that use the urban night on a regular basis. Nightlife seems to be perceived as an exception, even for leisure, in spite of the fact that going out is a weekend routine for certain groups of people. Also, planning has supported the neoliberal model of maximizing the benefits of the night-time economy and addressing the problems that might interfere with this business, such as binge drinking, alcohol-related violence or neighbors' complains. In this sense, *planning the night* responds to neoliberal policies and disregards the needs of everyday/everynight life. Thus, in general it has ignored the everynight of those people who due to productive, care and reproductive work use the city after dark on a regular basis. At the same time, *planning the night* lacks a gender and intersectional perspective. It has included the gendered bodies of the White young adult males, but continues excluding other gendered bodies: the bodies of women, particularly low-income women, women of color, migrant women, as well as trans people, and non-White men.

A New Urban Agenda should include diverse gendered bodies in planning the night, and expand the debate of planning the night beyond the night-time economy of leisure and consumption, and make visible women's contributions to the different night-time economies, and in other parts of urban areas beyond city centers. Taking feminist contributions such as the analysis of gendered bodies as a spatial scale, looking at how gendered bodies feel, perceive, experience and resist the urban night will enable a better understanding of the role of fear and safety in women's everyday/everynight lives, as well as the use of the everyday/everynight life as a source of knowledge and methodology can help make visible the experiences of women working at night.

Planning the night policies need to include bodies as a spatial scale to de-emphasize the public-private divide and understand how fear perceptions are experienced and felt by women, as well as to include women as subjects of change and transformation that need to be present in all the phases of planning from diagnosis to evaluation. The use of bodies as a space can help also emphasize the continuum between private and pub-



Fig. 5 - Woman waiting the train in Barcelona, Barcelona 2016 (Author: Sara Ortiz Escalante)

lic spaces, and highlight the embodied gender experiences of the home, the community, the neighborhood or the city. Also, the feminist questioning and deconstruction of the public-private divide can be applied to the day-night dichotomy, which is also constructed and helps perpetuate patriarchal conceptions of women's place in society. In relation to that, adding everynight to the study of everyday life and time-space can help make visible the mundane and routine activities of the night, and challenge the imaginary of the night as a time-space of exception and transgression. Also, *planning the night* policies have to respond at how fear, safety and risk affect women working the night shift, including an intersectional analysis that breaks with essentialist accounts of women's and men's fear. In parallel, looking at notions of risk of women night workers can provide nuances to the debate on the right/privilege to taking risk. Finally, *planning the night* policies have the obligation to respond to the women's mobility paradox. It is unconceivable that in general terms, women have a more sustainable, complex and diverse mobility than men during the day, yet it can be paralyzed at night because of fear of violence. There is extensive research that illustrates this paradox and urban planning policies have not paid the attention this issue deserves.

In addition, women's everyday/everynight life experiences need to be incorporated in *planning the night* policies as a source of knowledge and methodology. Women's experiences need to be heard and included in planning to learn how everyday/everynight life works, in all its spheres (productive, reproductive, community and personal). The inclusion of women's everyday/everynight life will help plan better communities with the goal to make the unpaid, domestic and care work a social and collective responsibility, something we need to respond to as a society, as a local community, as a municipal government, as a region or as a state, and not something that a person, a family or a household has to deal with without external support. This would help value domestic and care tasks and remove the burden of this responsibility from women's shoulders.

Also, examining the routines of women at day and night, the types of activities they develop, with whom they develop these activities, at what times and with which transportation mode will help understand: the role of mobility in the accessibility to night-life, the contributions of night workers to the paid and unpaid night-time economy, the negotiation of mobility in the private space, the role of public transportation, as well as women's forced mobility and immobility. In sum, examining the life of women at night can help make visible women's use and appropriation of the night territory, reclaim their ownership of the night, and promote the idea that more women can use it, independently of their purpose.

ENDNOTES

¹ The title of the dissertation is *Transgressing space and time: Planning the everyday/everynight life of women nightshift workers*. This research studies how the everyday/everynight life of self-identified women working at night is considered and addressed in urban planning, within the boundaries of the Barcelona Metropolitan Region. Using feminist participatory action research (FPAR) as a methodology, this project also explores how women nightshift workers can influence planning policies and practices. The research is developed in coordination with Col·lectiu Punt 6, and in collaboration with Fundació Àmbit Prevenció, the women working on the nightshift at Bellvitge Hospital, the Women's Secretariat of the CC.OO. Union in Barcelona, Ca la Dona, and Irídia. 24 women working on the nightshift in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona are co-researchers on this project. This research is supported by the University of British Columbia Public Scholar Initiative, and the City of Barcelona.

² The term 'intersectional feminism' disrupts essentialist conceptions of being a "woman" and looks at how different structural sources of inequality such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexual identity, disability, origin, and migration status are socially constructed and interrelated (Crenshaw 1991).

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Approach to the quality of urban life from a gender perspective

Blanca Gutiérrez Valdivia

Abstract

Improve the quality of life is one of the main concerns of the public agenda of cities around the world. The quality of life is closely related to the satisfaction of daily needs of people and how these needs are satisfied is not neutral. The needs of men and women are different as a result of gender roles. Androcentric urban architecture contributes to satisfying the needs of women and men is asymmetrical so that the quality of city life is not fair.

The following article reflects on the concept of quality of life from urban dimension and the impact of gender in the definition and measurement of that term.

KEY WORDS

Urban Quality of life, Gender, Everyday life



Espacios públicos de Barcelona

Approccio alla qualità della vita urbana secondo una prospettiva di genere

Migliorare la qualità della vita è una delle principali preoccupazioni delle agende pubbliche delle città di tutto il mondo. La qualità della vita è strettamente legata alla soddisfazione dei bisogni quotidiani della gente e il modo in cui queste esigenze siano soddisfatte non è una questione neutrale. Le esigenze di uomini e donne sono diverse a causa dei ruoli di genere. L'architettura urbana androcentrica contribuisce a soddisfare le esigenze delle donne e degli uomini in modo asimmetrico così che la qualità della vita in città non risulta equa. Il seguente articolo riflette sul concetto di qualità della vita secondo la sua dimensione urbana e rispetto all'impatto di genere nella definizione e nella misurazione di tale termine.

PAROLE CHIAVE

Qualità urbana della vita, genere, vita quotidiana

Aproximación a la calidad de vida urbana desde una perspectiva de género

Blanca Gutiérrez Valdivia

Introducción

Desde los años 70 múltiples trabajos feministas han demostrado que las condiciones de vida de mujeres y hombres son diferentes y que el patriarcado impregna todos los ámbitos de la sociedad (la economía, la comunicación, la historia, la ciencia, el urbanismo...). Esto produce un desequilibrio en el reparto de las oportunidades y en el acceso a los recursos, lo que tiene implicaciones directas sobre la calidad de vida de mujeres y hombres.

El análisis de la calidad de vida se ha abordado desde diferentes ámbitos como la salud, el medio ambiente o las políticas públicas, aunque en la mayor parte de los casos, no se ha prestado atención a cómo influyen sobre la calidad de vida urbana, las características sociales, que como el género, atraviesan todas las dimensiones de la vida y condicionan la vida cotidiana de las personas.

Las diferencias de género entre mujeres y hombres se manifiestan en las actividades que desarrollan, cómo actúan, cómo interpretan sus propias vidas y cómo son percibidos socialmente. De esta manera, las actividades desarrolladas en el día a día y la gestión del tiempo están marcados por los roles de género y el hecho de tener (o no) un cuerpo sexuado. Teresa Torns señala que la perspectiva de género ha resultado imprescindible para visibilizar dos dimensiones clave de la vida cotidiana: el tiempo y las tareas de reproducción de la vida humana y la relación de estas dimensiones con el bienestar cotidiano (Torns et al, 2006).

Por otro lado, las personas desarrollan su vida cotidiana en una estructura urbana que está definida por las normas y valores dominantes en la sociedad. El sistema patriarcal es universal e influye en todas las esferas y ámbitos de la sociedad, también en la producción del espacio. Jane Darke señala que el patriarcado adopta muchas formas y cambia con el tiempo. Coexiste con la mayoría de los sistemas económicos, incluido el capitalismo, y en muchos escenarios: en la familia, en el lugar de trabajo, en el gobierno, etc. Está tan profundamente arraigado en las relaciones sociales que mucha gente no lo identifica y considera la dominación masculina como algo natural (Darke, 1998). “Los espacios surgen de las relaciones de poder, las relaciones de poder establecen las normas; y las normas definen los límites, que son tanto sociales como espaciales, porque determinan quién pertenece a un lugar y quien queda excluido, así como la situación o emplazamiento de una determinada experiencia” (McDowell, 1999:15). Como consecuencia de esta dominación patriarcal, determinadas actividades son consideradas socialmente más importantes y esto se materializa en una configuración urbana que

prioriza unas actividades y jerarquiza unos usos frente a otros, dedicándoles más espacio, mejores localizaciones, conectividad... Muchos de los trabajos que han abordado el análisis de la ciudad desde una perspectiva de género han señalado la relación entre el diseño androcéntrico de la ciudad y la calidad de vida de las mujeres (Campos, 1996; Durán, 1998; Rainero et al, 2001). Cuestiones como la percepción de inseguridad, la insuficiencia de infraestructuras y servicios para el apoyo de las tareas reproductivas y de cuidados, la falta de baños públicos, las dificultades para acceder a recursos económicos estables... son temas que afectan directamente a la calidad de vida de las personas y que están atravesadas por la variable género.

El espacio refleja las desigualdades de género, y al mismo tiempo es reproductor de estas desigualdades al ser transmisor de comportamientos y usos normativos. Una configuración espacial androcéntrica reproduce y normaliza un uso desigual del espacio urbano y por lo tanto una calidad de vida asimétrica.

Este artículo es parte de la tesis en proceso “El género del espacio: Calidad de vida urbana desde una perspectiva de feminista”. El objetivo principal es analizar cómo incide el género en la calidad de vida de los entornos urbanos.

La hipótesis sostiene que la calidad de vida en los entornos urbanos es diferente para hombres y mujeres, ya que:

- Los roles de género estructuran la vida de las personas, que afecta a los diferentes aspectos de la vida cotidiana (actividades y tareas, distribución del tiempo, percepciones...).
- Una planificación y configuración urbana androcéntrica que dificulta las tareas reproductivas y de cuidado y el tener un cuerpo sexualizado femenino.

El objetivo de este artículo es hacer un repaso sobre el concepto de calidad de vida y analizarlo desde una perspectiva crítica feminista; relacionar la configuración física de las ciudades y entornos con la calidad de vida y el impacto en la vida de las mujeres y hacer una propuesta conceptual para operativizar la calidad de vida que permita crear indicadores para evaluar el día a día de mujeres y hombres en la ciudad.

Sobre el concepto de calidad de vida

Hablar de calidad de vida significa cuestionarse cómo es la vida de las personas en un entorno determinado y en relación a aspectos concretos. El concepto de calidad de vida implica una valoración o evaluación. Pensar en buena o mala calidad de vida, o en niveles o grados de calidad de vida es algo implícito al término. Cuando se habla de la calidad de vida de una sociedad o de un colectivo, se está cuestionando cómo vive un grupo concreto de individuos en un contexto espacial y temporal determinados, y se le está atribuyendo un valor. Tal y como indica Pacione, el concepto de calidad de vida tiene diversidad de significados, ya que se utiliza de diversas maneras pero, en general, “con la intención de referirse a las condiciones de los entornos en los que viven las per-

sonas, (la contaminación del aire y el agua, o la precariedad de la vivienda, por ejemplo), o algún atributo propio de las personas (como la salud o el rendimiento escolar)”. (Pacione, 2003:19)

El concepto de calidad de vida surge en los años 50 en un contexto de fuerte expansión del modelo económico capitalista y creciente industrialización. Es un momento en que la opinión pública comienza a plantearse cuestiones relativas al medio ambiente y al deterioro de las condiciones de vida urbana como consecuencia de la creciente industrialización (Leva, 2005). A partir de este momento la Calidad de Vida comenzó a utilizarse como concepto clave en los programas y líneas de actuación de diferentes organismos e instituciones de escala local, estatal e internacional. El concepto emerge como respuesta a las medidas objetivas del progreso material como por ejemplo el PIB, ya que los estudios demostraban que crecimiento en confort material no se traducían en un incremento de la satisfacción, bienestar o felicidad. (European Environment Agency, 2009).

En el concepto de calidad de vida subyace un componente de bienestar más allá de los bienes de consumo, ya que Blanco Abarca defiende que el bienestar y la ética social se encuentran indisociablemente unidos a la justicia social y distributiva (1985). Blanco Abarca también cuestiona la causalidad entre crecimiento económico y bienestar social y plantea tres argumentos: los individuos tienen otros intereses aparte de acumular bienes y riquezas; el mismo progreso económico acarrea costos sociales y culturales; y la prosperidad de unos ha llegado a cambio de la indigencia de otros (1985).

En las últimas décadas del siglo XX aumenta considerablemente el interés por el estudio de la calidad de vida, una vez que las necesidades básicas de la población del Mundo “Desarrollado”¹ se consideran cubiertas y es el momento de trabajar para mejorar la calidad de vida. (Ardila, 2003)

Algunos trabajos concretan la definición y evaluación de la calidad de vida en el ámbito urbano y múltiples trabajos demuestran la relación entre las características físicas y funcionales del espacio y las condiciones de vida de las personas. Para Mulvey, la calidad de vida es un concepto amplio que describe en qué medida las comunidades apoyan a sus residentes en su bienestar y satisfacción con la vida (Mulvey, 2002).

Una carencia constante en la mayoría de los trabajos sobre calidad de vida es incluir, tanto en la definición como en los métodos de evaluación, la perspectiva de género de manera integral. Ya que la calidad de vida evalúa el impacto sobre la vida de las personas de diferentes aspectos: el entorno, la salud, la economía...y todo ellos están conformados y conceptualizados en el marco de una sociedad que está estructurada por el género.

Calidad de vida para la satisfacción de las necesidades desde la perspectiva de género.

En el marco de este trabajo se define la calidad de vida como una construcción compleja y multifactorial que alude a la existencia de unas condiciones esenciales (físicas, sociales, económicas y culturales) óptimas en los diferentes espacios urbanos que per-

mitan a las personas satisfacer las diferentes necesidades de su vida cotidiana (sean diarias o eventuales) en un entorno próximo y con unas condiciones de autonomía y seguridad.

Para poder evaluar la calidad de vida es necesario repensar las necesidades desde una perspectiva de género. Diferentes autoras apoyándose en la perspectiva de género han remarcado la existencia de pluralidad de necesidades y los problemas que conlleva no tener en cuenta esta diversidad. Siguiendo esta argumentación, muchas autoras que han hecho una lectura desde el territorio, han denunciado el carácter androcéntrico de las ciudades al invisibilizarse las necesidades relacionadas con las tareas reproductivas y diseñarse los espacios sin tener en cuenta la vida cotidiana de las mujeres. (Campos, 1996; Levy, 1996; Levy, 2003; Moser & Levy, 1986; Walker et al, 2013; Moser, 1989;)

Para Beall (2010) mujeres y hombres tienen diferentes intereses y necesidades en las distintas etapas de sus vidas y estas van variando también según los diversos contextos familiares y comunitarios. Las ciudades como expresión espacial de las relaciones sociales están basadas en el poder y el conflicto y también en la cooperación y el consenso, lo que ha significado que muchas veces las necesidades de las mujeres hayan sido ignoradas.

Huggins (2002) atribuye la diversidad de necesidades entre mujeres y hombres tanto a los procesos biológicos que atravesamos los seres humanos a lo largo de la vida, como a las distintas posiciones y papeles que jugamos en la sociedad y las expectativas excluyentes que se plantean para ambos.

Para Moser (1989) son los diferentes roles desempeñados en la sociedad los que provocan que mujeres y hombres a menudo tengan diferentes necesidades. Caren Levy (1996 y 2003) señala que mujeres y hombres, niños y niñas tienen intereses y necesidades diversos a partir de su distinta ubicación social, los diferentes roles que desempeñan en la sociedad y el distinto acceso y control sobre los recursos.

Es la construcción social de lo masculino y lo femenino la que hace que se tengan necesidades diferenciadas. Así lo defiende Molyneux (1985) que señala que cuando se utilizan género y mujeres como sinónimos se están dando por supuesto que los intereses de género equivalen a los intereses de las mujeres, que el género debe ser priorizado como el principal determinante de los intereses de las mujeres y que la subjetividad de las mujeres se estructura únicamente a través del género. Los intereses de género serían aquellos que las mujeres (o los hombres según el caso) pueden desarrollar en virtud de su posicionamiento social a través de los atributos de género. La autora define dos tipos: estratégicos y prácticos. Los intereses estratégicos serían aquellos que se derivan del análisis de la subordinación de la mujer y con el objetivo de construir una alternativa más igualitaria y los intereses prácticos aquellos que responden a una necesidad inmediata que no tiene por qué estar relacionado con un objetivo estratégico por la igualdad de género como por ejemplo aspectos de la vida cotidiana relacionados con la división sexual del trabajo (Molyneux, 1985).

Según Moser (1989), en la práctica las necesidades de género son aquellas que están formuladas a partir de las condiciones concretas de la experiencia de las mujeres, en

su posición genérica dentro de la división sexual del trabajo y derivada de su interés práctico de género de la supervivencia humana.

Pero el género no es la única variable que incide en las necesidades cotidianas para reconocer la diversidad de experiencias es necesario aplicar la perspectiva de género interseccional. La interseccionalidad visibiliza cómo diferentes fuentes estructurales de desigualdad (u organizadores sociales) como el género, la etnia, la clase o la orientación social que estructuran la vida de las personas, no son naturales sino que están construidas y además están interrelacionadas y mantienen relaciones recíprocas. (Platero, 2014)

Siguiendo esta argumentación bell hooks (2004) señala que las identidades de raza y clase crean diferencias en la calidad, en el estilo de vida y en el estatus social que están por encima de las experiencias comunes que las mujeres comparten. Lo que se construye sobre la diferencia biológica entre mujeres y hombres no es una feminidad en relación con una masculinidad, sino varias. No es sólo que haya diferencias entre los distintos grupos de mujeres, sino que esas diferencias son a menudo escenario de un conflicto de intereses” (Bhavnani y Coulson, 2004: 54). Si no se aplica un enfoque interseccional se están invisibilizando las diferencias que existen entre mujeres en relación a su origen, condición socioeconómica, edad... Estas diferencias también influyen de manera fundamental en la calidad de vida urbana. Si pensamos en términos de clase o condición socioeconómica, en el marco de una sociedad capitalista con un espacio público cada vez más mercantilizado donde el ocio, el deporte y la cultura están casi siempre vinculados con un intercambio monetario, las mujeres (y hombres) con recursos económicos limitados no podrán acceder a estos servicios. Asimismo mujeres mayores o con problemas de movilidad tendrán dificultades para moverse por la ciudad si no existen recorridos peatonales y transportes públicos accesibles, lo que repercutirá en la calidad de vida de su día a día.

Si como apuntan diferentes autoras existen necesidades concretas derivadas de las experiencias de las mujeres o unas necesidades de género, estas necesidades tendrían que vincularse con el espacio urbano como soporte físico donde se materializan estas necesidades. Pascuala Campos alerta de que en múltiples ocasiones las necesidades que conllevan los trabajos de la vida cotidiana son olvidadas, por eso es importante visibilizar estas tareas y evidenciar el rol imprescindible que desempeñan para el mantenimiento de cualquier sociedad. Las actividades relacionadas con la atención y el cuidado de los niños y niñas, de las personas mayores y enfermas, y de todos los trabajos relativos a la higiene, alimentación y atención afectiva son considerados resolubles de una manera “natural”, es decir resueltos en la mayoría de los casos por mujeres (Campos, 1996). A efectos prácticos esto implica que en la mayoría de las ocasiones no son tenidos en cuenta a la hora de planificar el territorio y de hacer políticas públicas.

Como cuestiones generales se podría señalar que las mujeres utilizan más el transporte público y hacen más recorridos a pie (Miralles-Guasch, 2010). Utilizan más ciertos equipamientos o servicios, al asumir en mayor medida tareas relacionadas con los cuidados y la esfera reproductiva, como servicios médicos, espacios públicos (como acompañant-

es y cuidadoras de niños y niñas) y mercados o tiendas (Llop, 1996).

Calidad de vida urbana desde la perspectiva de género

En términos generales, las mujeres tienen una peor salud que los hombres (un 14,4% de las mujeres han sufrido una restricción de la actividad habitual por dolores o síntomas en las últimas 2 semanas, frente al 8,6% de los hombres²), tienen más dificultades para acceder a un empleo remunerado y ganan menos (un 14,49 de mujeres con estudios superiores o doctorado se encuentran desempleadas frente a un 8,28% de los hombres³, además las mujeres ganan el 76,07 del salario de un hombre⁴), dedican más horas al día a las actividades reproductivas (las mujeres desempeñan una media diaria de 3 horas más que los hombres en las tareas domésticas⁵), tienen menos horas libres al día (las mujeres dedican de media casi una hora menos al día en actividades de ocio⁶). Todas estas cuestiones apuntan a que las mujeres tienen una peor calidad de vida.

Si focalizamos el análisis de la calidad de vida en el ámbito urbano vemos que esta no depende solo de las condiciones materiales del entorno, sino que interactúa con las características sociales y económicas de los individuos Pacione (2003), sostiene que la calidad de vida no es un atributo inherente al entorno, sino que es la interacción de las características ambientales y las características de la persona.

El género tienen un papel determinante tanto en el acceso a los recursos como en la percepción que se tiene de los recursos existentes. El género (u otras variables como la condición socioeconómica, el origen o la edad) afectan a las condiciones de vida, ya que inciden directamente en la cantidad y calidad de los recursos a los que se accede por motivos económicos (las mujeres por ejemplo suelen tener salarios más bajos) o socio-culturales (los recursos existentes no se adaptan a las necesidades de las mujeres o son discriminadas en el uso de los mismo). Al mismo tiempo el género configura las valoraciones y aspiraciones de la calidad de vida ya que el individuo hace una lectura de sus condiciones de vida en relación a su posición dentro del grupo social.

Aunque se sabe poco sobre cuáles son los factores basados en el género que determinan la calidad de vida urbana, diferentes trabajos han señalado algunos de los temas que afectan a la calidad de vida de las mujeres como el trabajo no remunerado, el cuidado de niños y niñas, la salud y la vivienda y la seguridad (Dunning et al, 2006)

La vida cotidiana de los y las habitantes urbanos está definida por las experiencias, los significados y prácticas del día a día, incluyendo la manera en que las relaciones de poder se expresan en el espacio urbano (Jirón, 2007). La distinta distribución de roles sociales delimita una distribución diferente del tiempo y del espacio (Santiso y Molpeceres, 1998). En este sentido, el género como categoría delimitadora de jerarquías y relaciones de poder configura las experiencias y prácticas de las personas que habitan la ciudad. El contexto urbano y las relaciones de género interactúan como determinantes de las capacidades de los habitantes de la ciudad para lograr el bienestar (Walker et al, 2013). Los roles sociales asumidos típicamente por las mujeres como la crianza y el

mantenimiento del hogar, hacen que sean más dependientes de las características de su entorno (Stafford et al, 2005). Como señalan Fadda y Jirón, “la perspectiva de género complementa el concepto de calidad de vida ya que las percepciones varían dependiendo de las relaciones de género, las necesidades, los roles, el acceso y control sobre los recursos y particularmente, la capacidad de toma de decisiones que tienen los hombres y las mujeres en un contexto específico. Los derechos que tienen hombres y mujeres sobre bienes y servicios comunitarios también tienen implicancias en términos de género” (2000: 130-131). En relación al hábitat urbano, existe una estrecha relación entre las características del barrio y el bienestar de las mujeres, ya que las mujeres pasan más tiempo en el barrio (Rollero et al, 2014).

Tabla 1. Problemas que afectan a las mujeres según escalas, Clara Greed
(Elaboración a partir del trabajo de Clara Greed, 1997:6)

Escala	Problemas
“macro” de la planificación urbanística	Zonificación segregatoria, escasez de transporte público y descentralización del comercio
“meso” distrito	Falta de equipamientos, tiendas y oportunidades de empleo
“micro” local	Seguridad, acceso y cuidado de los hijos

Sistema sexo-género	Ciudad
Cuerpo sexuado de mujer	-Acoso callejero -Percepción de inseguridad -Control sobre el cuerpo de la mujer -Falta de baños públicos
Establecimiento de estándares físicos según un cuerpo tipo masculino <i>normativo</i>	-Tamaño, altura, materiales y distancia de elementos del mobiliario (altura entre escalones, tamaño de contenedores, material de los bancos en el espacio público)
Distribución de tareas y actividades cotidianas según roles de género	-Patrones de movilidad diferenciales -Organización espacial y temporal según división sexual del trabajo
Minusvaloración los cuidados y lo reproductivo	-Espacios urbanos pensados para lo productivo, el ocio, el deporte, pero no para los cuidados. Se establece jerarquías y prioridades dentro de las diferentes actividades -Organización de las redes de movilidad priorizando los horarios asociados con lo productivos

Tabla 2. Diferencias de género y materialización en la ciudad (Elaboración propia)

Clara Greed (1997) recoge algunos temas que afectan negativamente a las mujeres por cómo se materializa su vida cotidiana en el espacio físico y clasifica estos problemas según las diferentes escalas del territorio.

En esta línea y según lo visto anteriormente se ha elaborado la siguiente tabla en la que se identifican problemáticas del sistema sexo-género y cómo se materializan en algún tipo de desigualdad en el espacio urbano.

En la tabla 2 se ha intentado recoger cómo diferentes atributos del sistema sexo-género se materializan en dificultades o problemáticas en la vida cotidiana de las mujeres en la ciudad que afectan directamente a su calidad de vida. Por el hecho de tener un cuerpo sexuado femenino las mujeres sufren un control constante sobre su cuerpo, diciéndoles cómo deben ir vestidas o qué deben hacer. Esto está estrechamente vinculado con el acoso callejero que se materializa muchas veces en agresiones verbales o físicas y que influye sobre la percepción de inseguridad de las mujeres en los espacios públicos, que también está condicionada por el modelo de socialización de las mujeres a quienes se educa para que tengan miedo a andar solas de noche por la calle. Además, los cuerpos de hombres y mujeres son diferentes y las necesidades fisiológicas son distintas (embarazos, lactancia, menstruación...), diferencias que sin embargo no son tenidas en cuenta a la hora de diseñar baños públicos.

Otro atributo del sistema género que perjudica a las mujeres es que los tamaños y las alturas en la configuración urbana están pensadas bajo el estándar de un cuerpo masculino normativo, por lo que no se tiene en cuenta los cuerpos femeninos, pero tampoco la diversidad de cuerpos masculinos.

La distribución de tareas y roles según los roles de género se corresponde con una configuración urbana que no está adaptada a la satisfacción de necesidades de la vida reproductiva, tareas que además está infra valoradas socialmente. Esto hace que tanto los tiempos como los espacios de la ciudad prioricen otras actividades y estas tengan que resolverse con una mayor dedicación de tiempo y esfuerzos.

Conclusiones

Pensar en mejorar la calidad de vida de las personas pasa por repensar en la diversidad de necesidades y en si los entornos urbanos están satisfaciendo de manera equitativa y justa estas necesidades. Reflexionar sobre las diferentes necesidades de los sujetos para visibilizar aquellas que tradicionalmente no han sido tenidas en cuenta. Sin embargo, como señala Campos (1996), dar respuesta a las necesidades relacionadas con lo reproductivo no se traduce en una sectorización sexuada de los espacios sino en preparar el espacio para una sociedad más justa y equitativa donde las obligaciones que hoy siguen asumiendo mayoritariamente las mujeres sean compartidas.

La perspectiva feminista pone en valor las tareas reproductivas y de cuidados, reconoce su impacto cuantitativo y cualitativo en la sociedad y visibiliza que actualmente siguen siendo las mujeres quienes desempeñan mayoritariamente las tareas asociadas

con lo reproductivo. Sin embargo, cuando se reivindica incorporar las necesidades derivadas de la esfera reproductiva a la planificación urbana no se trata en ningún caso de hacer una “naturalización” de la división sexual del trabajo.

El objetivo es conseguir cambiar los parámetros sociales que valoran más las actividades productivas que las reproductivas, que cada persona pueda elegir qué actividades desarrollar sin que éstas sean definidas por su género y que la planificación urbana responda a las necesidades derivadas de la esfera reproductiva a través de la configuración urbana.

La mejora de las condiciones de vida y por tanto de la calidad de vida de las ciudades es una preocupación que está presente en todas las agendas urbanas.

Si existe una intención real de construir ciudades más justas y equitativas es necesario pensar en la diversidad de necesidades de la población y en cómo la satisfacción de estas necesidades puede mejorar el día a día de las personas. Para ello es imprescindible pensar las problemáticas urbanas desde una perspectiva de género, desde la seguridad, hasta la vivienda, pasando por la movilidad o el acceso a los recursos, porque si no se piensa en clave de género, se estará contribuyendo a perpetuar el sistema de dominación patriarcal.

ENDNOTES

1 Diferentes indicadores mundiales muestran los distintos niveles de satisfacción de las necesidades básicas en los diferentes países y también diversos trabajos apuntan hacia una polarización social dentro de un mismo territorio.

2 Fuente: Encuesta Nacional de Salud 2011-2012. INE-MSSSI Fuente consultada 29 de marzo de 2015

3 Estadísticas del Instituto de la Mujer y para la Igualdad de Oportunidades, fuente Encuesta de Población Activa, INE, 2004. Fuente consultada 29 de marzo de 2015

4 Fuente: Encuesta de Estructura Salarial (EES). INE 2012 Fuente consultada 29 de marzo de 2015

5 Fuente: “Mujeres y hombres en España 2014” Publicado por el INE. La fuente concreta de este dato es la Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo 2009-2010

6 Fuente: “Mujeres y hombres en España 2014” Publicado por el INE. La fuente concreta de este dato es la Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo 2009-2010 Mujeres ocupadas 6,18 horas a actividades de ocio frente a 7,17 horas de los hombres ocupadas y en mujeres activas 6,45 horas frente al 7,40 de los hombres activos

7 No se contempla la diversidad de cuerpos ni funcional, por lo que se diseña según un patrón estándar con

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Events, conferences,
exhibitions

Angelica, Bradamante... and the others: a convention at the Triennale Exhibition in Milan to discover women's thought in contemporary creativity

Francesca PIROZZI



The charming, sentimental Angelica and the fearless warrior Bradamante are, like every woman, beyond easy stereotypes, eclectic characters, with a psychological and experience universe of their own easily revealing itself in its complexity to an attentive reader as a mirror of the women's personalities emerging in the daily life. It is not by chance that Raimonda Riccini, President of the AIS/Design, chose to dedicate to the heroines by Ariosto the 3rd National Convention of the Italian Association of Design Historians *A/B/D/Angelica and Bradamante: Women of Design*, held on June 17th and 18th, 2016 at the Triennale Exhibition in Milan and dedicated to the relationship between women and design. A relationship still unexplored, as women are almost absent from the history of design and art and in its historical and critical research there is still a male approach based on negationism, in spite of the multiple expressions of women's creative talent which is constantly spreading nowadays, as witnessed by the exhibition *W. Women in Italian Design* as well, organised by Silvana Annicchiarico and currently displayed at the Triennale Design Museum, showing the "river" – this is the metaphor adopted by the exhibition path – of women's projects implemented in the art

and customary objects which populated the spaces of our life from the 20th century up to now. The will to shed light on the *other half* of design – just to quote an expression used by Lea Vergine – comes from this "unjustified absence" of women in its history; a half that, in spite of its primary contribution to the renewal of culture and project practices given to our country, has often acted "softly", even without the awareness of its right to take part, "on the same level", to the professional contexts in which male colleagues have easily found an appropriate historical position and award. Therefore, the ambitious goal of the convention was to reflect on the role of women in society, professional work and culture, thus restoring and focussing the attention on the several authors and designers who dedicated their life to creative thought, exploiting their intelligence in order to bring

Fig. 1 – Conference, round table



art to a daily and collective dimension but, at the same time, to build the basis not to repeat those perverted mechanisms which suffocated women's creativity in the 20th century from society and culture. Beside the historical recognition – which can already rely on important contributions, such as the innovative research and evaluation of the project carried out by Anty Pansera, president of *DcomeDesign*, an association active on women's side in the historical and critical research and in designing for social purposes – the convention wanted to focus its attention on the limitations and possibilities of today's professional activity for women as far as design in the training, professional and scientific field is concerned on the one hand; on the other hand the image as a mother in contemporary history and in the contemporary world and its effects on cultural and social models as well.

During the convention, several and interesting women profiles came to surface thanks to the net put into the sea of creativity of the 20th century. Unfortunately, the convention did not give the expected results as a precious and concrete restoring occasion of their contributions, even including their works in the contemporary art exhibition organised on this theme and with similar goals at the Triennale Exhibition. Among the several women who gave their contribution in the artistic and craft field there are – thanks to the research carried out by Maria Chiara Salvaneli, myself and Serena Carbone – mostly unknown characters, often with multi-faceted talents, that are often difficult to define: Bianca Tuninetto and Lidia Lanfranconi, “female quotas” of the Studio Del Campo, a Turin-based workshop producing fire-enamelled objects active in the second half of the last century (1956-97) and characterized by a perfect role balance within the working group, apart from the quality and the expressive variety of its creations; the pottery-worker Clara Garesio, whose existence, characterized by a hard-working artistic and training activity, was like a travel through pottery from Turin through Faenza and Isernia to Naples, which she lived until the beginning of the new millennium “behind the scene” of the official artistic scenario and was recongized in her mature years, when she experienced a bright season of freedom and creative liveliness; Lucrezia Gangemi from Calabria, journalist, actress, fashion designer, who lived in New York in the post-avantgarde era, in a context rich in opprtunities but, at the same time, in conflicts and contradictions, interpreted through a small craft production of artifacts made of wool and leather. The presence of women is also greatly varied in the field



Fig. 2 - Clara Garesio

Fig. 3 - Lora Lamm





Fig. 4 - Liisi Beckmann

Monetta Moretti Mateldi, Giulia Veronesi and Umberta Barni are the designers of printing materials which emerged from the research of Franco Dradi, starting from the Thirties, from the magazines belonging to Monetta Ferrante, Ornella Linke Bossi, Claudia Morgagni are the significant Italian graphics operating between the economic boom and the experience of the changes characterising the passage from the authorial dimension until the separation between graphics and advertising, their contribution to the communication of industrial products, as Franco Fracchetti. In the same field the Italian experiences of Anita Klinz and Lora Fracchetti, introduced by Anty Pansera and Valeria Bucchetti: the first started in 1948 with *La vispa Teresa*, and followed a complex professional path, became one of the protagonists of the history of the graphic project, art director at Mondadori and dedicating to advertising, design and communication, and developed for the shopping group La Rinascente a series of projects focussing on women's character, interpreted with originality, such a way to build a positive reference model in representing the female physique, above all in the contemporary context, characterised by widespread genre stereotypes – which also comes out from the research of the University Research Centre for Genre Cultures. For the shopping group La Rinascente (Studio Sviluppo) also the Finnish artist and designer Liisi Beckmann worked at the beginning of her career, then becoming designer for Gabbianelli, Vetreria Vistosi, Vittorio Bonacina, Driade and author, in the Sixties and the Seventies, of *cult* projects such as the tray Nido (Valenti) exposed at the MoMA in New York, the armchair Karelia and the table Arcimboldo, produced by Zanotta. Connected with the famous trademarks of author design and with the golden era of the Italian design as well is the story told by Elena Brigi whose protagonist is the entrepreneur Maria Simoncelli and her adventure with Dino Gavina: Maria supports his choices and makes his ideas concrete, managing all aspects of his business with great intelligence, passion and abilities, so that the creativity of this designer from Bologna becomes a customary object and a cultural good. Piera Peroni's path traced by Mauro Sanmicheli goes from advertising to publishing: in 1961 she founded the magazine *Abitare*, managed in cooperation with an editorial staff almost entirely made of women, addressing to a wide professional and non-professional public, adopting a rigorous but elegant language through which she proposes contents aiming at aesthetic quality as well as civil and social values. Journalism and engagement in the publishing field also mark the profile of Giuliana Gramigna introduced by Cinzia Pagni, whose interior design projects are characterised by the interdisciplinary dialogue between architecture and design. In the field of gastronomy journalism the characters of *Petronilla e le altre* told about by Fiorella Bulegato are worth mentioning, author of an important modernization work of the women condition in a historical period full of political and social changes. Protagonists of the city of Milan in the Fifties through the Seventies are the several women workers told about by Rossana di Fazio in *La Signorina Kores* – icon of a typist in Piazza del Duomo – representing

those women coming to the city in the period of the economic boom looking for a job and playing a fundamental role in the social and cultural changes in that moment of our national history. The example of the professional paths of the designers Raffaella Crespi and Lica Steiner, analysed by Luciana Gunetti, develops starting from the idea in order to come to the construction of the memory of the project, because they systematically record their work and organised cultural places as well, such as the archives and the libraries today belonging to the Historical Archive of the Politecnico in Milan, aiming at the scientific research. The research of the identity of a design discipline compared to local contexts is the core of the activity carried out by Anna Maria Fundarò told about by Marinella Ferrara: founder of the Institute of Industrial Design at the University of Palermo and author of several articles, with its intellectual work Fundarò promotes an idea of “design for development” which aims at affecting the design, economic and social politics of the territory. At the end Letizia Bollini talked about women, communication and technologies, while Elena Dellapiana showed the first results of the European project MoWoWo (Modern Movement Women), which started more than one year ago, whose development offers an interesting occasion to reflect on the methodological problems and on the possibilities of intervention and revision of the historical contexts pre-established by a “genre” research approach applied to the history of design and architecture.

In conclusion, as Raimonda Riccini commented: «the quality of the interventions, the interest in the stories and the importance of the problems we discussed about showed that the theme of design from the point of view of women is important both for the history of design and for contemporary culture. Reading and reading again about those women, who are the (forgotten) protagonists of the history of design not only means restoring a historical truth, but it also has a political, cultural and disciplinary value. In the first case, study and research can become active elements of a fight which has just begun: reducing and completely removing the genre gap that still today represents one of the factors making our country backward (and not only that). In the second case, the history of design from the point of view of women can make us rethink about the way of making the history and renewing the methods of the discipline. Abandoning an individual point of view, the role of women in the culture of design – both as designers and as protagonists in publishing, entrepreneurship, university – makes us think about the story of design as a complex and unanimous phenomenon».

Studies, plans,
projects

Medieval persistences in the feminine living within an Apennine settlement of Southern Peninsular Italy

Mario COLETTA

Abstract

Torrecuso is a little settlement along the Southern Apennines, in Campania region, originally a fort surrounded by a walled village in the early Middle Ages, which has substantially preserved its original town planning/typological characteristics in the distribution of its winding inner paths, in the persistent toponyms of dismissed functions, in the walls still carrying physical evidences of its gates and towers.

Similarly the centre has kept, until the end of World War II, the behavioural characteristics of its feminine population, handed on by a feudal regime surviving, by more than one century, the laws banishing it.

The focus of attention is on the review of the discriminatory conditions of women's living, both within and outside the walled centre, stressing how women within the centre had to bear heavier moral and material burdens than women outside and how their emancipative process has evolved more slowly.

*Foto n. 1 - Torrecuso, veduta paesag-
gistica urbana*



Persistenze medioevali nell'abitare al femminile in un insediamento appenninico del Mezzogiorno peninsulare d'Italia.

Stralci di personali memorie sulla metamorfosi Casa-Città nella cultura dell'habitat seguita al secondo conflitto mondiale.

La città, come la casa, nel linguaggio grammaticale italiano, è coniugata al femminile; al contrario il lavoro, l'impiego, l'ufficio, il cantiere ecc. risultano coniugati al maschile, anche se tante porte, originariamente chiuse, poi socchiuse, si sono successivamente aperte e finalmente spalancate, lasciandosi dietro, nella memoria di pochi, un cigolio che continua a trasmettere il fastidio di arrugginiti stridori.

Per uno come me, che proviene dal Medioevo, perdurante sino alla conclusione del secondo conflitto mondiale, il processo evolutivo della “cultura di genere” è risultato sconvolgentemente rivoluzionario, procedendo con straordinaria velocità, superiore ad ogni ipotizzabile previsione, sino ad azzerare le profonde divergenze dei caratteri socio comportamentali che hanno differenziato il vissuto rurale da quello urbano, nell'intera gamma delle sue manifestazioni abitative, lavorative, sociali, economiche, artistiche e culturali, segnando progressive conquiste nel perseguire traguardi paritari nei “diritti” anche là dove si era aperti al semplice riconoscimento paritario dei “doveri”.

Nel mio piccolo retaggio medioevale la spartizione dei “doveri” scandiva l'amministrazione della vita singolare e plurale nella casa come nella città, mistificando i ruoli “di genere” in medaglioni valorizzativi ipocritamente tesi a tradurre in virtù il peso delle responsabilità, soprattutto nel chiuso orizzonte delle pareti domestiche ancora sostenute dall'arcaica retorica di barbariche reminiscenze: *“Sono padre e sono padrone, anche se ho torto debbo avere ragione”*.

Il “matrimonio” era dominato dal “patrimonio” in quanto il primo avveniva solo dopo avere ben valutato il secondo, in una logica tutt'altro che paritaria.



Foto n. 2 - Torrecuso, scorcio paesistico dell'abitato storico

La “dote” al singolare valeva molto di più di quella al plurale; a misurarla contribuiva il pubblico “apprezzamento”, previa una manifestazione espositiva aperta all’appagamento delle pubbliche curiosità mirata ad evidenziare l’avvenuto equilibrio tra “matrimonio e patrimonio”.

Al *pater familias* continuavano a competere le decisioni sul come e sul chi indirizzare le scelte, di valutare le proposte del “mezzano”, procacciatore delle offerte, libero professionista specializzato nel collezionare i “dati” e soprattutto le “doti” dei candidati, requisiti fondamentali alla “combinazione” dell’evento nuziale.

Nella logica “di genere” i “dati” interessavano i requisiti della componente maschile, le “doti” costituivano un esclusivo retaggio della componente femminile, per la costruzione delle quali occorreva investire danaro sin dalla nascita del soggetto interessato comportando, per le classi sociali più abbienti, un integrativo contratto patrimoniale a stipola notarile e per le meno abbienti (della media e piccola borghesia contadina) la piantumazione di un numero di alberi (pioppi) variabile da una soglia minima di cinquanta a salire, in ragione della capacità contributiva della famiglia. I nullatenenti si appellavano alla generosità delle istituzioni assistenziali religiose e laiche; in non poche circostanze i “signorotti” manifestavano la loro onestà comportamentale nel procurare alle proprie concubine una dote ed un marito (persistenza di costumanze feudali).

La proprietà di “immobili” (casa e terreno) era prerogativa delle classi socio economiche “più dignitose”, alle restanti venivano a competere, nelle situazioni più vantaggiose, la proprietà di “mobili”; i costi dell’alloggio venivano sostenuti da prestazioni di lavoro, soprattutto servile, gravante quasi esclusivamente sulla componente femminile peraltro aggravata dal peso di una tradizionale consistente proliferazione.

Anche nelle circostanze meno critiche l’enfasi retorica della donna “regina della casa” veniva progressivamente a confliggere con i ruoli servili di sua pressoché esclusiva spettanza, mitigati o appesantiti dai doveri derivante dall’essere “moglie” (parafrasata dal termine insincero di “consorte”) prima e “madre” dopo.

Nella più felice delle ipotesi all’uomo “marito” veniva a competere il lavoro esterno ed il trasferimento del suo ricavato economico nella casa-famiglia, mentre alla donna “moglie” competeva l’accortezza amministrativa dello stesso da impiegare nella organizzazione della vita domestica, dalle attività manutentive dell’habitat al sopperire alle necessità materiali ed immateriali dei componenti la famiglia.

Nell’insediamento di fondazione alto medioevale di Torrecuso, paese dove sono nato e dove ho trascorso i miei primi otto anni di vita, il feudalesimo risultava, negli anni ’40 – ’50 dello scorso secolo, ancora profondamente radicato sia nei comportamenti tradizionali del relazionarsi, dell’abitare e del vivere che nella persistenza dei caratteri del costruito e dell’infrastrutturato, che comunque andavano aprendo spiragli di attività esterne, le più mortificanti delle quali venivano a gravare sulle donne, impegnate nei lavori di trasporto dei materiali pesanti per i lavori edili, a sostituzione dei muli, con retribuzione pressoché irrisoria, notevolmente inferiore a quella competente alla manovalanza generica maschile.

Dette prestazioni comunque risultavano integrative a quelle dei tradizionali obblighi

domestici, quali l'approvvigionamento idrico con anfore, giare e voluminosi recipienti metallici (conche), da prelevare alla fonte e trasportare lungo i circa due chilometri separanti le sorgenti dall'abitato, lungo strade impolverate e solo parzialmente lastricate per impedire lo scivolamento agli animali da soma.

Parimenti risultava di esclusivo impegno femminile, negli strati meno abbienti della popolazione, l'approvvigionamento della legna da ardere, recuperabile clandestinamente lungo le alte pendici boschive dei rilievi montani demaniali, nelle prime luci dell'alba per sfuggire ai controlli della vigilanza forestale. La pratica del "legnatico" esercitata liberamente nei regimi feudali più illuminati, sopravviveva occulta nonostante le severe proibizioni intervenute a seguito della promulgazione della legge eversiva della feudalità deliberata da Giuseppe Bonaparte nel 1806, anche nelle aree non assoggettate alla libera acquisizione e quindi trasferite al pubblico demanio.

Le fascine di legno trasferite nell'abitato e deposte per l'essiccazione lungo le strade, nei crocicchi intervallanti le abitazioni, costituivano la principale risorsa energetica della vita domestica, per la panificazione, la cottura del cibo ed il riscaldamento nelle stagioni più rigide, operazioni indispensabili a garantire la sopravvivenza alimentare della famiglia, al pari dell'acqua che veniva sapientemente amministrata sia per gli impieghi nutrizionali che per gli usi domestici e la pulizia, a seconda del suo livello di potabilità.

La casa e la strada, la piazza o lo slargo che ne precedeva immediatamente l'accesso, costituivano lo spazio nel quale ambientare le relazioni familiari e quelle sociali di vicinato, praticabili prevalentemente dalle donne, traslabili solo nella sala di attesa per le visite sanitarie e nei pubblici lavatoi, dove sciorinare panni, lavare verdure e, parlando o sparlando, passare in critica rassegna i comportamenti della gente.

Oltre il recinto c'erano le chiese, quella "di sopra", parrocchiale dedicata al padrono S. Erasmo, contornata dalle residenze dei notabili, e quella "di sotto" o del "Basso" basilica lateranense dedicata alla Annunziata, emergente in un aggregato residenziale di precaria consistenza edilizia e di più modesta condizione abitativa; la prima, a frequentazione quotidiana, la seconda aperta al culto domenicale e festivo. Entrambe aperte a pratiche religiose che riservavano spazi di comune convergenza anche a quei ceti sociali che non frequentavano i pubblici lavatoi e ricevevano in casa propria anche le visite mediche.

Le buone tradizionali costumanze interdicevano alle donne la frequentazione di bettole, cantine, bar e sale dove trattenersi a giocare a biliardo o a carte, intese come luoghi menanti alla perdizione, mentre non era posto loro alcun limite alla partecipazione a riti religiosi, quali processioni, feste padronali e pellegrinaggi che, in eventi eccezionali, venivano ad interessare santuari ubicati anche in territori extraregionali, consentendo opportunità di incontri, conoscenze e prospettive di possibili traguardi maritali



Foto n. 3 - Torrecuso, persistenza di torre della murazione medioevale

ai partecipanti più giovani di ambo i sessi; il tutto sotto la compiacente vigilanza del parentado e l'alta tutela del protettorato liturgico, come richiamato in un locale canto popolare indirizzato a San Pasquale che, tradotto dal dialetto in italiano, recita :

*San Pasquale Bajlonne,
protettore delle donne,
facci trovare un bel marito,
bianco, rosso e colorito
come Voi tale e quale
Benedetto San Pasquale.*

Alle donne erano consentite le sole pratiche artigianali da effettuare non in botteghe, ma nella propria abitazione o, se all'esterno, in immediata prossimità della stessa (lavori di filatura, di tessitura, di tombolo, di sartoria, di ricamo, di taglio e cucito, di rammentatura, di pettinatura dei capelli e quant'altro ritenuto "sconveniente" per l'uomo, oltre ai lavori domestici di quotidiana conduzione.

L'addestramento educativo comportamentale civico, superata la prima età esclusivamente riservata alle competenze materne, veniva ripartito per sesso. Al genitore spettava l'ammaestramento della figliolanza maschile, alla genitrice quella femminile.

L'addestramento educativo religioso era di rituale spettanza esterna, riservato al sacerdote ed ai suoi collaboratori parrocchiali; parimenti l'addestramento culturale, anche esso esterno al nucleo familiare, era affidato alle istituzioni scolastiche di primo livello (scuola elementare). Per accedere alle scuole medie e superiori occorreva indirizzarsi altrove, nei collegi del capoluogo provinciale o nei seminari arcivescovili e regionali, prevalentemente i primi ed esclusivamente i secondi riservati alla esclusiva partecipazione maschile.

Anche nelle attività ludico ricreative le politiche e le pratiche "di genere" viaggiavano su binari etero diretti, ad iniziare dalla prima infanzia che vedeva separati gli spazi di partecipazione alla vita interna ed esterna all'abitazione. Alla femminuccia spettava indossare la gonnellina, al maschietto il pantaloncino corto denominato con arguta ironia "pagliaccetto". Alla prima spettava ritualmente in regalo la bambola, al secondo la palla.

Andando avanti in età alla prima competevano, miniaturizzati, gli utensili da cucina e successivamente il telaio per il ricamo ed il cofanetto per l'estetica, al secondo le finte armi, le scatole da costruzione e, successivamente, le carte da gioco.

Fuori casa i divertimenti all'aria aperta proseguivano parimenti differenziati, con i giochi della corda e della campana per le ragazze, e con la trottola ("strummolo"), il tiro all'arco, la "mazza e piuoz" (tronchetto di legno appuntito agli estremi per essere sollevato e rilanciato a distanza colla mazza), lo "strizza in culo" (una sorta di cerbottana caricata con pallottole di stoppa masticata) ed altre attività esposte a rischio, praticabili con mezzi di auto fabbricazione.

Le stesse manifestazioni recitative di sacra ispirazione (I cosiddetti "Misteri" celebranti il martirologio dei santi di più accreditata devozione) interdicevano la partecipazione delle donne, in quanto esposti a rischi di maldicenze circa l'incorrere in comportamenti di dubbia moralità.

Foto n. 4 - Torrecuso, scorcio urbano di "Rampa S. Erasmo"



Similmente le funzioni religiose vedevano separate le preparazioni ai riti sacramentali (prime comunioni e cresime) tra maschi e femmine, così come risultava sconveniente per la donna entrare in chiesa a capo scoperto e per l'uomo a capo coperto.

Le stesse remore interdicevano, nella vita civile, anche nelle mura domestiche, allo donna l'uso del pantalone, ritenuto di esclusiva pertinenza maschile, metaforicamente eletto ad emblema matriciale di indiscutibile ed indiscussa dominanza familiare.

D'altro canto gli stessi articoli normativi del codice di procedura civile disciplinanti il rito religioso e laico del matrimonio, definivano il marito "capo della casa" in obbedienza al quale la moglie era tenuta a seguirlo "ovunque avrebbe inteso porre la sua residenza". Il matrimonio comportava alla moglie di adottare il cognome del marito; non valeva il viceversa.

Nella conduzione nutritiva della famiglia, alla donna competeva la preparazione e l'amministrazione del cibo, all'uomo la somministrazione del vino!

Libertà, libertinaggio e fedeltà coniugale risultavano di esclusiva prerogativa maschile, tollerate, accettate e talora persino apprezzate ed incoraggiate dalla comunità locale. Il peccato "veniale" per l'uomo diveniva "mortale" per la donna; la "distrazione" per l'uomo corrispondeva alla "distruzione" per la donna.

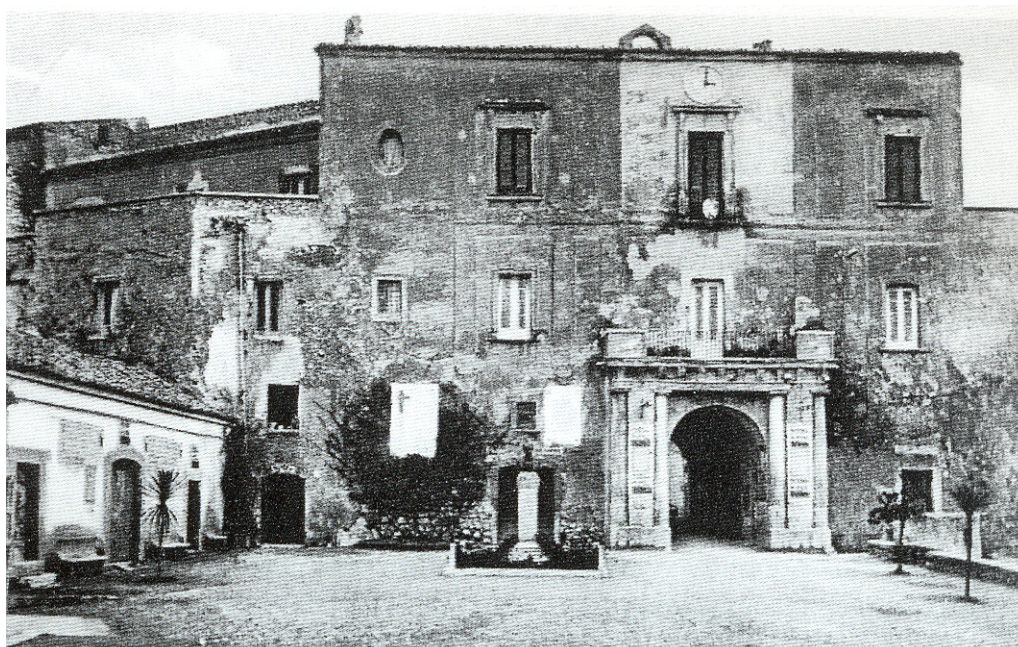
La casa per l'uomo era un luogo di riposo, per la donna un luogo di lavoro; per entrambi significava chiusura, segregazione, isolamento, abitata dai soli "doveri" specie per le famiglie meno abbienti che non possedendola in proprietà avrebbero avuto comprensibile ragione a rivendicarne i "diritti", soprattutto per i diseredati costretti a vivere in ambienti malsani (interrati, seminterrati, privi di area, luce, ventilazione, privi dei più elementari servizi igienici) in non poche circostanze condividendo locali di uso promiscuo quali legnaie, cantine, magazzini, depositi di attrezzi da lavoro campestre e persino ricoveri di animali anche non propriamente "domestici" (muli, asini, galline e porci) aggravanti oltre ogni tollerabile misura il già precario equilibrio igienico insediativo, in un contesto non servito da acquedotto e conseguentemente da un sistema fognario.

Ad ammaestrare la figliolanza, oltre la scuola, la parrocchia e la bottega artigiana, provvedeva la strada, non pavimentata né cementata, e quindi non assoggettabile ad agevole pulitura, ricoperta da sedimentati strati di polvere sollevantisi ad ogni spirare del vento e persino al semplice calpestio di un gruppo di persone, per non parlare del passaggio dei carri e dei calessi trainati da animali o dei mezzi motorizzati che con eccezionale rarità facevano mostra di sé nelle prossimità dell'abitato; polvere che si trasformava in fango nella stagioni autunnali.

La stagione delle piogge se da un lato consentiva una più agevole raccolta delle acque ad uso domestico grazie ai capienti raccoglitori (conche in rame zincato) posti a base delle grondaie, dall'altra rendeva particolarmente disagiata la percorrenza delle strade gradonate interne al centro murato che in occasione delle precipitazioni temporalesche si trasformavano in ruscianti corsi torrentizi che mettevano a rischio l'incolumità di cose, persone ed animali.

In occasione delle piogge, con il sopraggiungere delle tenebre, era invalso l'uso, presso

*Foto n. 5 - Torrecuso, Pazza Castello
(oggi Piazza A. Mellusi) al 1946*



i meno sensibili alle istanze igienico ecologiche (ed erano i più), di sversare sulle pubbliche strade gradonate i rifiuti organici della famiglia al punto da renderle impraticabili, specie là dove ad implementarne la criticità intervenivano i fetori emanati dalle costipazioni dello stallatico, concime organico destinato alla fertilizzazione degli orti e dei frutteti delle campagne fascianti l'abitato.

La mancanza dell'impianto idrico a servizio dell'abitato residenziale aveva reso inutile la realizzazione dell'impianto fognario, ragione per cui le acque piovane, non incanalate, si riversavano ovunque le pendenze morfologiche del sito le indirizzasse, sino a penetrare nei locali seminterrati, nelle stalle e nei muri perpetranti le abitazioni, sino ad appesantirne la già precaria igienicità.

Solo le case delle famiglie più benestanti godevano del privilegio di possedere nel cortile un pozzo-cisterna e, in rispondenza della stalla, un pozzo nero nel quale i convogliati rifiuti organici domestici trovavano stagionale rimozione e conseguente utilizzo nella concimazione.

Sul portale di ingresso delle case si appuntava la maggiore attenzione statica ed estetica anche negli insediamenti più modesti che il sistema di gradinature e di scale aperte connotava in termini pittoreschi. Il gradino di principale accesso era in genere convertito in pubblico sedile, luogo di riposo, di conversazione e di socializzazione, specie per le donne anziane ed occasionalmente per quelle attive negli intervalli dell'espletamento delle funzioni domestiche.

L'uomo accedeva al gradino solo nel progredire della terza età, quando risultava inidoneo al lavoro e quindi bisognoso di familiare assistenza, naturalmente a carico della donna.

Prossimo all'abitato, si sviluppava lungo un accidentato pendio il pubblico "immondezzaio", luogo deputato allo sversamento dei rifiuti organici non riciclabili per la con-

cimazione, liberamente accessibile ai soli maschi di qualsivoglia età dove soddisfare le biologiche necessità diurne di defecazione, adottando le misure igieniche di allargare le braccia per distanziare i partecipanti alla medesima contemporanea operazione. Le erbacce proliferanti in sito, ad eccezione delle ortiche, e le scaglie di pietre locali sostituivano l'impiego della carta igienica.

Il fumo più ancora che l'uso di bevande alcoliche (specie in luogo pubblico)) era interdetto alle donne, ritenuto un veicolo di sicura perdizione, prerogativa dei soli maschi che sin dall'età post scolastica elementare si fabbricavano in proprio sigarette, (impiegando paglia in luogo del tabacco e le carte veline dei primi calendari entrati in circolazione nelle scuole e nei pubblici uffici), per passare conseguentemente al primo guadagno lavorativo a quelle "acquistate" in tabaccheria. Proseguendo avanti in età, sino alla vecchiaia, si passa alla pipa, con impiego di tabacco trinciato, prodotto in proprio e prudentemente celato agli ispettori statali preposti al controllo. Solo per i più benestanti alla sigaretta subentrava il sigaro che conferiva al suo utilizzatore un carattere di più riconosciuta dignità sociale.

L'unico fumo respirabile a pieni polmoni dalle donne proveniva dai focolai domestici: caminetti, bracieri e forni per la panificazione; i primi due ad utilizzo quotidiano, il terzo a periodicità quindicinale.

La panificazione acquisiva un significato quasi liturgico per la famiglia (che peraltro veniva censita "per fuochi"), in quanto esemplificava una delle fondamentali prime forme di emancipazioni della costumanze medioevali, che sino a due secoli orsono contemplava l'obbligo del solo utilizzo dei forni feudali. I forni familiari costituirono una vera e propria conquista di natura economica e sociale, che consentì a ciascuna casa di dotarsi di un forno che, per mancanza di spazi interni, veniva il più delle volte realizzato su sporti esterni sospesi, connotando in termini pittoreschi la fabbrica e l'ambiente vicinale sui quali veniva ad insistere.

L'onere della panificazione ricadeva quasi per intero sulle donne, obbligate a levarsi nottetempo per la preparazione dell'impasto, mescolando farina a lievito naturale, denominato "criscito" (consistente in una delle pagnotte non infornate predisposte per essere rese disponibili a quanti avrebbero panificato l'indomani) per poi procedere, a

*Foto n. 6 - Torrecuso, Piazza Selice
(oggi piazza C. A. Caracciolo e piazza
G. Matteotti)*



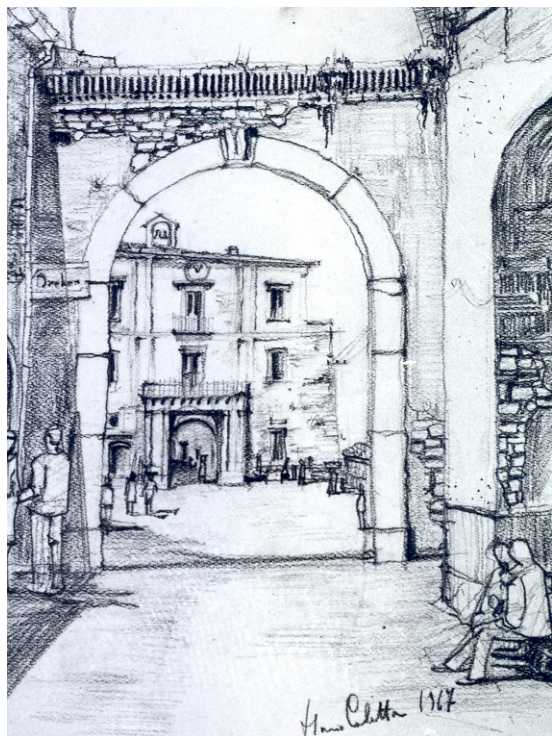


Foto n. 7 - Torrecuso, "l'arco dell'altra vita", disegno di M. Coletta, 1967.

lievitazione avvenuta, alla faticosa lavorazione dello "ammassare" ed alla successiva sagomatura della "scanate".

All'uomo competeva l'accensione del fuoco distribuendone omogeneamente la temperatura; ai bambini veniva assegnata la preparazione del "munnolo", un fascio di erbe profumate (fogliame di carciofo o di sambuco) da impiegare nella pulizia ed aromatizzazione del forno; alle vecchiette spettava la preparazione della "pizza" (con l'impiego dell'origano e del pomodoro nelle stagioni che lo consentivano) per saggiare il livello di riscaldamento e conseguentemente procedere alla infornatura dei pani ("scanate"), riservandone alcuni in qualità di lievito per quanti ne avrebbero fatto eventualmente richiesta.

La qual cosa veniva a strutturare un circuito particolarmente virtuoso che consentiva all'intera comunità di nutrirsi con il medesimo pane.

La condizione femminile acquisiva più drammatiche dimensioni sperequative non solo scendendo i gradoni della dignità sociale dalla media alla bassa condizione economica degli abitanti del borgo, sino ad interessare gli strati di popolazione diseredata, precariamente ospitata nei fondaci e nei supportici del centro intramurale e nei tuguri attestatisi al suo immediato ridosso (sobborghi), ma anche in ragione delle condizioni di vita connesse all'abitare all'interno o all'esterno della persistente murazione urbana medioevale.

Non a caso il nucleo medioevale di Torrecuso si apre all'esterno con un diaframma arcuato che conserva ancora oggi la significativa denominazione di "Porta dell'altra vita", separante la piazza di "porta Castello", (contrassegnata dal "trappeto baronale" e dal "corpo di guardia" fiancheggianti il versante di principale accesso, tramite un rimosso ponte levatoio, al maniero ed al suo più antico borgo) dallo slargo esterno denominato "Selice" in quanto unico spazio originariamente lastricato con impiego di tegole lapidee di pietra arenaria locale, che negli anni immediatamente seguiti alla conclusione del secondo conflitto mondiale aveva convertito il suo nome in piazza "Carlo Andrea Caracciolo", il più illustre dei suoi feudatari, ed in piazza "Giacomo Matteotti" in omaggio alla memoria del protomartire dell'appena tramontato regime fascista.

A coronamento della "Selice" insistevano i resti abbandonati di un diruto complesso conventuale, sorto per fornire accoglienza, ospitalità e cura ai forestieri indigenti, ed una scomparsa cappella religiosa corredata di spazi per la sepoltura, a consolidamento della denominazione dell'arco: "porta dell'altra vita".

In realtà l'altra vita si prospettava più "terrena" che "ultraterrena" in quanto sanciva con fisica determinazione gli eterogenei comportamenti degli "abitanti di dentro" rispetto agli "abitanti di fuori", della popolazione "borghese", dedita alle attività secondarie e terziarie (botteghe artigiane e commerciali), rispetto alla popolazione dei sobborghi e delle case sparse, dedita alle attività primarie (agricoltura e pastorizia), conservando, anzi appesantendo le ataviche discriminazioni perduranti nella mortificazione delle dignità sociali e personali delle due categorie di abitanti, poste in essere dalla gerarchia piramidale del vassallaggio feudale.

Per la donna "abitante di fuori", contadina o dedita alle attività pastorali, era consenti-

to entrare nel borgo murato solo in occasione delle cerimonie religiose, indossando l'abito della festa, camminando scalze sino al raggiungimento dello slargo della "Selice", dove calzare le scarpe liberandole dal fazzoletto che veniva reimpiegato per accedere a capo coperto, come di dovere, ai luoghi di culto.

L'operazione veniva ripetuta all'incontrario nell'itinerario di ritorno.

Tra le memorie che hanno particolarmente colpito la mia fanciullesca curiosità, ponendomi i primi interrogativi sulle condizioni del vivere al femminile nel centro murato di Torrecuso, affiorano i particolari caratteri della socializzazione, consistenti nello scambio reciproco di aiuti nel momento del bisogno: la qual cosa persiste ancora oggi presso le comunità rurali durante i periodi dei raccolti delle uve comportanti una sorta di lotta contro il tempo e contro le intemperie,

Per le donne costituiva un rituale pressoché quotidiano la "pettinatura" reciproca, praticata fuori casa, con la conservazione dei capelli divelti che, arrotolati, trovavano temporaneo alloggio nelle fessure delle antiche murature in pietrame a secco fascianti il borgo, dalle quali venivano rimosse e barattate con attrezzature domestiche allorché arrivava il "capillaro femmina", particolare personaggio la cui attività consisteva nella raccolta e nel successivo trattamento trasformativo dei capelli delle sole donne, in quanto dotati di maggiore lunghezza rispetto a quelli degli uomini, il cui taglio era effettuato da professionisti (barbieri), che non avevano, in quelle circostanze ambientali, l'equivalente a servizio della donna.

Le donne, sia "di fuori" che "di dentro" erano condannate a conservare, per l'intera esistenza, la capigliatura originaria, da mantenere sciolta o da raccogliere "a treccia" o "a cipolla" dietro la nuca. Il taglio dei capelli veniva effettuato solo a quante intraprendevano la scelta claustrale.

Quando all'età di otto anni (correva l'anno 1949) lasciai il paese fui salutato dall'ultimo squillo di corno del pubblico banditore (che all'evenienza copriva anche il ruolo, pressoché impraticabile, dello spazzino comunale, che annunciava l'arrivo in piazza dei venditori ambulanti, elencando con dovizia di particolari l'entità ed il costo della merce perché le donne, ritualmente delegate anche alla spesa delle derrate alimentari non prodotte in zona e non predisposte per la conservazione tramite laboriose cure tramandate dalla locale tradizione culinaria, potessero effettuare i loro indispensabili acquisti.

Il corno costituiva il principale strumento di trasmissione dei messaggi, ad integrazione più che in concorrenza con le campane e l'orologio della piazza troneggiante in cima al fronte principale del castello (convertito in palazzo marchesale nel XVIII secolo); le prime, segnalanti dal vertice del campanile parrocchiale i momenti più significativi della giornata di lavoro, il secondo scandendo, ogni quindici minuti, con differenziati rintocchi, lo scorrere dei tempi diurni e notturni della vita comunitaria, con non poco disappunto per i sofferenti di insonnia, quasi a ricordare, parodiandolo, l'antico monito di



Foto n. 8 - Torrecuso "Porta delle cere"



Foto n. 9 - Figura femminile di Torricuso in una stampa di fine sec. XIX

chiara matrice monastica medioevale: *"E' passato un altro quarto d'ora della tua vita/ fratello ricordati che devi morire"*.

Ed invece a morire è stato proprio lui, dopo un'agonia durata oltre mezzo secolo, né lo si è voluto richiamare in vita in occasione del recente restauro che ha interessato il complesso monumentale dell'antico maniero, ritornato ad essere sede dell'amministrazione civica, che ne custodisce le spoglie sepolcrali in attesa di una loro possibile conversione in "reperto" museale.

Il lavoro degli abitanti "di fuori", pastori e contadini, richiedeva alle donne il gravame di partecipare alle attività maschili, sia nella lavorazione dei campi in occasione della raccolta (mietitura e vendemmia) sia nel "governo" del bestiame all'interno delle stalle e negli stazzi (tosatura, mungitura e lavorazione dei prodotti caseari) ritenuti di quasi esclusiva prerogativa femminile, lavori che non trovavano eguale riscontro nelle donne residenti "dentro" il centro murato.

Di qui la diffusa prassi comportamentale che differenziava la dignità dell'abitante "di dentro" dall'abitante "di fuori", in ragione della quale rientrava nella logica di comune condivisione che il trasferimento nell'abitato urbano costituiva una sorta di promozione sociale in chi lo praticava; viceversa il trasferimento di residenza dal borgo alla campagna veniva a contrassegnare una sorta di declassamento sociale. Ne conseguiva la tendenza di possedere in proprietà, all'interno del recinto urbano, anche un semplice vano, dove trascorrere i giorni di festa ed i momenti più significativi dell'esistenza, dal parto ai riti sacramentali, sino alla morte.

La scarsa resa delle pesanti attività produttive agricole condotte ancora con sistemi tradizionali, dall'aratro trinato dal bue all'uso della vanga, del bidente e del rastrello, alla fine degli anni quaranta dello scorso secolo aveva riaperto, anzi spalancato, le porte dell'emigrazione europea e transoceanica; il più delle volte contemplanti un'andata senza ritorno, alla quale si indirizzavano soprattutto le forze attive della popolazione "di fuori", i numerosi figli dei coloni, dei mezzadri, dei pastori, dei salariati agricoli e dei piccoli proprietari, che lasciano nei terreni abbandonati e nei casolari prossimi alla rovina gli inabili, i vecchi, i bambini e le donne condannate al loro accadimento, specie quelle in più avanzato stato di età, costrette a sopravvivere con le sole precarie risorse della rimesse degli emigrati.

La scarsa presenza femminile nelle terre di nuova emigrazione transoceanica (Oceania ed Australia) aveva posto in essere la logica dei "richiami" che privilegiava sostanzialmente il trasferimento delle ragazze in età maritale, attivando il fenomeno dei "matrimoni per procura", che se da un lato costituivano una inaspettata "via di fuga" delle meno abbienti, meno belle, meno attraenti e meno.... eticamente accreditate, da un altro scaricavano sulle sole donne più anziane, peraltro ridotte a "vedove bianche", l'oneroso fardello di garantire da sole la sopravvivenza alle ormai disastrose famiglie.

Il governo amministrativo della comunità, nel secondo dopoguerra era divenuto appannaggio di una delle famiglie economicamente più agiate, l'unica meritevole dell'appellativo di "signore", non derivante dai residui di una decaduta nobiltà ("di sangue" o "di toga"), non ereditata ma acquisita in uno con la compera di una estesa proprietà

latifondistica ancora gestita con i metodi del paternalismo assistenzialista del vassallaggio feudale teorizzati e professati dal dominante Partito Liberale, che nei “Signori” aveva rinvenuto ed espresso i suoi più autorevoli rappresentanti, tenendo conto che i componenti della famiglia risultavano in misura pressoché paritaria “abitanti di fuori” ed “abitanti di dentro”.

Ai rimanenti proprietari terrieri strutturanti la classe medio borghese della comunità locale, competeva il titolo di studio superiore se perseguito, in mancanza del quale interveniva il “don” che assimilava all’autorità religiosa quella civica.

Femminilizzato il titolo smarriva larga parte dell’originario prestigio riservato alla componente maschile, specie se accompagnato dal nome di chi lo possedeva, divenendo appannaggio pressoché esclusivo delle appartenenti al ceto popolare “di dentro”. Superata una certa età il termine “donna” veniva in genere sostituita dal preappellativo “zia”, denotante rispetto, affabilità e promozione familiare.

Alle sole donne sposate appartenenti ai ceti socialmente, economicamente e culturalmente più elevati competeva l’appellativo di “signora” anche esso riservato quasi esclusivamente alle abitanti “di dentro”.

La donna “di dentro” non dedita ad attività lavorative extra familiari, e coadiuvata in quelle domestiche, tendeva alla fisica dilatazione, una fisionomia estetica di opulenza tipicamente “matronale” espressione di un benessere alimentare riservato a quanti potevano consumare più pasti al giorno.

Viceversa le donne “di dentro” e “di fuori” assoggettate ad attività lavorative stressanti per l’intera giornata, presentavano un fisico snello ed asciutto che contrastava con i canoni estetici più condivisi dalla locale comunità che riteneva la magrezza risultanza del denutrimiento o comunque del cattivo stato di salute.

Con il mio trasferimento a Benevento (*anno domini 1949*) il medioevo iniziava a chiudere i suoi battenti feudali anche in Torrecuso,

L’amministrazione civica cambiava segno partitico, allineandosi a quello del governo nazionale privilegiando come conduttori gli abitanti “di fuori” a quelli “di dentro”; di qui i primi illuminati provvedimenti strutturali ed infrastrutturali promuoventi significative variazioni anche nei comportamenti sociali di genere,

Le strade provinciali e comunali venivano potenziate ed asfaltate; l’elettrificazione pubblica coperto l’intero centro murato, tende a raggiungere e servire anche i sobborghi; l’acqua dopo aver raggiunto la piazza di “porta Castello” con una pubblica fontana non ancora potabile, trasformava la stessa in una sorta di “campiello” veneziano, convertendola in luogo di quotidiana frequentazione anche per le donne.

Di lì appresso seguiva la realizzazione dell’impianto idrico potabile e della rete fognaria a servizio delle abitazioni interne al centro murato, consentendo la rivitalizzazione funzionale, anche sotto il profilo igienico sanitario, di ogni unità abitativa.

Intervenute le nuove misure legislative nazionali, sono espulsi dal centro murato e dai sobborghi gli animali non domestici e le stalle che li ospitavano vengono convertiti in



Foto n. 10 - Torrecuso, nucleo familiare patriarcale, ritratto degli inizi del XX secolo



Foto n. 11 - Foto di matrona torrecusana, abitante di dentro, fine XX secolo

botteghe artigiane, depositi e pertinenze abitative.

Scompare del tutto il banditore pubblico che può dedicarsi, con maggiore impegno e più soddisfacente risultato, alla sua attività di “operatore ecologico”.

Il primo pubblico orinatoio trova ufficiale localizzazione in due speroni di contenimento dell’antica murazione urbana, in rispondenza degli orti-giardini feudali, in un sito prossimo alla piazza di “porta Castello” già impropriamente utilizzato per assolvere alle medesime biologiche funzioni.

Parallelamente cade in disuso l'immondezzaio, riconvertito in suolo agricolo periurbano lambito nel settore inferiore da una strada carrabile che funge da tangenziale, nel versante settentrionale, al centro murato.

Le vecchie bettole e cantine, locali di ritrovo dei soli uomini, si convertono in bar e sale di ristoro, divenendo accessibili anche alla popolazione femminile che intraprende il suo viatico emancipativo prendendo a fumare, a passeggiare anche oltre i recinti tradizionali del rione, e soprattutto ad indossare persino quei pantaloni che sino al precedente decennio aveva assunto il significato metaforico ed emblematico del “bastone di comando” riservato ai soli uomini.

Occorrerà ancora un decennio perché i sentieri di campagna si convertissero in strade carrabili, che all’aratro, alla vanga, al bidente ed al rastrello subentrassero i trattori e le trebbiatrici; che le donne anche “di fuori” prendessero la patente di guida e che avessero ad accedere alle scuole medie e superiori; che si attivassero, ad alleggerimento dei doveri domestici femminili, anche le scuole materne e gli asili infantili; che si chiudessero i forni di panificazione familiare, sostituiti da quelli messi in essere dalla imprenditoria privata” che si implementasse l’apertura di negozi di prima necessità e che facessero capolino i primi esercizi commerciali specialistici; che sui tetti delle case prendessero a germogliare cespugli di antenne televisive; che il corno del banditore divenisse stru-



Foto n. 12 - Scena di vita campestre “mezzogiorno”, di Giovanni De Noja, Torrecuso, pinacoteca comunale.

mento museale; che le campane riservassero il loro suono alle sole funzioni religiose; che l'orologio della piazza del castello non "battesse più le ore"; che i richiami chiassosi della figliolanza abbassassero i loro tradizionali elevatissimi toni, in attesa che l'invenzione e diffusione dei telefonini ne determinasse progressivamente l'estinzione; e che soprattutto anche i codici di procedura civile disciplinanti i doveri contrattuali del matrimonio fossero modificati eliminandone la maschilità gerarchica che ne feudalizzava la connotazione.

La casa e l'aggregato insediativo urbano, reggono di più ai cambiamenti che hanno interessato parallelamente la vita individuale, familiare e sociale della comunità locale.

L'abitare in entrambe cambia connotazioni comportamentali, anche dove restano pressoché immutate le configurazioni strutturali e distributive, le organizzazioni arredative ed i caratteri estetici e funzionali, specie là dove la maturazione culturale interviene ad attivare processi conservativi di quanto la eredità storica dei cosiddetti "tempi bui" ci ha trasmesso, invertendo l'ordine tradizionale di adattare l'ambiente costruito ed infrastrutturato alle necessità del vivere più che adattare i comportamenti del vivere alle circostanze del costruito e dell'infrastrutturato.

Le cosiddette rivoluzioni tecnologiche successivamente intervenute hanno ulteriormente contribuito ad abbattere le ultime residuali barriere separanti il "di fuori" dal "di dentro" comportando altrettante significative metamorfosi nei modi del vivere, del lavorare, del divertirsi, del relazionarsi e dell'abitare al femminile, accelerando il processo di demolizione delle residuali macerie discriminatorie erette dalla ultramillenaria politica di genere.

**HABITAT III
AGREED DRAFT OF THE NEW
URBAN AGENDA
NEW YORK, 10 SEPTEMBER 2016**

**HABITAT III
NEW URBAN AGENDA**

**Draft outcome document for adoption in Quito, October 2016
10 September 2016**

**QUITO DECLARATION ON SUSTAINABLE CITIES AND HUMAN SETTLEMENTS
FOR ALL**

1. We, the Heads of State and Government, Ministers and High Representatives, have gathered at the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) from 17 to 20 October 2016 in Quito, Ecuador, with the participation of sub-national and local governments, parliamentarians, civil society, indigenous peoples and local communities, the private sector, professionals and practitioners, the scientific and academic community, and other relevant stakeholders, to adopt a New Urban Agenda.

2. By 2050 the world urban population is expected to nearly double, making urbanization one of the 21st century's most transformative trends. As the population, economic activities, social and cultural interactions, as well as environmental and humanitarian impacts, are increasingly concentrated in cities, this poses massive sustainability challenges in terms of housing, infrastructure, basic services, food security, health, education, decent jobs, safety, and natural resources, among others.

3. Since the United Nations Conferences on Human Settlements in Vancouver in 1976 and in Istanbul in 1996, and the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals in 2000, we have seen improvements in the quality of life of millions of urban inhabitants, including slum and informal settlement dwellers. However, the persistence of multiple forms of poverty, growing inequalities, and environmental degradation, remain among the major obstacles to sustainable development worldwide, with social and economic exclusion and spatial segregation often an irrefutable reality in cities and human settlements.

4. We are still far from adequately addressing these and other existing and emerging challenges; and there is a need to take advantage of the opportunities of urbanization as an engine of sustained and inclusive economic growth, social and cultural development, and environmental protection, and of its potential contributions to the achievement of transformative and sustainable development.

5. By readdressing the way cities and human settlements are planned, designed, financed, developed, governed, and managed, the New Urban Agenda will help to end poverty and hunger in all its forms and dimensions, reduce inequalities, promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls, in order to fully harness their vital contribution to sustainable development, improve human health and well-being, as well as foster resilience and protect the environment.

6. We take full account of the milestone achievements in the course of the year 2015, in particular the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, including the Sustainable Development Goals

(SDGs), and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development, the Paris Agreement adopted under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030, the Vienna Programme of Action for Landlocked Developing Countries for the Decade 2014-2024, the Small Island Developing States Accelerated Modalities of Action (SAMOA) Pathway and the Istanbul Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the Decade 2011-2020. We also take account of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, the World Summit on Sustainable Development, the World Summit for Social Development, the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action, the Beijing Platform for Action, and the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, and the follow up to these conferences.

7. While recognizing that it did not have an intergovernmental agreed outcome, we take note of the World Humanitarian Summit in May 2016 in Istanbul.

8. We acknowledge the contributions of national governments, as well as the contributions of sub-national and local governments, in the definition of the New Urban Agenda and take note of the second World Assembly of Local and Regional Governments.

9. This New Urban Agenda reaffirms our global commitment to sustainable urban development as a critical step for realizing sustainable development in an integrated and coordinated manner at global, regional, national, sub-national, and local levels, with the participation of all relevant actors. The implementation of the New Urban Agenda contributes to the implementation and localization of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in an integrated manner, and to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and targets, including SDG 11 of making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable.

10. The New Urban Agenda acknowledges that culture and cultural diversity are sources of enrichment for humankind and provides an important contribution to the sustainable development of cities, human settlements, and citizens, empowering them to play an active and unique role in development initiatives; and further recognizes that culture should be taken into account in the promotion and implementation of new sustainable consumption and production patterns that contribute to the responsible use of resources and address the adverse impact of climate change.

Our shared vision

11. We share a vision of cities for all, referring to the equal use and enjoyment of cities and human settlements, seeking to promote inclusivity and ensure that all inhabitants, of present and future generations, without discrimination of any kind, are able to inhabit and produce just, safe, healthy, accessible, affordable, resilient, and sustainable cities and human settlements, to foster prosperity and quality of life for all. We note the efforts of some national and local governments to enshrine this vision, referred to as right to the city, in their legislations, political declarations and charters.

12. We aim to achieve cities and human settlements where all persons are able to enjoy equal rights and opportunities, as well as their fundamental freedoms, guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including full respect for international law. In this regard, the New Urban Agenda is grounded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international human rights treaties, the Millennium Declaration, and the 2005 World Summit Outcome. It is informed by other instruments such as the Declaration on the Right to Development.

13. We envisage cities and human settlements that:

(a) fulfill their social function, including the social and ecological function of land, with a view to progressively achieve the full realization of the right to adequate housing, as a component of

the right to an adequate standard of living, without discrimination, universal access to safe and affordable drinking water and sanitation, as well as equal access for all to public goods and quality services in areas such as food security and nutrition, health, education, infrastructure, mobility and transportation, energy, air quality, and livelihoods;

(b) are participatory, promote civic engagement, engender a sense of belonging and ownership among all their inhabitants, prioritize safe, inclusive, accessible, green, and quality public spaces, friendly for families, enhance social and intergenerational interactions, cultural expressions, and political participation, as appropriate, and foster social cohesion, inclusion, and safety in peaceful and pluralistic societies, where the needs of all inhabitants are met, recognizing the specific needs of those in vulnerable situations;

(c) achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls, ensuring women's full and effective participation and equal rights in all fields and in leadership at all levels of decision-making, and by ensuring decent work and equal pay for equal work, or work of equal value for all women, as well as preventing and eliminating all forms of discrimination, violence, and harassment against women and girls in private and public spaces;

(d) meet the challenges and opportunities of present and future sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, leveraging urbanization for structural transformation, high productivity, value-added activities, and resource efficiency, harnessing local economies, taking note of the contribution of the informal economy while supporting a sustainable transition to the formal economy;

(e) fulfill their territorial functions across administrative boundaries, and act as hubs and drivers for balanced sustainable and integrated urban and territorial development at all levels;

(f) promote age- and gender-responsive planning and investment for sustainable, safe, and accessible urban mobility for all and resource efficient transport systems for passengers and freight, effectively linking people, places, goods, services, and economic opportunities;

(g) adopt and implement disaster risk reduction and management, reduce vulnerability, build resilience and responsiveness to natural and man-made hazards, and foster mitigation and adaptation to climate change;

(h) protect, conserve, restore, and promote their ecosystems, water, natural habitats, and biodiversity, minimize their environmental impact, and change to sustainable consumption and production patterns.

Our principles and commitments

14. To achieve our vision, we resolve to adopt a New Urban Agenda guided by the following interlinked principles:

(a) Leave no one behind, by ending poverty in all its forms and dimensions, including the eradication of extreme poverty, by ensuring equal rights and opportunities, socio-economic and cultural diversity, integration in the urban space, enhancing liveability, education, food security and nutrition, health and well-being; including by ending the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria, promoting safety and eliminating discrimination and all forms of violence; ensuring public participation providing safe and equal access for all; and providing equal access for all to physical and social infrastructure and basic services as well as adequate and affordable housing.

(b) Sustainable and inclusive urban economies, by leveraging the agglomeration benefits of well-planned urbanization, high productivity, competitiveness, and innovation; promoting full and productive employment and decent work for all, ensuring decent job creation and equal access for all to economic and productive resources and opportunities; preventing land speculation; and promoting secure land tenure and managing urban shrinking where appropriate.

(c) Environmental sustainability, by promoting clean energy, sustainable use of land and resources

in urban development as well as protecting ecosystems and biodiversity, including adopting healthy lifestyles in harmony with nature; promoting sustainable consumption and production patterns; building urban resilience; reducing disaster risks; and mitigating and adapting to climate change.

15. We commit to work towards an urban paradigm shift for a New Urban Agenda that will:

- (a) readdress the way we plan, finance, develop, govern, and manage cities and human settlements, recognizing sustainable urban and territorial development as essential to the achievement of sustainable development and prosperity for all;
- (b) recognize the leading role of national governments, as appropriate, in the definition and implementation of inclusive and effective urban policies and legislation for sustainable urban development, and the equally important contributions of sub-national and local governments, as well as civil society and other relevant stakeholders, in a transparent and accountable manner;
- (c) adopt sustainable, people-centered, age- and gender-responsive and integrated approaches to urban and territorial development by implementing policies, strategies, capacity development, and actions at all levels, based on fundamental drivers of change including:

- i. developing and implementing urban policies at the appropriate level including within local-national and multi-stakeholder partnerships, building integrated systems of cities and human settlements, promoting cooperation among all levels of government to enable them to achieve sustainable integrated urban development;
- ii. strengthening urban governance, with sound institutions and mechanisms that empower and include urban stakeholders, as well as appropriate checks and balances, providing predictability and coherence in the urban development plans to enable social inclusion, sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth and environmental protection;
- iii. reinvigorating long-term and integrated urban and territorial planning and design in order to optimize the spatial dimension of the urban form and to deliver the positive outcomes of urbanization;
- iv. supporting effective, innovative, and sustainable financing frameworks and instruments, enabling strengthened municipal finance and local fiscal systems in order to create, sustain, and share the value generated by sustainable urban development in an inclusive manner.

Call for Action

16. While the specific circumstances of cities of all sizes, towns, and villages vary, we affirm that the New Urban Agenda is universal in scope, participatory, and people-centered, protects the planet, and has a long-term vision, setting out priorities and actions at the global, regional, national, sub-national, and local levels that governments and other relevant stakeholders in every country can adopt based on their needs.

17. We will work to implement this New Urban Agenda within our own countries and at the regional and global levels, taking into account different national realities, capacities, and levels of development, and respecting national legislations and practices, as well as policies and priorities.

18. We reaffirm all of the principles of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, including, inter alia, the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, as set out in Principle 7 thereof.

19. We acknowledge that in implementing the New Urban Agenda, particular attention should be given to addressing the unique and emerging urban development challenges facing all countries, in particular developing countries, including African countries, least developed countries, landlocked developing countries, and small-island developing States, as well as the specific challenges facing the middle income countries. Special attention should also be given to countries

in situations of conflicts, as well as countries and territories under foreign occupation, post-conflict countries, and countries affected by natural and man-made disasters.

20. We recognize the need to give particular attention to addressing multiple forms of discrimination faced by, inter alia, women and girls, children and youth, persons with disabilities, people living with HIV/AIDS, older persons, indigenous peoples and local communities, slum and informal settlement dwellers, homeless people, workers, smallholder farmers and fishers, refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons, and migrants, regardless of migration status.

21. We urge all national, sub-national, and local governments, as well as all relevant stakeholders, in line with national policies and legislation, to revitalize, strengthen, and create partnerships, enhancing coordination and cooperation to effectively implement the New Urban Agenda and realize our shared vision.

22. We adopt this New Urban Agenda as a collective vision and a political commitment to promote and realize sustainable urban development, and as a historic opportunity to leverage the key role of cities and human settlements as drivers of sustainable development in an increasingly urbanized world.

QUITO IMPLEMENTATION PLAN FOR THE NEW URBAN AGENDA

23. We resolve to implement the New Urban Agenda as a key instrument for national, sub-national, and local governments and all relevant stakeholders to achieve sustainable urban development.

A. THE TRANSFORMATIVE COMMITMENTS FOR SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT

24. To fully harness the potential of sustainable urban development, we make the following transformative commitments through an urban paradigm shift grounded in the integrated and indivisible dimensions of sustainable development: social, economic, and environmental.

SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION AND ENDING POVERTY

25. We recognize that eradicating poverty in all its forms and dimensions, including extreme poverty, is the greatest global challenge and an indispensable requirement for sustainable development. We also recognize that the growing inequality and the persistence of multiple forms and dimensions of poverty, including the rising number of slum and informal settlement dwellers, is affecting both developed and developing countries, and that the spatial organization, accessibility, and design of urban space, as well as infrastructure and basic service provision, together with development policies, can promote or hinder social cohesion, equality, and inclusion.

26. We commit to urban and rural development that is people-centered, protects the planet, and is age- and gender-responsive, and to the realization of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, facilitating living together, ending all forms of discrimination and violence, and empowering all individuals and communities, while enabling their full and meaningful participation. We further commit to promote culture and respect for diversity, and equality as key elements in the humanization of our cities and human settlements.

27. We reaffirm our pledge that no one will be left behind, and commit to promote equally shared opportunities and benefits that urbanization can offer, and enable all inhabitants, whether living in formal or informal settlements, to lead decent, dignified, and rewarding lives and to achieve their full human potential.

28. We commit to ensure the full respect for human rights and humane treatment of refugees,

internally displaced persons, and migrants, regardless of migration status, and support their host cities in the spirit of international cooperation, taking into account national circumstances, and recognizing that, although the movement of large populations into towns and cities poses a variety of challenges, it can also bring significant social, economic, and cultural contributions to urban life. We further commit to strengthen synergies between international migration and development, at the global, regional, national, sub-national, and local levels by ensuring safe, orderly, and regular migration through planned and well-managed migration policies and to support local authorities in establishing frameworks that enable the positive contribution of migrants to cities and strengthened urban-rural linkages.

29. We commit to strengthen the coordination role of national, sub-national, and local governments, as appropriate, and their collaboration with other public entities and non-governmental organizations, in the provision of social and basic services for all, including generating investments in communities that are most vulnerable to disasters affected by recurrent and protracted humanitarian crises. We further commit to promote adequate services, accommodation, and opportunities for decent and productive work for crisis-affected persons in urban settings, working with the local communities and local governments to identify opportunities for engaging and developing local, durable, and dignified solutions, while ensuring that aid flows also to affected persons and host communities to prevent regression of their development.

30. We acknowledge the need for governments and civil society to further support resilient urban services during armed conflicts. We also acknowledge the need to reaffirm full respect for international humanitarian law.

31. We commit to promote national, sub-national, and local housing policies that support the progressive realization of the right to adequate housing for all as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, that address all forms of discrimination and violence, prevent arbitrary forced evictions, and that focus on the needs of the homeless, persons in vulnerable situations, low income groups, and persons with disabilities, while enabling participation and engagement of communities and relevant stakeholders, in the planning and implementation of these policies including supporting the social production of habitat, according to national legislations and standards.

32. We commit to promote the development of integrated and age- and gender-responsive housing policies and approaches across all sectors, in particular employment, education, healthcare, and social integration sectors, and at all levels of government, which incorporate the provision of adequate, affordable, accessible, resource efficient, safe, resilient, well-connected, and well-located housing, with special attention to the proximity factor and the strengthening of the spatial relationship with the rest of the urban fabric and the surrounding functional areas.

33. We commit to stimulate the supply of a variety of adequate housing options that are safe, affordable, and accessible for members of different income groups of society, taking into consideration socio-economic and cultural integration of marginalized communities, homeless persons, and those in vulnerable situations, preventing segregation. We will take positive measures to improve the living conditions of homeless people with a view of facilitating their full participation in society and to prevent and eliminate homelessness, as well as to combat and eliminate its criminalization.

34. We commit to promote equitable and affordable access to sustainable basic physical and social infrastructure for all, without discrimination, including affordable serviced land, housing, modern and renewable energy, safe drinking water and sanitation, safe, nutritious and adequate food, waste disposal, sustainable mobility, healthcare and family planning, education, culture, and information and communication technologies. We further commit to ensure that these services are responsive to the rights and needs of women, children and youth, older persons and

persons with disabilities, migrants, indigenous peoples and local communities as appropriate, and others that are in vulnerable situations. In this regard, we encourage the elimination of legal, institutional, socio-economic, or physical barriers.

35. We commit to promote, at the appropriate level of government, including sub-national and local government, increased security of tenure for all, recognizing the plurality of tenure types, and to develop fit-for-purpose, and age-, gender-, and environment-responsive solutions within the continuum of land and property rights, with particular attention to security of land tenure for women as key to their empowerment, including through effective administrative systems.

36. We commit to promote appropriate measures in cities and human settlements that facilitate access for persons with disabilities, on an equal basis with others, to the physical environment of cities, in particular to public spaces, public transport, housing, education and health facilities, to public information and communication, including information and communications technologies and systems, and to other facilities and services open or provided to the public, both in urban and rural areas.

37. We commit to promote safe, inclusive, accessible, green, and quality public spaces, including streets, sidewalks, and cycling lanes, squares, waterfront areas, gardens, and parks that are multi-functional areas for social interaction and inclusion, human health and well-being, economic exchange, and cultural expression and dialogue among a wide diversity of people and cultures, and which are designed and managed to ensure human development, to build peaceful, inclusive, and participatory societies, as well as to promote living together, connectivity, and social inclusion.

38. We commit to sustainably leverage natural and cultural heritage in cities and human settlements, as appropriate, both tangible and intangible, through integrated urban and territorial policies and adequate investments at the national, sub-national, and local levels, to safeguard and promote cultural infrastructures and sites, museums, indigenous cultures and languages, as well as traditional knowledge and the arts, highlighting the role that these play in the rehabilitation and revitalization of urban areas, and as a way to strengthen social participation and the exercise of citizenship.

39. We commit to promote a safe, healthy, inclusive, and secure environment in cities and human settlements for all to live, work, and participate in urban life without fear of violence and intimidation, taking into consideration that women and girls, and children and youth, and persons in vulnerable situations are often particularly affected. We will also work towards the elimination of harmful practices against women and girls, including child, early, and forced marriage, and female genital mutilation.

40. We commit to embrace diversity in cities and human settlements, to strengthen social cohesion, intercultural dialogue and understanding, tolerance, mutual respect, gender equality, innovation, entrepreneurship, inclusion, identity and safety, and the dignity of all people, as well as to foster livability and a vibrant urban economy. We also commit to take steps to ensure that our local institutions promote pluralism and peaceful co-existence within increasingly heterogeneous and multi-cultural societies.

41. We commit to promote institutional, political, legal, and financial mechanisms in cities and human settlements to broaden inclusive platforms, in line with national policies that allow meaningful participation in decision-making, planning, and follow-up processes for all, as well as an enhanced civil engagement and co-provision and co-production.

42. We support sub-national and local governments, as appropriate, in fulfilling their key role in strengthening the interface among all relevant stakeholders, offering opportunities for dialogue, including through age- and gender-responsive approaches, and with particular attention to the potential contributions from all segments of society, including men and women, children and youth, older persons and persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and local communities,

refugees and internally displaced persons and migrants, regardless of migration status, and without discrimination based on race, religion, ethnicity, or socio-economic status.

SUSTAINABLE AND INCLUSIVE URBAN PROSPERITY AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL

43. We recognize that sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, with full and productive employment and decent work for all, is a key element of sustainable urban and territorial development and that cities and human settlements should be places of equal opportunities allowing people to live healthy, productive, prosperous, and fulfilling lives.

44. We recognize that urban form, infrastructure, and building design are among the greatest drivers of cost and resource efficiencies, through the benefits of economy of scale and agglomeration, and fostering energy efficiency, renewable energy, resilience, productivity, environmental protection, and sustainable growth in the urban economy.

45. We commit to develop vibrant, sustainable, and inclusive urban economies, building on endogenous potentials, competitive advantages, cultural heritage and local resources, as well as resource-efficient and resilient infrastructure, promoting sustainable and inclusive industrial development, and sustainable consumption and production patterns, and fostering an enabling environment for businesses and innovation, as well as livelihoods.

46. We commit to promote the role of affordable and sustainable housing and housing finance, including social habitat production, in economic development, and the contribution of the sector in stimulating productivity in other economic sectors, recognizing that housing enhances capital formation, income, employment generation, and savings, and can contribute to driving sustainable and inclusive economic transformation at the national, sub-national, and local levels.

47. We commit to take appropriate steps to strengthen national, sub-national, and local institutions to support local economic development, fostering integration, cooperation, coordination, and dialogue across levels of governments and functional areas and relevant stakeholders.

48. We encourage effective participation and collaboration among all relevant stakeholders, including local governments, the private sector, civil society, women and youth organizations, as well as those representing persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples, professionals, academic institutions, trade unions, employers' organizations, migrant associations, and cultural associations, in ascertaining the opportunities for urban economic development as well as in identifying and addressing existing and emerging challenges.

49. We commit to support territorial systems that integrate urban and rural functions into the national and sub-national spatial frameworks and the systems of cities and human settlements, promoting sustainable management and use of natural resources and land, ensuring reliable supply and value chains that connect urban and rural supply and demand to foster equitable regional development across the urban-rural continuum and fill the social, economic, and territorial gaps.

50. We commit to encourage urban-rural interactions and connectivity by strengthening sustainable transport and mobility, technology and communication networks and infrastructure, underpinned by planning instruments based on an integrated urban and territorial approach in order to maximize the potential of these sectors for enhanced productivity, social, economic, and territorial cohesion, as well as safety and environmental sustainability. This should include connectivity between cities and their surroundings, peri-urban, and rural areas, as well as greater land-sea connections, where appropriate.

51. We commit to promote the development of urban spatial frameworks, including urban planning and design instruments that support sustainable management and use of natural resources and land, appropriate compactness and density, polycentrism, and mixed uses, through

infill or planned urban extension strategies as applicable, to trigger economies of scale and agglomeration, strengthen food system planning, enhance resource efficiency, urban resilience, and environmental sustainability.

52. We encourage spatial development strategies that take into account, as appropriate, the need to guide urban extension prioritizing urban renewal by planning for the provision of accessible and well-connected infrastructure and services, sustainable population densities, and compact design and integration of new neighborhoods in the urban fabric, preventing urban sprawl and marginalization.

53. We commit to promote safe, inclusive, accessible, green, and quality public spaces as drivers of social and economic development, sustainably leveraging their potential to generate increased social and economic value, including property value, and to facilitate business, public and private investments, and livelihood opportunities for all.

54. We commit to the generation and use of renewable and affordable energy and sustainable and efficient transport infrastructure and services, where possible, achieving the benefits of connectivity and reducing the financial, environmental, and public health costs of inefficient mobility, congestion, air pollution, urban heat island effect, and noise. We also commit to give particular attention to the energy and transport needs of all people, particularly the poor and those living in informal settlements. We also note that reductions in renewable energy costs give cities and human settlements an effective tool to lower energy supply costs.

55. We commit to foster healthy societies by promoting access to adequate, inclusive, and quality public services, a clean environment taking into consideration air quality guidelines including those elaborated by the World Health Organization (WHO), social infrastructure and facilities, such as health-care services, including universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services to reduce newborn child and maternal mortality.

56. We commit to increase economic productivity, as appropriate, by providing the labor force with access to income-earning opportunities, knowledge, skills and educational facilities that contribute to an innovative and competitive urban economy. We also commit to increase economic productivity through the promotion of full and productive employment, decent work, and livelihood opportunities in cities and human settlements.

57. We commit to promote, as appropriate, full and productive employment, decent work for all, and livelihood opportunities in cities and human settlements, with special attention to the needs and potential of women, youth, persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and local communities, refugees and internally displaced persons, and migrants, particularly the poorest and those in vulnerable situations, and to promote non-discriminatory access to legal income-earning opportunities.

58. We commit to promote an enabling, fair, and responsible business environment, based on the principles of environmental sustainability and inclusive prosperity, promoting investments, innovations, and entrepreneurship. We also commit to address the challenges faced by local business communities, through supporting micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises and cooperatives throughout the value chain, in particular businesses and enterprises in the social and solidarity economy, operating in both the formal and informal economies.

59. We commit to recognize the contribution of the working poor in the informal economy, particularly women, including the unpaid, domestic, and migrant workers to the urban economies, taking into account national circumstances. Their livelihoods, working conditions and income security, legal and social protection, access to skills, assets and other support services, and voice and representation should be enhanced. A progressive transition of workers and economic units to the formal economy will be developed by adopting a balanced approach, combining incentives and compliance measures, while promoting preservation and improvement of existing livelihoods.

We will take into account the specific national circumstances, legislations, policies, practices, and priorities for the transition to the formal economy.

60. We commit to sustain and support urban economies to progressively transition to higher productivity through high-value-added sectors, promoting diversification, technological upgrading, research, and innovation, including the creation of quality, decent, and productive jobs, including through promoting cultural and creative industries, sustainable tourism, performing arts, and heritage conservation activities, among others.

61. We commit to harness the urban demographic dividend, where applicable, and to promote access for youth to education, skills development, and employment to achieve increased productivity and shared prosperity in cities and human settlements. Girls and boys, young women and young men, are key agents of change in creating a better future and when empowered, they have great potential to advocate on behalf of themselves and their communities. Ensuring more and better opportunities for their meaningful participation will be essential for the implementation of the New Urban Agenda.

62. We commit to address the social, economic, and spatial implications of ageing populations, where applicable, and harness the ageing factor as an opportunity for new decent jobs and sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, while improving the quality of life of the urban population.

ENVIRONMENTALLY SUSTAINABLE AND RESILIENT URBAN DEVELOPMENT

63. We recognize that cities and human settlements face unprecedented threats from unsustainable consumption and production patterns, loss of biodiversity, pressure on ecosystems, pollution, and natural and man-made disasters, and climate change and its related risks, undermining the efforts to end poverty in all its forms and dimensions and to achieve sustainable development. Given cities' demographic trends and their central role in the global economy in the mitigation and adaptation efforts related to climate change and in the use of resources and ecosystems, the way they are planned, financed, developed, built, governed, and managed has a direct impact on sustainability and resilience well beyond the urban boundaries.

64. We also recognize that urban centers worldwide, especially in developing countries, often have characteristics that make them and their inhabitants especially vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change and other natural and man-made hazards, including earthquakes, extreme weather events, flooding, subsidence, storms, including dust and sand storms, heat waves, water scarcity, droughts, water and air pollution, vector borne diseases, and sea level rise particularly affecting coastal areas, delta regions, and small island developing States, among others.

65. We commit to facilitate the sustainable management of natural resources in cities and human settlements in a manner that protects and improves the urban ecosystem and environmental services, reduces greenhouse gas emissions and air pollution, and promotes disaster risk reduction and management, through supporting the development of disaster risk reduction strategies and periodical assessments of disaster risk caused by natural and man-made hazards, including standards for risk levels, while fostering sustainable economic development and all persons' well-being and quality of life, through environmentally sound urban and territorial planning, infrastructure, and basic services.

66. We commit to adopt a smart city approach, which makes use of opportunities from digitalization, clean energy and technologies, as well as innovative transport technologies, thus providing options for inhabitants to make more environmentally friendly choices and boost sustainable economic growth and enabling cities to improve their service delivery.

67. We commit to promote the creation and maintenance of well-connected and well-distributed networks of open, multi-purpose, safe, inclusive, accessible, green, and quality public spaces to

improve the resilience of cities to disasters and climate change, reducing flood and drought risks and heat waves, improving food security and nutrition, physical and mental health, household and ambient air quality, reducing noise, and promoting attractive and livable cities and human settlements and urban landscapes, prioritizing the conservation of endemic species.

68. We commit to give particular consideration to urban deltas, coastal areas, and other environmentally sensitive areas, highlighting their importance as ecosystems' providers of significant resources for transport, food security, economic prosperity, ecosystem services and resilience, and integrating appropriate measures to factor them into sustainable urban and territorial planning and development.

69. We commit to preserve and promote the ecological and social function of land, including coastal areas which support cities and human settlements, and foster ecosystem-based solutions to ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns; so that the ecosystem's regenerative capacity is not exceeded. We also commit to promote sustainable land use, combining urban extensions with adequate densities and compactness preventing and containing urban sprawl, as well as preventing unnecessary land use change and the loss of productive land and fragile and important ecosystems.

70. We commit to support local provision of goods and basic services, leveraging the proximity of resources, recognizing that a heavy reliance on distant sources of energy, water, food, and materials can pose sustainability challenges, including vulnerability to service supply disruptions, and that local provision can enable better access for inhabitants to resources.

71. We commit to strengthening the sustainable management of resources — including land, water (oceans, seas, and freshwater), energy, materials, forests, and food, with particular attention to the environmentally sound management and minimization of all waste, hazardous chemicals, including air and short-lived climate pollutants, greenhouse gases, and noise — in a way that considers urban-rural linkages and functional supply and value chains vis-à-vis environmental impact and sustainability, and strives to transition to a circular economy, while facilitating ecosystem conservation, regeneration, restoration and resilience in the face of new and emerging challenges.

72. We commit to long-term urban and territorial planning processes and spatial development practices that incorporate integrated water resources planning and management, considering the urban-rural continuum at the local and territorial scales, and including the participation of relevant stakeholders and communities.

73. We commit to promote conservation and sustainable use of water by rehabilitating water resources within the urban, peri-urban, and rural areas, reducing and treating waste water, minimizing water losses, promoting water reuse, and increasing water storage, retention, and recharge, taking into consideration the water cycle.

74. We commit to promote environmentally sound waste management and to substantially reduce waste generation by reducing, re-using, and recycling (3Rs) of waste, minimizing landfills, and converting waste to energy when waste cannot be recycled or when it delivers the best environmental outcome. We further commit to reduce marine pollution through improved waste and waste water management in coastal areas.

75. We commit to encourage national, sub-national, and local governments, as appropriate, to develop sustainable, renewable, and affordable energy, energy-efficient buildings and construction modes, and to promote energy conservation and efficiency, which are essential to enable the reduction of greenhouse gas and black carbon emissions, ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns, and help to create new decent jobs, improve public health, and reduce the costs of energy supply.

76. We commit to make sustainable use of natural resources and to focus on the resource-

efficiency of raw and construction materials like concrete, metals, wood, minerals, and land, establish safe material recovery and recycling facilities, and promote development of sustainable and resilient buildings, prioritizing the usage of local, non-toxic and recycled materials, and lead-additive-free paints and coatings.

77. We commit to strengthen the resilience of cities and human settlements, including through the development of quality infrastructure and spatial planning by adopting and implementing integrated, age- and gender-responsive policies and plans and ecosystem-based approaches in line with the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030, mainstreaming holistic and data-informed disaster risk reduction and management at all levels, reducing vulnerabilities and risk, especially in risk-prone areas of formal and informal settlements, including slums, enabling households, communities, institutions and services to prepare for, respond to, adapt to, and rapidly recover from the effects of hazards, including shocks or latent stresses. We will promote the development of infrastructure that is resilient, resource-efficient, and which will reduce the risks and the impact of disasters, including the rehabilitation and upgrading of slums and informal settlements. We will also promote measures for strengthening and retrofitting of all the risky housing stock including in slums and informal settlements to make it resilient against disasters in coordination with local authorities and stakeholders.

78. We commit to support shifting from reactive to more proactive risk-based, all-hazards and all-of-society approaches, such as raising public awareness of the risk and promoting ex-ante investments to prevent risks and build resilience, while also ensuring timely and effective local responses, to address the immediate needs of inhabitants affected by natural and man-made disasters, and conflicts. This should include the integration of the “Build Back Better” principles in the post-disaster recovery process to integrate resilience-building, environmental and spatial measures, and the lessons from past disasters and new risks into future planning.

79. We commit to promote international, national, sub-national, and local climate action, including climate change adaptation and mitigation, and to support cities and human settlements, their inhabitants and all local stakeholders to be important implementers. We further commit to support building resilience and reducing emissions of greenhouse gases, from all relevant sectors. Such measures should be consistent with the goals of the Paris Agreement adopted under the UNFCCC, including holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels.

80. We commit to support the medium- to long-term adaptation planning process, as well as city-level climate vulnerability and impact assessments to inform adaptation plans, policies, programmes, and actions that build resilience of urban inhabitants, including through the use of ecosystem-based adaptation.

B. EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION

81. We recognize that the realization of the transformative commitments set out in the New Urban Agenda will require an enabling policy framework at the national, sub-national, and local levels, integrated by participatory planning and management of urban spatial development, and effective means of implementation, complemented by international cooperation as well as capacity development efforts, including the sharing of best practices, policies, and programmes among governments at all levels.

82. We invite international and regional organizations and bodies including those of the United Nations system and multilateral environmental agreements, development partners, international and multilateral financial institutions, regional development banks, the private sector, and other stakeholders, to enhance coordination of their urban and rural development strategies and

programmes to apply an integrated approach to sustainable urbanization, mainstreaming the implementation of the New Urban Agenda.

83. In this regard we emphasize the need to improve the United Nations system-wide coordination and coherence in the area of sustainable urban development, within the framework of a system-wide strategic planning implementation and reporting as stressed by paragraph 88 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

84. We strongly urge states to refrain from promulgating and applying any unilateral economic, financial, or trade measures not in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations that impede the full achievement of economic and social development, particularly in developing countries.

BUILDING THE URBAN GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE: ESTABLISHING A SUPPORTIVE FRAMEWORK

85. We acknowledge the principles and strategies contained in the International Guidelines on Decentralization and Access to Basic Services for all, adopted by the Governing Council of UN-Habitat in 2007.

86. We will anchor the effective implementation of the New Urban Agenda in inclusive, implementable, and participatory urban policies, as appropriate, to mainstream sustainable urban and territorial development as part of integrated development strategies and plans, supported, as appropriate, by national, sub-national, and local institutional and regulatory frameworks, ensuring that they are adequately linked to transparent and accountable finance mechanisms.

87. We will foster stronger coordination and cooperation among national, sub-national, and local governments, including through multi-level consultation mechanisms and by clearly defining the respective competences, tools, and resources for each level of government.

88. We will ensure coherence between goals and measures of sectoral policies, inter alia, rural development, land use, food security and nutrition, management of natural resources, provision of public services, water and sanitation, health, environment, energy, housing and mobility policies, at different levels and scales of political administration, across administrative borders and considering the appropriate functional areas, in order to strengthen integrated approaches to urbanization and implement integrated urban and territorial planning strategies that factor them in.

89. We will take measures to establish legal and policy frameworks, based on the principles of equality and non-discrimination, to better enable prevailing governments to effectively implement national urban policies, as appropriate, and to empower them as policy and decision-makers, ensuring appropriate fiscal, political, and administrative decentralization based on the principle of subsidiarity.

90. We will, in line with national legislations, support strengthening the capacity of sub-national and local governments to implement effective local and metropolitan multi-level governance, across administrative borders, and based on functional territories, ensuring the involvement of sub-national and local governments in decision-making, working to provide them with necessary authority and resources to manage critical urban, metropolitan, and territorial concerns. We will promote metropolitan governance that is inclusive and encompasses legal frameworks and reliable financing mechanisms, including sustainable debt management, as applicable. We will take measures to promote women's full and effective participation and equal rights in all fields and in leadership at all levels of decision-making, including in local governments.

91. We will support local governments in determining their own administrative and management structures, in line with national legislation and policies, as appropriate, in order to adapt to local needs. We will encourage appropriate regulatory frameworks and support to local governments

in partnering with communities, civil society, and the private sector to develop and manage basic services and infrastructure ensuring that public interest is preserved and concise goals, responsibilities, and accountability mechanisms are clearly defined.

92. We will promote participatory age- and gender-responsive approaches at all stages of the urban and territorial policy and planning processes, from conceptualization to design, budgeting, implementation, evaluation, and review, rooted in new forms of direct partnership between governments at all levels and civil society, including through broad-based and well-resourced permanent mechanisms and platforms for cooperation and consultation open to all, using information and communications technologies and accessible data solutions.

PLANNING AND MANAGING URBAN SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT

93. We acknowledge the principles and strategies for urban and territorial planning contained in the International Guidelines on Urban and Territorial Planning, adopted by the Governing Council of UN-Habitat at its 25th session in April 2015.

94. We will implement integrated planning that aims to balance short-term needs with long-term desired outcomes of a competitive economy, high quality of life, and sustainable environment. We will also strive to build in flexibility in our plans in order to adjust to changing social and economic conditions over time. We will implement and systematically evaluate these plans, while making efforts to leverage innovations in technology and to produce a better living environment.

95. We will support implementing integrated, polycentric, and balanced territorial development policies and plans, encouraging cooperation and mutual support among different scales of cities and human settlements, strengthening the role of small and intermediate cities and towns in enhancing food security and nutrition systems, providing access to sustainable, affordable, adequate, resilient, and safe housing, infrastructure, and services, and facilitate effective trade links, across the urban-rural continuum, ensuring that small-scale farmers and fishers are linked to local, sub-national, national, regional, and global value chains and markets. We will also support urban agriculture and farming as well as responsible, local, and sustainable consumption and production, and social interactions through enabling accessible networks of local markets and commerce as an option to contribute to sustainability and food security.

96. We will encourage implementing sustainable urban and territorial planning, including city-region and metropolitan plans, to encourage synergies and interactions among urban areas of all sizes, and their peri-urban, and rural surroundings, including those that are cross-border, and support the development of sustainable regional infrastructure projects that stimulate sustainable economic productivity, promoting equitable growth of regions across the urban-rural continuum. In this regard we will promote urban-rural partnerships and inter-municipal cooperation mechanisms based on functional territories and urban areas as effective instruments to perform municipal and metropolitan administrative tasks, deliver public services, and promote both local and regional development.

97. We will promote planned urban extensions, infill, prioritizing renewal, regeneration, and retrofitting of urban areas, as appropriate, including upgrading of slums and informal settlements, providing high-quality buildings and public spaces, promoting integrated and participatory approaches involving all relevant stakeholders and inhabitants, avoiding spatial and socio-economic segregation and gentrification, while preserving cultural heritage and preventing and containing urban sprawl.

98. We will promote integrated urban and territorial planning, including planned urban extensions based on the principles of equitable, efficient, and sustainable use of land and natural resources, compactness, polycentrism, appropriate density and connectivity, multiple use of space, as well as mixed social and economic uses in the built-up areas, to prevent urban sprawl, to

reduce mobility challenges and needs and service delivery costs per capita, and to harness density and economies of scale and agglomeration, as appropriate.

99. We will support the implementation of urban planning strategies, as appropriate, that facilitate a social mix through the provision of affordable housing options with access to quality basic services and public spaces for all, enhancing safety and security, favoring social and inter-generational interaction and the appreciation of diversity. We will take steps to include appropriate training and support for service delivery professionals and communities living in areas affected by urban violence.

100. We will support the provision of well-designed networks of safe, inclusive for all inhabitants, accessible, green, and quality public spaces and streets, free from crime and violence, including sexual harassment and gender-based violence, considering the human-scale and measures that allow for the best possible commercial use of street-level floors, fostering local markets and commerce, both formal and informal, as well as not-for-profit community initiatives, bringing people into the public spaces, promoting walkability and cycling towards improving health and well-being.

101. We will integrate disaster risk reduction, and climate change adaptation and mitigation considerations and measures into age- and gender-responsive urban and territorial development and planning processes, including greenhouse gas emissions, resilience-based and climate-effective design of spaces, buildings, and constructions, services and infrastructure, and nature-based solutions; promote cooperation and coordination across sectors, as well as build capacity of local authorities to develop and implement disaster risk reduction and response plans, such as risk assessments on the location of current and future public facilities; and formulate adequate contingency and evacuation procedures.

102. We will strive to improve capacity for urban planning and design and providing training for urban planners at national, sub-national, and local levels.

103. We will integrate inclusive measures for urban safety, and crime and violence prevention, including terrorism and violent extremism conducive to terrorism, engaging relevant local communities and non-governmental actors, where appropriate, in developing urban strategies and initiatives, including taking into account slums and informal settlements, as well as vulnerability and cultural factors in the development of public security, and crime and violence prevention policies, including by preventing and countering the stigmatization of specific groups as posing inherently greater security threats.

104. We will promote compliance with legal requirements through strong inclusive management frameworks and accountable institutions that deal with land registration and governance, applying a transparent and sustainable management and use of land, property registration, and sound financial system. We will support local governments and relevant stakeholders, through a variety of mechanisms, in developing and using basic land inventory information, such as a cadaster, valuation and risk maps, as well as land and housing price records to generate the high-quality, timely, and reliable disaggregated data by income, sex, age, race, ethnicity, migration status, disability, geographic location, and other characteristics relevant in national context, needed to assess changes in land values, while ensuring that these data will not be used for discriminatory policies on land use.

105. We will foster the progressive realization of the right to adequate housing, as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living. We will develop and implement housing policies at all levels, incorporating participatory planning, and applying the principle of subsidiarity, as appropriate, in order to ensure coherence among national, sub-national, and local development strategies, land policies, and housing supply.

106. We will promote housing policies based on the principles of social inclusion, economic

effectiveness, and environmental protection. We will support the effective use of public resources for affordable and sustainable housing, including land in central and consolidated areas of cities with adequate infrastructure, and encourage mixed-income development to promote social inclusion and cohesion.

107. We will encourage developing policies, tools, mechanisms, and financing models that promote access to a wide range of affordable, sustainable housing options including rental and other tenure options, as well as cooperative solutions such as co-housing, community land trust, and other forms of collective tenure, that would address the evolving needs of persons and communities, in order to improve the supply of housing, especially for low-income groups and to prevent segregation and arbitrary forced evictions and displacements, to provide dignified and adequate re-allocation. This will include support to incremental housing and self-build schemes, with special attention to slums and informal settlements upgrading programmes.

108. We will support the development of housing policies that foster local integrated housing approaches by addressing the strong links between education, employment, housing, and health, preventing exclusion and segregation. Furthermore, we commit to combat homelessness as well as to combat and eliminate its criminalization through dedicated policies and targeted active inclusion strategies, such as comprehensive, inclusive and sustainable housing first programmes.

109. We will consider increased allocation of financial and human resources, as appropriate, for the upgrading and, to the extent possible, the prevention of slums and informal settlements in the allocation of financial and human resources with strategies that go beyond physical and environmental improvements, to ensure that slums and informal settlements are integrated into the social, economic, cultural, and political dimensions of cities. These strategies should include, as applicable, access to sustainable, adequate, safe, and affordable housing; basic and social services; and safe, inclusive, accessible, green, and quality public spaces; and they should promote security of tenure and its regularization, as well as measures for conflict prevention and mediation.

110. We will support efforts to define and reinforce inclusive and transparent monitoring systems for reducing the proportion of people living in slums and informal settlements, taking into account the experiences gained from previous efforts to improve the living conditions of slum and informal settlement dwellers.

111. We will promote the development of adequate and enforceable regulations in the housing sector, including, as applicable, resilient building codes, standards, development permits, land use by-laws and ordinances, and planning regulations, combating and preventing speculation, displacement, homelessness, and arbitrary forced evictions, ensuring sustainability, quality, affordability, health, safety, accessibility, energy and resource efficiency, and resilience. We will also promote differentiated analysis of housing supply and demand based on high-quality, timely, and reliable disaggregated data at the national, sub-national, and local levels, considering specific social, economic, environmental, and cultural dimensions.

112. We will promote the implementation of sustainable urban development programmes with housing and people's needs at the center of the strategy, prioritizing well-located and well-distributed housing schemes in order to avoid peripheral and isolated mass housing developments detached from urban systems, regardless of the social and economic segment for which they are developed and providing solutions for low income groups' housing needs.

113. We will take measures to improve road safety and integrate it into sustainable mobility and transport infrastructure planning and design. Accompanied by awareness-raising initiatives, we will promote the safe system approach called for in the United Nations Decade of Action for Road Safety, with special attention to the needs of all women and girls, as well as children and youth,

older persons and persons with disabilities, and those in vulnerable situations. We will work to adopt, implement, and enforce policies and measures to actively protect and promote pedestrian safety and cycling mobility, with a view to broader health outcomes, particularly the prevention of injuries and non-communicable diseases, and we will work to develop and implement comprehensive legislation and policies on motorcycle safety, given the disproportionately high and increasing numbers of motorcycle deaths and injuries globally, particularly in developing countries. We will promote the safe and healthy journey to school for every child as a priority.

114. We will promote access for all to safe, age- and gender-responsive, affordable, accessible, and sustainable urban mobility and land and sea transport systems, enabling meaningful participation in social and economic activities in cities and human settlements, by integrating transport and mobility plans into overall urban and territorial plans and promoting a wide range of transport and mobility options, in particular through supporting:

(a) a significant increase in accessible safe, efficient, affordable, and sustainable infrastructure for public transport as well as non-motorized options such as walking and cycling, prioritizing them over private motorized transportation;

(b) equitable Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) that minimizes the displacement in particular of the poor and features affordable, mixed-income housing and a mix of jobs and services;

(c) better and coordinated transport-land use planning, leading to a reduction of travel and transport needs, enhancing connectivity between urban, peri-urban, and rural areas, including waterways and transport and mobility planning, particularly for small islands developing States and coastal cities;

(d) urban freight planning and logistics concepts that enable efficient access to products and services, minimizing the impact of the environment and the livability of the city and maximizing their contribution to sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth.

115. We will take measures to develop mechanisms and common frameworks at the national, sub-national, and local levels to evaluate the wider benefits of urban and metropolitan transport schemes, including impacts on the environment, the economy, social cohesion, quality of life, accessibility, road safety, public health, and action on climate change, among others.

116. We will support the development of these mechanisms and frameworks, based on sustainable national urban transport and mobility policies, for sustainable, open, and transparent procurement and regulation of transport and mobility services in urban and metropolitan areas, including new technology that enables shared mobility services, as well as the development of clear, transparent, and accountable contractual relationships between local governments and transport and mobility service providers including on data management, which further guarantee public interest, protect individual privacy, and define mutual obligations.

117. We will support better coordination between transport and urban and territorial planning departments, in mutual understanding of planning and policy frameworks, at the national, sub-national, and local levels, including through sustainable urban and metropolitan transport and mobility plans. We will support sub-national and local governments in developing the necessary knowledge and capacity to implement and enforce such plans.

118. We will encourage national, sub-national, and local governments to develop and expand financing instruments, enabling them to improve their transport and mobility infrastructure and systems, such as mass rapid transit systems, integrated transport systems, air and rail systems, and safe, sufficient and adequate pedestrian and cycling infrastructure and technology-based innovations in transport and transit systems to reduce congestion and pollution while improving efficiency, connectivity, accessibility, health, and quality of life.

119. We will promote adequate investments in protective, accessible, and sustainable infrastructure and service provision systems for water, sanitation, and hygiene, sewage, solid

waste management, urban drainage, reduction of air pollution, and storm water management, in order to improve safety against water-related disasters, health, and ensure universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all; as well as access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all; and end open defecation, with special attention to the needs and safety of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations. We will seek to ensure that this infrastructure is climate-resilient and forms part of integrated urban and territorial development plans, including housing and mobility, among others, and is implemented in a participatory manner, considering innovative, resource efficient, accessible, context specific, and culturally sensitive sustainable solutions.

120. We will work to equip public water and sanitation utilities with the capacity to implement sustainable water management systems, including sustainable maintenance of urban infrastructure services, through capacity development with the goal of progressively eliminating inequalities, and promoting both the universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all, and adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all.

121. We will ensure universal access to affordable, reliable and modern energy services by promoting energy efficiency and sustainable renewable energy, and supporting sub-national and local efforts; to apply them in public buildings, infrastructure and facilities, as well as in taking advantage of their direct control, where applicable, of local infrastructure and codes, to foster uptake in end-use sectors, such as residential, commercial, and industrial buildings, industry, transport, waste, and sanitation. We also encourage the adoption of building performance codes and standards, renewable portfolio targets, energy efficiency labelling, retrofitting of existing buildings and public procurement policies on energy, among other modalities as appropriate, to achieve energy efficiency targets. We will also prioritize smart grid, district energy systems, and community energy plans to improve synergies between renewable energy and energy efficiency.

122. We will support decentralized decision-making on waste disposal to promote universal access to sustainable waste management systems. We will support the promotion of extended producer responsibility schemes, including waste generators and producers in the financing of urban waste management systems and reducing the hazards and social economic impacts of waste streams and increasing recycling rates through better product design.

123. We will promote the integration of food security and nutrition needs of urban residents, particularly the urban poor, in urban and territorial planning, to end hunger and malnutrition. We will promote coordination of sustainable food security and agriculture policies across urban, peri-urban, and rural areas to facilitate the production, storage, transport, and marketing of food to consumers in adequate and affordable ways to reduce food losses and to prevent and reuse food waste. We will further promote the coordination of food policies with energy, water, health, transport, and waste — and maintain genetic diversity of seeds and reduce the use of hazardous chemicals — and other policies in urban areas to maximize efficiencies and minimize waste.

124. We will include culture as a priority component of urban plans and strategies in the adoption of planning instruments, including master plans, zoning guidelines, building codes, coastal management policies, and strategic development policies that safeguard a diverse range of tangible and intangible cultural heritage and landscapes, and will protect them from potential disruptive impacts of urban development.

125. We will support leveraging cultural heritage for sustainable urban development, and recognize its role in stimulating participation and responsibility, and promote innovative and sustainable use of architectural monuments and sites with the intention of value creation, through respectful restoration and adaptation. We will engage indigenous peoples and local communities in the promotion and dissemination of knowledge of tangible and intangible cultural heritage and protection of traditional expressions and languages, including through the use of new technologies

and techniques.

MEANS OF IMPLEMENTATION

126. We recognize that the implementation of the New Urban Agenda requires an enabling environment and a wide range of means of implementation including access to science, technology, and innovation and enhanced knowledge sharing on mutually agreed terms, capacity development, and mobilization of financial resources, taking into account the commitment of developed countries and developing countries, tapping into all available traditional and innovative sources at the global, regional, national, sub-national, and local levels as well as enhanced international cooperation and partnerships among governments at all levels, the private sector, civil society, the United Nations system, and other actors, based on the principles of equality, non-discrimination, accountability, respect for human rights, and solidarity, especially with those who are the poorest and most vulnerable.

127. We reaffirm the commitments on means of implementation included in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on Financing for Development.

128. We will encourage UN-Habitat, other United Nations programmes and agencies and other relevant stakeholders to generate evidence-based and practical guidance for the implementation of the New Urban Agenda and the urban dimension of the Sustainable Development Goals, in close collaboration with Member States, local authorities, major groups, and other relevant stakeholders, as well as through the mobilization of experts. We build on the legacy of the Habitat III Conference and the lessons learnt from its preparatory process, including the regional and thematic meetings. We note, in this context, the valuable contributions of, inter alia, the World Urban Campaign, the General Assembly of Partners for Habitat III, and the Global Land Tool Network.

129. We urge UN-Habitat to continue its work to develop its normative knowledge and provide capacity development and tools to national, sub-national, and local governments in designing, planning, and managing sustainable urban development.

130. We recognize that sustainable urban development, guided by prevailing urban policies and strategies, as appropriate, can benefit from integrated financing frameworks that are supported by an enabling environment at all levels. We acknowledge the importance of ensuring that all financial means of implementation are firmly embedded into coherent policy frameworks and fiscal decentralization processes where available, and that adequate capacities are developed at all levels.

131. We support context-sensitive approaches in financing urbanization and in enhancing financial management capacities at all levels of government, adopting specific instruments and mechanisms necessary to achieve sustainable urban development, recognizing that each country has the primary responsibility for its own economic and social development.

132. We will mobilize endogenous resources and revenues generated through the capture of benefits of urbanization, as well as the catalyzing effects and maximized impact of public and private investments in order to improve the financial conditions for urban development and open access to additional sources recognizing that, for all countries, public policies and the mobilization and effective use of domestic resources, underscored by the principle of national ownership, are central to our common pursuit of sustainable urban development, including implementation of the New Urban Agenda.

133. We call on businesses to apply their creativity and innovation toward solving sustainable development challenges in urban areas, acknowledging that private business activity, investment, and innovation are major drivers of productivity, inclusive growth and job creation and that private investment, particularly foreign direct investment, along with a stable international

financial system, are essential elements of development efforts.

134. We will support appropriate policies and capacities that enable sub-national and local governments to register and expand their potential revenue base, such as through multi-purpose cadasters, local taxes, fees, and service charges, in line with national policies, while ensuring that women and girls, children and youth, older persons, persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and local communities, and poor households are not disproportionately affected.

135. We will promote sound and transparent systems of financial transfers from national government to sub-national and local governments based on their needs, priorities, functions, mandates, and performance-based incentives, as appropriate, in order to provide them with adequate, timely, and predictable resources and enhance their own abilities to raise revenues and manage expenditures.

136. We will support the development of vertical and horizontal models of distribution of financial resources to decrease inequalities across sub-national territories, within urban centers, and between urban and rural areas, as well as to promote integrated and balanced territorial development. In this regard, we emphasize the importance of improving transparency of data on spending and resource allocation as a tool to assess progress towards equity and spatial integration.

137. We will promote best practices to capture and share the increase in land and property value generated as a result of urban development processes, infrastructure projects, and public investments. Measures could be put in place, as appropriate, to prevent its solely private capture as well as land and real estate speculations, such as gains-related fiscal policies. We will reinforce the link among fiscal systems, urban planning, as well as urban management tools, including land market regulations. We will work to ensure that efforts to generate land-based finance do not result in unsustainable land use and consumption.

138. We will support sub-national and local governments to implement transparent and accountable expenditure control instruments for assessing the necessity and impact of local investment and projects, based on legislative control and public participation, as appropriate, in support of open and fair tendering processes, procurement mechanisms, and reliable budget execution, as well as preventive anti-corruption measures to promote integrity, accountability, effective management, and access to public property and land, in line with national policies.

139. We will support the creation of robust legal and regulatory frameworks for sustainable national and municipal borrowing, on the basis of sustainable debt management, supported by adequate revenues and capacities, by means of local creditworthiness as well as expanded sustainable municipal debt markets when appropriate. We will consider the establishment of appropriate financial intermediaries for urban financing, such as regional, national, sub-national, and local development funds or development banks, including pooled financing mechanisms, which can catalyze public and private, national, and international financing. We will work to promote risk mitigation mechanisms such as the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, while managing currency risk, to reduce the cost of capital and to stimulate the private sector and households to participate in sustainable urban development and resilience-building efforts, including access to risk transfer mechanisms.

140. We will support the development of appropriate and affordable housing finance products; and encourage the participation of a diverse range of multilateral financial institutions, regional development banks, and development finance institutions; cooperation agencies; private sector lenders and investors, cooperatives, money lenders, and microfinance banks to invest in affordable and incremental housing in all its forms.

141. We will also consider establishing urban and territorial transport infrastructure and service funds at the national level, based on a variety of funding sources, ranging from public grants

to contributions from other public entities and the private sector, ensuring coordination among actors and interventions as well as accountability.

142. We invite international multilateral financial institutions, regional development banks, development finance institutions, and cooperation agencies to provide financial support, including through innovative financial mechanisms, to programmes and projects to implement the New Urban Agenda, particularly in developing countries.

143. We support access to different multilateral funds, including the Green Climate Fund, the Global Environment Facility, the Adaptation Fund, the Climate Investment Funds, among others, to secure resources for climate change adaptation and mitigation plans, policies, programmes, and actions for sub-national and local governments, within the framework of agreed procedures. We will collaborate with sub-national and local financial institutions, as appropriate, to develop climate finance infrastructure solutions and to create appropriate mechanisms to identify catalytic financial instruments, consistent with any national framework in place to ensure fiscal and debt sustainability at all levels of government.

144. We will explore and develop feasible solutions for climate and disaster risks in cities and human settlements, including through collaborating with insurance and reinsurance institutions and other relevant actors, with regard to investments in urban and metropolitan infrastructure, buildings, and other urban assets, as well as for local populations to secure their shelter and economic needs.

145. We support the use of international public finance, including Official Development Assistance (ODA), among others, to catalyze additional resource mobilization from all available sources, public and private, for sustainable urban and territorial development, including by mitigating risks for potential investors recognizing that international public finance plays an important role in complementing the efforts of countries to mobilize public resources domestically, especially in the poorest and most vulnerable countries with limited domestic resources.

146. We will expand opportunities for North-South, South-South, and triangular regional and international cooperation, as well as sub-national, decentralized, and city-to-city cooperation, as appropriate, to contribute to sustainable urban development, developing capacities and fostering exchanges of urban solutions and mutual learning at all levels and by all relevant actors.

147. We will promote capacity development as a multifaceted approach that addresses the ability of multiple stakeholders and institutions at all levels of governance, and combines the individual, societal, and institutional capacity to formulate, implement, enhance, manage, monitor, and evaluate public policies for sustainable urban development.

148. We will promote the strengthening of the capacity of national, sub-national, and local governments, including local government associations, as appropriate, to work with women and girls, children and youth, older persons and persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and local communities, and those in vulnerable situations as well as with civil society, the academia, and research institutions in shaping organizational and institutional governance processes, enabling them to effectively participate in urban and territorial development decision-making.

149. We will support local government associations as promoters and providers of capacity development, recognizing and strengthening, as appropriate, both their involvement in national consultations on urban policies and development priorities, and their cooperation with sub-national and local governments, along with civil society, private sector, professionals, academia, and research institutions, and their existing networks, to deliver on capacity development programmes by means of peer-to-peer learning, subject-matter related partnerships, and collaborative actions such as inter-municipal cooperation, on a global, regional, national, sub-national, and local scale, including the establishment of practitioners' networks and science-policy interface practices.

150. We underscore the need for enhanced cooperation and knowledge exchange on science, technology and innovation to the benefit of sustainable urban development, in full coherence, coordination and synergy with the processes of the Technology Facilitation Mechanism established under the Addis Ababa Action Agenda and launched under the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

151. We will promote capacity development programmes to help sub-national and local governments in financial planning and management, anchored in institutional coordination at all levels, including environmental sensitivity and anti-corruption measures, embracing transparent and independent oversight, accounting procurement, reporting, auditing, and monitoring processes, among others, and to review sub-national and national performance and compliance, with particular attention to age- and gender-responsive budgeting and the improvement and digitalization of accounting processes and records, in order to promote result-based approaches, and to build medium- to long-term administrative and technical capacity.

152. We will promote capacity development programmes on the use of legal land-based revenue and financing tools as well as on real estate market functioning for policymakers and local public officials focusing on the legal and economic foundations of value capture, including quantification, capturing, and distribution of land value increments.

153. We will promote the systematic use of multi-stakeholder partnerships in urban development processes, as appropriate, establishing clear and transparent policies, financial and administrative frameworks and procedures, as well as planning guidelines for multi-stakeholder partnerships.

154. We recognize the significant contribution of voluntary collaborative initiatives, partnerships and coalitions that plan to initiate and enhance the implementation of the New Urban Agenda, highlighting best practices and innovative solutions including by promoting co-production networks between sub-national entities, local governments and other relevant stakeholders.

155. We will promote capacity development initiatives to empower and strengthen skills and abilities of women and girls, children and youth, older persons and persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and local communities, as well as persons in vulnerable situations for shaping governance processes, engaging in dialogue, and promoting and protecting human rights and anti-discrimination, to ensure their effective participation in urban and territorial development decision-making.

156. We will promote the development of national information and communications technology policies and e-government strategies as well as citizen-centric digital governance tools, tapping into technological innovations, including capacity development programmes, in order to make information and communications technologies accessible to the public, including women and girls, children and youth, persons with disabilities, older persons and persons in vulnerable situations, to enable them to develop and exercise civic responsibility, broadening participation and fostering responsible governance, as well as increasing efficiency. The use of digital platforms and tools, including geospatial information systems, will be encouraged to improve long-term integrated urban and territorial planning and design, land administration and management, and access to urban and metropolitan services.

157. We will support science, research, and innovation, including a focus on social, technological, digital and nature-based innovation, robust science-policy interfaces in urban and territorial planning and policy formulation, as well as institutionalized mechanisms for sharing and exchanging information, knowledge and expertise, including the collection, analysis, standardization and dissemination of geographically-based, community-collected, high-quality, timely and reliable data, disaggregated by income, sex, age, race, ethnicity, migration status, disability, geographic location, and other characteristics relevant in national, sub-national, and local contexts.

. We will strengthen the data and statistical capacities at national, sub-national, and local levels to effectively monitor progress achieved in the implementation of sustainable urban development policies and strategies and to inform decision-making and appropriate reviews. Data collection procedures for the implementation and follow up and review of the New Urban Agenda should primarily be based on official national, sub-national, and local data sources and other sources as appropriate, and be open, transparent, and consistent with the purpose of respecting privacy rights and all human rights obligations and commitments. Progress towards a global people-based definition of cities and human settlements may support this work.

159. We will support the role and enhanced capacity of national, sub-national, and local governments in data collection, mapping, analysis, and dissemination, as well as in promoting evidence-based governance, building on a shared knowledge base using both globally comparable as well as locally generated data, including through censuses, household surveys, population registers, community-based monitoring processes and other relevant sources, disaggregated by income, sex, age, race, ethnicity, migration status, disability, geographic location, and other characteristics relevant in national, sub-national, and local contexts.

160. We will foster the creation, promotion, and enhancement of open, user-friendly, and participatory data platforms using technological and social tools available to transfer and share knowledge among national, sub-national, and local governments and relevant stakeholders, including non-state actors and people, to enhance effective urban planning and management, efficiency, and transparency through e-governance, information and communications technologies assisted approaches, and geospatial information management.

C. FOLLOW-UP AND REVIEW

161. We will carry out a periodic follow-up and review of the New Urban Agenda, ensuring coherence at the national, regional, and global levels, in order to track progress, assess impact, and ensure its effective and timely implementation, accountability to our citizens, and transparency, in an inclusive manner.

162. We encourage voluntary, country-led, open, inclusive, multi-level, participatory, and transparent follow-up and review of the New Urban Agenda. It should take into account contributions of national, sub-national, and local levels of government, and be supplemented by contributions from the United Nations system, regional and sub-regional organizations, major groups and relevant stakeholders, and should be a continuous process aimed at creating and reinforcing partnerships among all relevant stakeholders and fostering exchanges of urban solutions and mutual learning.

163. We acknowledge the importance of local governments as active partners in the follow-up and review of the New Urban Agenda at all levels, and encourage them to jointly develop with national and sub-national governments, as appropriate, implementable follow-up and review mechanisms at the local level, including through relevant associations and appropriate platforms. We will consider strengthening, where appropriate, their capacity to contribute in this respect.

164. We stress that the follow-up and review of the New Urban Agenda must have effective linkages with the follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development to ensure coordination and coherence in their implementation.

165. We reaffirm the role and expertise of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), within its mandate, as a focal point for sustainable urbanization and human settlements, in collaboration with other United Nations system entities, recognizing the linkages between sustainable urbanization, and, inter alia, sustainable development, disaster risk reduction, and climate change.

166. We invite the General Assembly to request the Secretary-General, with voluntary inputs from countries and relevant regional and international organizations, to report on the progress of the implementation of the New Urban Agenda every four years, with the first report to be submitted during the 72nd session.

167. This report will provide a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the progress made in the implementation of the New Urban Agenda and internationally agreed goals and targets relevant to sustainable urbanization and human settlements. This analysis will be based on the activities of national, sub-national, and local governments, UN-Habitat, other relevant entities of the United Nations system, relevant stakeholders in support of the implementation of the New Urban Agenda, and the reports of the UN-Habitat Governing Council. This report should incorporate, to the extent possible, the inputs of multilateral organizations and processes where appropriate, civil society, the private sector, and academia. It should build on existing platforms and processes such as the World Urban Forum convened by UN-Habitat. It should avoid duplication and respond to local, sub-national, and national circumstances and legislation, capacities, needs, and priorities.

168. The preparation of this report will be coordinated by UN-Habitat, in close collaboration with other relevant entities of the United Nations system, ensuring an inclusive United Nations system-wide coordination process. This report will be submitted to the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council¹. This report will also feed into the High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development under the auspices of the General Assembly, with a view towards ensuring coherence, coordination and collaborative linkages with the follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

169. We will continue strengthening mobilization efforts through partnerships, advocacy, and awareness activities on the implementation of the New Urban Agenda using existing initiatives such as World Habitat Day and World Cities Day, as well as consider establishing new initiatives to mobilize and generate support from civil society, citizens, and relevant stakeholders. We note the importance of continuing to engage in the follow-up and review of the New Urban Agenda with sub-national and local governments associations represented at the World Assembly of Local and Regional Governments.

170. We reaffirm General Assembly resolutions A/RES/51/177, A/RES/56/206, A/RES/67/216, A/RES/68/239 and A/RES/69/226; as well as other relevant resolutions including A/RES/31/109 and A/RES/32/162. We reiterate the importance of the Nairobi headquarters location of UN-Habitat.

171. We underline the importance of UN-Habitat given its role within the United Nations system as a focal point on sustainable urbanization and human settlements including in the implementation and follow-up and review of the New Urban Agenda, in collaboration with other United Nations system entities.

172. In light of the New Urban Agenda and with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of UN-Habitat, we request the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly during its 71st session an evidence-based and independent assessment of UN-Habitat. The result of the assessment will be a report containing recommendations to enhance the effectiveness, efficiency, accountability and oversight of UN-Habitat and in this regard should analyze:

- The normative and operational mandate of UN-Habitat.
- The governance structure of UN-Habitat for more effective, accountable, and transparent decision-making, considering alternatives including universalization of the membership of its Governing Council.
- The work of UN-Habitat with national, sub-national, and local governments and with relevant stakeholders in order to tap the full potential of partnerships.
- The financial capability of UN-Habitat.

173. We decide to hold a two-day High-Level Meeting of the General Assembly, convened by the President of the General Assembly during the 71st session, to discuss the effective implementation of the New Urban Agenda and the positioning of UN-Habitat in this regard. The meeting will discuss, inter alia, best practices, success stories, and the measures contained in the report. A chair's summary of the meeting will serve as input to the 72nd session of the Second Committee for its consideration of the action to be taken in light of the recommendations contained in the independent assessment, in its annual resolution under the relevant agenda item.

174. We encourage the General Assembly to consider holding the fourth United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development in 2036 within a renewed political commitment to assess and consolidate progress of the New Urban Agenda.

175. We request the Secretary-General in his quadrennial report pursuant to paragraph 166 above to be presented in 2026 to take stock of the progress made and challenges faced in the implementation of the New Urban Agenda since its adoption, and identify further steps to address them.

¹ This report is intended to replace the report of the Secretary-General to the Economic and Social Council on the coordinated implementation of the Habitat Agenda. This report is also intended to be part of, and not additional to, the report of the Secretary-General requested by the General Assembly in its resolution under the relevant agenda item.



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Teresa Boccia
Mario Coletta
Lúcia de Andrade Siqueira
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María Jazmín López
Rewa Marathe
SriPallavi Nadimpalli
Chiko Ncube
Rita Newton
Marcus Ormerod
Sara Ortiz Escalante
Laura Pérez Prieto
Polina Prentou
Jen Robertson
Ana Sancho Martínez
Lidewij Tummers
Alicia Yon