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RE-THINKING URBAN SPACE THROUGH AN INTERSECTIONAL DESIGN STRATEGY. THE CASE OF FEM*KUTSCHI

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ABSTRACT

This work contributes to current debates and discussions in the application of gender mainstreaming in urban policies by exploring intersectionality as an important theoretical resource to further develop and advance urban design with an intersectional perspective. The investigation emphasizes that intersectionality is an important tool for feminist urban planning given that it allows feminist theorists to explain the differences between women's experiences in the city. Although this seems to be a simple observation, it has important implications for urban design theory and practice. In addition, due to the different applicability of intersectionality, it has been embraced by various streams of feminist theory, providing a way of cooperation between scholars with different theoretical positions. Therefore, this work examines the importance of intersectionality in urban design through a comprehensive review of feminist literature. It includes the contributions of many influential thinkers in these key disciplines—such as anthropologists, geographers, architects, urbanists, and cultural theorists—and shows the relevance of their work to urban design studies. It finds that our urban industry lacks female decision-makers (such as planners, architects, engineers, and politicians). This lack of representation and accurate data collection have a direct impact on the urban form of our city. Additionally, intersectionality also has practical applications, which can be used in the realm of policy making to help organizations solve the problem of women's diversity. In the last section, the case of Fem*Kutschi is introduced-an example of how to apply intersectional theory to a strategic project in public spaces.

ABSTRACT (Italian Version)

Questo lavoro contribuisce al dibattito attuale sull'applicazione del *gender mainstreaming* nelle politiche urbane, esplorando l'intersezionalità come un'importante risorsa teorica per integrare la progettazione urbana con una prospettiva intersezionale. L'indagine mostra che l'intersezionalità è uno strumento importante per la pianificazione urbana poiché consente alle teoriche femministe di spiegare le differenze tra le esperienze delle donne in città. Sebbene questa sembri essere una banale osservazione empirica, affermare la differenza tra le donne ha importanti implicazioni per la teoria e la pratica del design urbano. Inoltre, grazie alla sua capacità euristica, l'intersezionalità è stata adottata da varie correnti del dibattito femminista, offrendo dunque la possibilità di instaurare forme di cooperazione tra studiose con posizioni teoriche diverse. Per giungere a questo scopo, questo lavoro prende in esame l'importanza dell'intersezionalità nella progettazione urbana attraverso una revisione approfondita della letteratura femminista. Include i contributi di molti pensatori e pensatrici influenti in discipline chiave della riflessione urbana, come antropologi, geografi, architetti, urbanisti e teorici culturali, mostrando la rilevanza del loro lavoro per gli studi di progettazione urbana. I risultati di questa revisione sottolineano la necessità di avere donne in ruoli decisionali (come pianificatori, architetti, ingegneri e politici) e di avere più informazioni sulla vita delle donne nelle città. Questa mancanza di rappresentazione e raccolta dati accurata ha un impatto diretto sulla forma urbana. Inoltre, l'intersezionalità ha anche applicazioni pratiche, che possono essere utilizzate nel campo della definizione delle politiche e della progettazione per affrontare il problema della diversità delle donne nello spazio pubblico. A riprova di questa affermazione, nell'ultima sezione viene presentato il caso di Fem*Kutschi, un esempio di come applicare la teoria intersezionale a un progetto strategico negli spazi pubblici.

INTRODUCTION

Historically, spaces have been designed following and perpetuating gender roles, this has produced that the *"public space has mostly been linked to men, while the private space has been typically identified with women"* (Col·lectiu Punt 6, n.d.: 25), causing the exclusion of women from decisions about urban change, also because *"traditionally this has been viewed as a masculine realm"* (Col·lectiu Punt 6, n.d.: 10).

Even if urban planning has always been regarded as a gender-neutral and objective approach, when people combine gender inequality in society with planning strategies, it can be said that planning is carried out from a male perspective as we will see in the next chapters. Today, both men and women are using public spaces, but still, the urban environment is seen as a predominantly male domain, which causes that women may feel insecure, unwelcome, or not included to a greater extent than men (Dahlskog, 2005).

According to Col·lectiu Punt 6, a cooperative of architects, sociologists and urban planners that works to include an intersectional feminist perspective in urban planning, starting from the 1970´s, feminists from the field of architecture, urbanism and geography have been showing that urbanism is not neutral and that it is necessary to include a gender perspective in it (Col·lectiu Punt 6, n.d.).

Therefore, gender mainstreaming nowadays, is the most recent strategy to promote effective equality between women and men from public policies. It is a concept that appeared for the first time in international texts in 1995 in the framework of the IV World Conference on Women of the United Nations in Beijing. According to the European Institute for Gender Equality:

"It involves the integrations of a gender perspective into the preparation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, regulatory measures and spending programmes, with a view to promoting equality between women and men, and combating discrimination" (EIGE, 2017).

Since 1995 then, multiple approaches to the gender mainstreaming design now exist, particularly since the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 when several programs are launched to promote equality in employment through the unification of work and family life (Sanchez de Madariaga & Novella Abril, 2020). As academic Leslie Kern has pointed out:

"From schemes to make public transportation safer for women to visions of police and prison abolition, activists, scholars, and everyday folks have long dreamed and theorized and practiced different ways of being together in cities" (Kern, 2020a: 26-27).

These first approaches had more to do in the beginning with awareness and dissemination measures on gender mainstreaming such as conferences, congresses, seminars, debates and institutional publications; but this *"can only be considered*

tangentially as experiences of integration of gender perspectives in urban planning, since they do not have an impact on urban actions, beyond raising awareness of new issues and approaches related to women and gender"[1] (Sanchez de Madariaga & Novella Abril, 2020: 6).

However, there are some countries that have been addressing the issue of gender-sensitive planning already for almost three decades, noteworthy is the case of Vienna, where the Austrian architect Franziska Ullman, professor at the Universities of Stuttgart and Harvard began developing an extensive program for the main pilot housing projects carried out in Vienna based on the specific needs of women (Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013). In recent years, the project has moved from pilot projects to what it can properly be called mainstreaming of gender dimensions in the construction of the city, this judgment has even been incorporated into the Vienna housing regulations (Sanchez de Madariaga & Novella Abril, 2020).

Local and regional governments need to fully consider gender factors in policies, practices and organizations to achieve a society based on equality. However, what it is still unresolved at different policy levels is that women are not a homogeneous group or a single unit of analysis, because women have different experiences of urban life according to their cultural affiliation, religion, race, and class. Hence, the recognition that feminism is not done only in one way, and that gender must be regarded as complex and diverse is something that planning field still needs to recognize, and not just feminist theories (Dahlskog, 2005).

Therefore, policymakers and practitioners need to redefine gender mainstreaming to explain people's overlapping identities and experiences, or, as we will see in the next chapters: intersectionality (Jones & Shinners, 2020). Experts are increasingly emphasizing the importance of recognizing the multiple axes of difference that constitute a person's identity in addition to gender, such as: race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status. The definition of gender mainstreaming focuses on only one axis of identity: gender, and the dual understanding of gender (Jones & Shinners, 2020). Although typical urban citizens are often narrowly imagined as white, cis, able-bodied, middle-class, and heterosexual males, imaginary female citizens with gender planning are also restricted (Kern, 2020b). Married, able-bodied mothers with pink-collar or white-collar jobs are usually the imaginary beneficiaries of gender-sensitive programs. In most contemporary cities, this type of woman is increasingly likely to represent a minority group, indicating that gender mainstreaming may not be able to meet the needs of a large number of women (Kern, 2020b).

Therefore, we must take into account when we talk about gender mainstreaming that it works with gender but never just with gender and we should also consider that not everybody identifies themselves, for instance, as woman or man (Almén,

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[1] Translation done by the author.

n.d.); accordingly, gender mainstreaming must be transversal and intersectional, and we should take into account not only women, nor only women of a certain type of class, origin, culture or physical capacities, because as scholar Arica L. Coleman said: *"Failing to acknowledge this complexity, is failing to acknowledge reality"* (Coleman, 2019).

The term intersectionality was conceptualized and coined for the first time in 1989 by the Black feminist scholar Kimberlè Crenshaw in her article *"Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics"*. Here, she explained how people who are "both women and black" are marginalized by discourses that are shaped to respond to one identity or the other, rather than both (Crenshaw K. , 1989). In 2015 the term was added to the Oxford Dictionary meaning:

"The interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class, and gender, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage; a theoretical approach based on such a premise" (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.)

In order to achieve gender equality, which is the goal of gender mainstreaming, it is critical to ensure that no one group is left behind and include an intersectional perspective in analysis, planning and programming the city.

Therefore, under the premise that we live in a gendered city, and that all gender identities shape how we move through the city, how we live our day-to-day, and the choices available to us (Kern, 2020a), this dissertation tries to answer the research question of: How does intersectional theory has evolved in the field of architecture and urban design?

The goal of this dissertation is to analyze the contributions to the urban design with an intersectional perspective on public spaces. To do so, it includes academics from across the disciplines from various countries and from various decades. Their respective contributions will help us to reflect upon the origins of intersectionality, the debates about the scope of gender mainstreaming on urban design with an intersectional perspective, and its theoretical capacity. The specific objectives are to answer the questions: When was the concept of intersectionality born and how has it evolved? Why is important the intersectionality on the design of the city? How can accurate data collection help us in the design of the cities? and finally it will explore the future trajectory of the intersectional theory on urban design.

This work starts from defining the concept of gender mainstreaming and its relation to urban design in chapter I, followed by the evolution of intersectional theory in urban planning in chapter II, through the contributions of important theorists that will help us to better understand public space using "intersectional lens". Chapter III recognizes the existing power structures in various institutions and how these have led, even unintentionally, to data gaps in capturing the diversity of needs. Finally, chapter IV presents a project from the design studio Fem*city Berlin at TU Berlin, made during my exchange semester. The aim of this project is to show an

example of how intersectional theory can be applied to a public space design project. But furthermore, allows us to open the conversation between the stakeholders and users of the city.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN URBAN PLANNING

It is very common to treat urban planning as gender neutral, rather than being shaped by or for the benefit of a specific gender. This assumes that, in the urban design, both sexes are equally affected, but in fact, "gender neutrality" usually has a male perspective and is in the interests of men (UN-Habitat, 2012). Excluding women from urban planning means that women's daily life and perspectives do not affect the shape and function of the city. In other words, and according to UN-Habitat, urban planning overlooks the specific challenges and concerns faced by women and girls and emphasizes that cities are not inclusive and fair in terms of design, infrastructure, facilities, and services (UN-Habitat, 2012).

Currently, many civil society and human rights organizations provide good practices to promote equal access to land, tenure, housing, and public transportation system security. They also provide many methodological frameworks and best practice tools that often had led to policy developments and institutional changes (UN-Habitat, 2012). Gender mainstreaming is one of these tools in Europe. However, its approaches to urban planning and budgetary decisions have a longer history. Essentially, these frameworks mean that every planning, policy, and budget decision must be considered with the goal of gender equality as the departure point. In summary, policymakers must ask how a decision will potentially promote or undermine gender equality. These methods prompt cities to consider how decision-making supports or hinders the care work that keeps society functioning (Kern, 2020a). The city of Vienna for instance, has adopted gender mainstreaming in many areas of city management, including education and health care policies. But this has had the greatest impact on the field of urban planning (See for example, *Girl´s presence in parks and public playgrounds* in Chapter 2) where more than 60 pilot projects have been carried out so far (Foran, 2013).

Women in informal settlements in major southern cities around the world are also working hard to restore urban planning. Faced with severe challenges such as poverty, insecure tenure, poor sanitation, and few sexual and reproductive health services, women often join forces to form collectives to help them improve economic opportunities and advocate for housing and tenure security (Kern, 2020a). As claimed by UN-Habitat, gender mainstreaming and intersectional analysis can provide tools to help integrate gender and diversity into urban planning and design. Thus, the development of a gender equality and human rights policy framework will greatly promote equality in inclusive and sustainable cities (UN-Habitat, 2012). This chapter offers a definition of gender mainstreaming and its connection to urban planning and design. In the first part of the chapter, women's demands are summarized briefly, second part focuses on the basic principles of gender

mainstreaming and its evolution, and the importance to address gender issues in urban planning and design are explained. Lastly, it introduces some recent critiques in order to understand the need for an intersectional perspective on gender mainstreaming programmes.

1.1 The daily life of women in cities

Women's work in care, formal and informal economies determine their lifestyle in the city, as well as when and what services and infrastructure systems they use. The multiple responsibilities of women, such as providing food and water, housekeeping, and caring for children, elderly and sick family members, results in diverse interactions with the city (UN-Habitat, 2012). This means that their work determines how often they travel in the neighborhood or city, the time of day or night, and the mode of transportation they use. Because women have multiple responsibilities, their journeys are usually more diverse and complex than men (UN-Habitat, 2012).

Over the years, feminist activists, professionals and scholars have emphasized the importance of treating unpaid care work undertaken by women and girls as an important function of society. The same is true for cities, in words of UN-Habitat:

"Without the millions of hours that women and girls spend every day in social reproduction and in the informal and waged economies, no city could function or develop" (UN-Habitat, 2012: 16).

However, women and girls around the world face multiple overlapping challenges. The structure of the urban environment is designed to support patriarchal family forms, gender-segregated labor markets, and traditional gender roles (Kern, 2020a), especially in developing countries. Discriminatory laws, government regulations, cultural attitudes, informal practices and lack of professional awareness create conditions that reflect and strengthen the second-class status of women (Rendell et al, 2000). These gender discrimination issues range from violence and sexual harassment in public and private spaces to unavailability or lack of education and work opportunities, land ownership, political voice, health and financial services, and public spaces (UN-Habitat, 2012) –also experienced by women in different ways. In words of the feminist architect, educator and community activist Leslie Kanes Weisman: *"Women's lives are also profoundly affected by the design and use of public spaces and buildings, transportation systems, neighborhoods, and housing" (Rendell et al, 2000: 2).*

As we know, the physical and spatial order of cities is particularly related to the work patterns of women and men (UN Women, 2009). According to UN Women, poor women living in precarious neighborhoods are more likely to have to commute in late or early hours to and from work or to and from educational opportunities and are more likely to work as sellers in open markets.

In buildings and public spaces, physical and cultural barriers also exclude women with children. As Kanes Weisman points out, a woman with a child in a stroller, trying to get through a revolving door or a subway turnstile, is a "disabled" person (Rendell et al, 2000). The fact that within the home women have a greater degree of power than outside in public places where rarely provide a space where babies can be breast-fed, or diaper changed reinforces the assumption that a woman's place is in the home (Matrix, 1984). Also, public transportation is used by those with the least access to cars, namely the young, the elderly, minorities, and low-income workers. Although men also fall into these categories, in the 12 country's largest metropolitan areas, women rely on public transportation to get to work almost twice as many as men (See *Mobility women´s needs and urban planning policies* in Chapter 3) (Rendell et al, 2000).

Industrial and domestic work locations in the suburbs, where there is almost no public transportation, seriously affects the employment opportunities of urban low-income female heads of households and suburban women without cars (Rendell et al, 2000). This means that in the planning and management of the city, the unpaid work of women and girls at home, such as domestic and care work, is not considered (See: *Sex-disaggregated data in paid work* in Chapter 3). Urban planning and design have largely ignored the experiences, needs and concerns of specific genders, especially those related to poor women and girls (ActionAid, 2012).

Although many cities are centers of economic growth, employment, and cultural life, urbanization has also led to significant socio-economic inequality, exclusion, and isolation (UN Women, 2009). In addition to urbanization itself, the lack of inclusive, gender-sensitive and pro-poor policy frameworks and governance has led to a trend of exclusion in urban development (UN-Habitat, 2012). The increase in women's life expectancy, coupled with the undeniable changes in family structure, requires the provision of a variety of housing types, locations, and prices that respect the diversity of the aging population and recognize varying degrees of dependence (Rendell et al, 2000). As Leslie Kanes states:

"Women must demand public buildings and spaces, transportation, and housing, which support our lifestyles and incomes and respond to the realities of our lives, not the cultural fantasies about them" (Rendell et al, 2000: 3).

If the future vision of the architecture and planned environment is to allow all women's needs to be supported by the environment, then we must ask ourselves who will benefit and who will fail in the decisions we make about the community, family, and workplace, and agree proposals to make life easier for us and those groups who have the least (Rendell et al, 2000). There is much room for improvement in municipal governance, spatial organization, infrastructure and services to better serve women and girls. Designing and managing cities for women will also improve cities for everyone, including marginalized groups and men. However, in order to solve these key issues, gender mainstreaming must be

introduced into all aspects of urban life, including urban planning and design (UN-Habitat, 2012).

1.2 Evolution of gender in modern urban planning and design

Today, urban design practices have formed a unique identity with applications ranging from the scale of blocks or streets to the scale of metropolitan and regional landscapes. Urban design involves many aspects of contemporary public policy: multiculturalism, healthy cities, environmental justice, economic development, climate change, energy conservation, natural environment protection, sustainable development, community livability, etc. This field now includes a core subject knowledge, which contains a wealth of ideas, paradigms, principles, tools, research and application history, and is influenced by the compromise of humanities, society, and natural sciences (Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2011) .

Unlike many architectures and related art fields where single designers and specific clients are the norm, the urban design experience is usually a collective, collaborative and increasingly interactive endeavor because the clients of urban designers are usually the community or the public (Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2011). Before the advent of modern planning, European cities were mainly designed and planned by civil engineers, architects, and public health experts, where these areas were dominated by men (Greed, 1994). Over the years, most of the productive work took place in or near the home, together with reproductive work, and urban development was dominated by private interests and commerce (The World Bank, 2020).

However, during the entire European Industrial Revolution, productive work shifted from the household field to the factory field, and crowded urban slums formed nearby (The World Bank, 2020). Modern urban planning and zoning were conceived in Western Europe in the late 19th century to deal with the unsanitary conditions of these communities and the consequent public health problems (Talen, 2012). Architects, urban planners and landscape architects developed their professional practices around solving problems caused by population congestion. Theirs debates revolved around architectural styles (neoclassical vs modern), ideal settlement patterns (centralized vs decentralized), and ways to improve the internal organization of the city through better open space, land use, housing, and circulation (Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2011).

Some theorists have noticed how modern planning continues the centuries old tradition of isolating certain groups. This is the case of Professor Stuart Meck and his *"Zoning and Anti-Semitism in the 1920s: The Case of Cleveland Jewish Orphan Home v. Village of University Heights and Its Aftermath"* article about a 1925 case in Cleveland, Ohio where a Jewish orphanage brought the first federal lawsuit involving zoning and religious discrimination. The article summarizes the

importance of planning law as an early recognition of the arbitrary and exclusionary dimensions of zoning, especially because it affected the substantive due process rights of religious-based social service organizations (Meck, 2005).

In the context of European colonialism and Jim Crow in the US, urban planning was closely aligned with racial and ethnic segregation (e.g., Nightingale, 2016; Njoh, 2007; Silver, 1997). In addition, in the patriarchal Western societies of the 19th and early 20th centuries, planning and urban design were still dominated by the wealthy men. Therefore, in many ways, cities were divided according to gender, race, and class (The World Bank, 2020). Regarding able-bodied working men as "neutral" user of the city, male planners and designers -whether intentionally or unintentionally- create urban spaces that meet their needs, while reflecting and continuing the patriarchal gender norms of their society. In words of the World Bank: *"One that designated men as breadwinners, with full access to the public realm, land, and housing; and women as caregivers, relegated to the private realm of the household and deprived of land-based assets" (The World Bank, 2020: 26).*

In this way, urban environments around the world have become the product and the driving force of patriarchal gender roles and inequality, with the workplace separated from housing; mobility of male workers prioritized over the mobility of female caregivers; resulting in women (as well as sexual and gender minorities) feel that they are not part of the public domain: the space is not theirs (The World Bank, 2020). Feminist urban design methods correct these heterosexist assumptions by exploring how women's identities affect their use of the urban environment, and how the design of cities and communities can better meet the needs of women. The main groups of women to be considered are those who are most disadvantaged in current design and planning practices, such as low-income workers, working mothers and single-parent families, and elderly women (Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2011).

Beginning in the 1970s, feminist scholars in Europe and the United States began to analyze how planning and design erased women's needs (Fainstein & Servon, 2005). In the next two decades, a great deal of developments in urban planning and design theory helped to reveal the gender gap in the built environment. Scholars such as Dolores Hayden, Gerda Werkerle, Gwendoline Wright, the Collective Matrix, Doreen Massey, among others, published many articles and books on gender inequality in the urban environment, studying issues such as mobility, security, land ownership, and access to services and employment opportunities (The World Bank, 2020). At the same time, the emergence of the Women in Development movement and similar initiatives put women at the center of decision-making, data collection and development processes (The World Bank, 2020).

Strategies such as gender mainstreaming, nowadays is considered the most important and effective tool to achieve gender equality in society. The underlying idea is that gender issues should not only be a separate issue, but also an integral

part of all fields, aspects, and policy levels of society. Since gender mainstreaming should be applied to all policy areas and all policy levels, it also becomes relevant for the city planning behavior in the municipalities (Dahlskog, 2005). Today's urban design is a process of negotiation and mediation, involving not only institutions, but also the general media public (Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2011).

1.3 Gender in modern urban planning and design today
In urban planning, gender mainstreaming is a process that takes into account gender issues, relationships, power differences, and identity at all stages and aspects of the planning process (Greed, 2005). Gender mainstreaming places great emphasis on the power relationship between men and women. From the perspective of urban planning, this means that, first of all, the layout of the built environment and open space must be tailored to meet the different ages, life situations and ethnic, cultural and social backgrounds of women and men (Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013). Next, the underlying social conditions and values need to be clarified, and the factors that lead to discrimination against specific user groups need to be determined (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010 in Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013).

The goal of gender mainstreaming is to change the overall environment, spatial configuration and basic values in a way that achieves gender equality. In other words, gender mainstreaming in planning considers the different requirements of men and women of all ages and types at each stage of the planning process (Fainstein & Servon, 2005). Sylvia Walby, a political theorist regarded as an advocate of gender mainstreaming, commented that this is not a new theory, but a process of revising key concepts to better grasp a gendered world (Walby, 2005 in Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013).

However, implementing a full programme of gender mainstreaming is not an easy task. Gender mainstreaming has its limitations, and planners also run the risk of reinforcing already existing gender stereotypes around paid and unpaid work. For example, in attempting to characterize how men and women use city space (Foran, 2013). Take for example Seoul, where every effort has been made to make commuting easier for working women, from "high heel friendly" sidewalks to "pink" parking spots designated for women, but the state is still striving to balance housework and childcare labor inequality (Zaragovia, 2009). According to journalist Veronica Zaragovia, is a good idea, but the plan may eventually reaffirm the secondary status of Korean women, rather than elevate it. She quotes a 25-year-old student:

"They are wasting citizens' money out of the tax that they pay. We don't want pink parking spots." What South Korean women do want, says Cho, is to see more choices for childcare so that they don't lose jobs to men when they have families" (Zaragovia, 2009).
According to Professor Anita Larsson (2006), in a paper that reviews how Swedish planning system has tried to overcome gender inequality in the past few decades,

she points out that aside from a few interesting attempts by some municipalities, the concept of "equal opportunities" has not been successfully promoted in and through planning. At best, she says, attention to gender issues is limited to the overall goals listed in the introduction to the planning report. When she interviewed planners, they showed ambiguity in the inclusion and promotion of gender issues, especially at the level of strategic planning. Therefore, although planners are generally willing to achieve equal opportunities in society, the process of incorporating gender issues into planning is very slow. There is also a similar situation in the UK (Reeves, 2002; Greed, 2005; in Larsson, 2006).

Since its launch at the United Nations Conference in Beijing in 1995, gender mainstreaming has been incorporated into international development. Institutions within the UN, the World Bank, the International Labour Office, the governments of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and some international non-governmental organizations have each adopted gender mainstreaming within their policy frameworks (Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013). Ten years later, Moser and Moser (2005), and leading authorities on gender and international development, reviewed progress within 14 international development organizations, including the United Nations itself:

"They concluded that although there was evidence that a variety of different types of gender mainstreaming had been incorporated into the policies of these bodies, there was little consistent or concerted evaluation of policy implementation or its outcome. The next decade, they argued, would be crucial for the development of a gender-sensitive approach" (Moser & Moser, 2005 in Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013: 11).

Although some cities have made progress in addressing gender prejudices in the built environment in the past three years, there is still much work to be done. Much less is known about how the built environment works for sexual and gender minorities (Forsyth, 2001). Urban planner professor Ann Forsyth (2001) points out that the issue of public space is probably the most difficult area in planning and raises questions about dividing the lesbian, gay, and queer populations.

According to the World Bank, "gender inclusion" simply means the continuing assumption of "women's issues" — without consider the relationship between genders or the cumulative effects of gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, race, income, class, ability, and age (The World Bank, 2020). In their article *Is There Life after Gender Mainstreaming?" (2005)*, Aruna Rao and David Kelleher talk about the cases of positive outcomes for women's lives, beyond policy measures in some cities:

"The problem is that these examples are not the norm. Practices that successfully promote women's empowerment and gender quality are not institutionalized into the day-to-day routines of State and international development agencies" (Rao & Kelleher, 2005: 57-58).

They also state that gender mainstreaming has become a random collection of various strategies and activities, all of which are ostensibly related to advancing the

gender equality agenda, but often fail to function in the way we want (Rao & Kelleher, 2005).

Today, eight years after its launch, gender mainstreaming has so far failed to affect core policy areas or fundamentally change policy processes within European institutions (Stratigaki, 2005). Although there is a strong alliance between equality-focused institutional mechanisms, women's constituency bodies, and a large number of EU official declarations and political commitments, the central policy documents (such as annual plans, budgets, and legislation) are still largely outside the strategy (Stratigaki, 2005). Many areas of urban planning and design continue to be dominated by men, and therefore continue to reflect one-sided views of the urban realm (The World Bank, 2020). A Dezeen's research found that in the world's leading architecture firms, women occupy 10% of the top positions, and 16 of them do not have any women in senior positions (Fairs, 2017). The U.S. accounts for only 13.6% of architects and engineers (CES, 2018). According to Susan S. Silbey, women account for 20% of engineering graduates, but it is estimated that nearly 40% of women with engineering degrees have either resigned or never entered the industry (Silbey, 2016).

These figures reflect the general lack of agency and representation of women, sexual minorities and gender minorities in global decision-making. As of February 2019, women accounted for only 24.3% of parliamentarians in all countries (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019 in The World Bank, 2020). LGBTQ people are at least 4.5 percent of the U.S. adult population but hold just .17 percent of elected positions nationwide (Victory Institute, 2020). At the same time, data on disabled public officials are extremely scarce (The World Bank, 2020).

Due to this lack of representation, women, girls, and sexual and gender minorities of all ages and abilities are striving to make their voices heard and their priorities are important in planning and design decisions around the world. This persistent and historical prejudice has a profound impact on who makes planning and design decisions, and ultimately affects almost every aspect of the daily lives of these groups (The World Bank, 2020).

According to scholar Maria Stratigaki (2005), both conceptual terms "gender" and "mainstreaming" have caused more confusion, misunderstanding and problems than any other terms used in the EU's equality policy. Until 1996, there was no clear definition of the term "gender mainstreaming" in Community documents. The scope of interpretation included "specific actions against women in non-equality policies" and "upgrading equality policies to mainstream policies" (Stratigaki, 2005).

According to scholars Katelyn Jones and Olivia Shinners (2020), The United Nations and other organizations need to redefine gender mainstreaming to reflect current knowledge: intersectionality allows us to understand how people are susceptible to multiple marginalities. As a concept and policy, gender mainstreaming needs to

clearly recognize the reality that "women" includes lesbian, bisexual, asexual, transgender, and queer women; and that "gender" also includes the difference between men and non-binary people (Jones & Shinners, 2020). In addition to sexual orientation and gender identity - race, ethnicity, abilities, and socioeconomic status are also important to make up an individual's specific life experience.

An intersectional perspective helps us to carry out gender equality work, so that more people can be included, influenced and contacted. It can also add important nuances to the analysis, for example, that not all women are subordinate to all men, and improve the achievement of national gender equality goals (Almén, n.d.). According to Mikael Almén, if we do not apply an intersectional perspective to our gender mainstreaming work, we may miss the categories of women and men (Almén, n.d.).

In words of Katelyn Jones and Olivia Shinners:

"Designing, implementing, and assessing gender mainstreaming efforts with attention to intersectionality is essential to ensure that gender mainstreaming as a policy does not unintentionally create more injustices or inequities" (Jones & Shinners, 2020).

1. INTERSECTIONALITY IN URBAN PLANNING

For decades, activists and scholars have discussed various forms of injustice and oppression from different angles. In particular, the feminist movement has performed outstandingly in bringing systematic inequality, violence, and oppression of women into its vision (Canlı & Prado de O., 2016). By the early 1980s, not only had gender activism gained significant recognition, but the struggle of people of color had become obvious and compelling, both on the streets and in Academia. However, although gender studies were still focusing on the experiences of white women, racial studies mainly focused on the experiences of black men (McCall, 2005). There was no room for women of color. They were not only suffering from gender discrimination and sexism, but also from racism; thus, producing classism (Canlı & Prado de O., 2016).

While the early feminist scholars of color (such as Louise Thompson, Thyra Edwards, and Claudia Jones) identified black women's oppression as "double jeopardy," Jane Crow, triple exploitation, or triple oppression to articulate the class, race, and gender oppression unique to black women (Lynn, 2014), other feminists (Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherríe Moraga, Angela Davis, Chandra Mohanty, Nira Yuval-Davis, amongst others), believed that these three should not be seen as mutually exclusive or independent identity categories focused just on the particular positions of women of color, but as intertwined axes of social power applicable to any grouping of people, advantaged as well as disadvantaged. In other words, without understanding the larger matrix of power relations that act synergistically on the body, it is impossible to resolve oppression based on a person's gender, race, and class (Canlı & Prado de O., 2016).

It was until 1989, when legal scholar Kimberlè Crenshaw (1989) coined the term "intersectionality" to explain this phenomenon, in which different aspects of oppression intersect and interact to define a person's social status (Canlı & Prado de O., 2016). One of the cross-cutting issues implicit or explicitly expressed in many documents is how many social divisions are involved and/or which social divisions should be included in the analysis of the cross-cutting process (Canlı & Prado de O., 2016). Helma Lutz (2002) is one of the most comprehensive attempts to include other axes of social division—though in her formulation, they are not axes but "basic dualism"; this is problematic and she herself thinks this is "considering the challenge of intermediate space" (Lutz, 2002: 13). Her list, according to Nira Yuval-Davis (2006), includes the following 14 "lines of difference": gender; sexuality; 'race'/skin-colour; ethnicity; nation/state; class; culture; ability; age; sedentariness/origin; wealth; North–South; religion; stage of social development. Lutz, however, sees this

list as "by no means complete; other categories have to be added or re-defined" (Lutz, 2002: 13).

The purpose of considering these different forms of oppression is not to compare them, which it would be a useless effort, as Ece Canlı and Luiza Prado de O. Martins (2016) argue; on the contrary, recognizing the complexity of oppression and the many forms it can take is a useful strategy to understand its mechanisms. They also state:

"Intersectionality is not a discipline by itself; rather, it is considered a meta-theory (Davis K. , 2008), a metaphor (Crenshaw K. , 1991), a theoretical stance or an approach that has already had a profound influence in a wide range of fields" (Canlı & Prado de O., 2016: 3).

It is almost universally believed that women, disabled people, sexual and gender minorities face significant social and economic disadvantages compared to the able-bodied, cisgender and heterosexual men. What many urban planning and design practitioners still do not fully understand and accept is how the existing conditions in the built environment — and the lack of diversity in the voices that shape it — promote, foster, and perpetuate these inequalities (The World Bank, 2020).

As we mentioned earlier, the feminist criticism of urban theory and planning developed in the 1970s shows how urban planners created a gendered environment that primarily suits the needs of men and heteronormative families. As a direct response to this, people explored what a "non-sexist city" (e.g., Hayden, 1980) might look like, and how they would be different if cities were designed for men and women equally (Beebeejaun, 2017).

In 1978, the first issue of the International Journal of Urban and Regional Studies was entitled "Women and the City", which discussed the issues of cooperative housing, transportation, and day care from a transnational perspective (Fainstein & Servon, 2005). Soon thereafter, the most influential work dealing with gender and urban issues appeared as a special issue of the feminist journal Signs (Signs, 1980). In this volume, most of the themes that later formed the core of feminist planning analysis were first proposed. These include the causes and effects of suburbanization on women (e.g., Saegert, 1980), the role of women in the planning profession, the relationship between their family wage and women's economic status, women's contribution to the city (e.g., Markson, E., and Hess, B. , 1980), the city and the empowerment and suppression of women (e.g., Freeman J. , 1980), and the vision of a non-discriminatory city (e.g., Hayden, [1980] 2000).

Nevertheless, the actual contributions are significant and gradually contributed to the broader prospects of standard planning courses in these sub-fields (Fainstein & Servon, 2005). Particularly noteworthy in urban design, according to Susan F. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon are the works of Dolores Hayden (1982, 1984), British women's group Matrix (1984), and geographers Linda McDowell (1983) and Briavel Holcomb (1984). In the transportation field, Gerda Wekerle (1980), Sandra Rosenbloom (2009), and Martin Wachs (1982, 1990) all emphasized that women are

invisible to traffic planners, and this invisibility leads people to ignore gender differences in travel patterns (Fainstein & Servon, 2005).

The works of two feminist philosophers have been specially enriched in planning theory. They explored issues of public policy and economic development. Iris Marion Young (1990, 2000), who worked hard to define tolerance and social justice segregation. Martha Nussbaum (1999, 2000) also pays attention to the theories of justice, especially in the context of developing countries, and puts forward an argument about the content of human capacity that links gender issues with development policies. Although Nussbaum does not deal specifically with spatial relationships, her approach is the basis of any normative theory of planning (Fainstein & Servon, 2005).

This chapter deals with gendered inequalities in urban space, and how social transformation can be achieved. Specifically, it tries to identify an 'intersectional' complexity, based on the fact that inequality seldom comes in an easily detectable form, but often consists of several layers of social exclusion, relating not only to gender, but also to race, ethnicity, class, age and sexuality. An intersectional approach raises questions about how different power relations risk strengthening each other and thereby contribute to make certain groups specifically exposed to social exclusion. "The right to the city" is a strand of urban studies theory which emphasizes the importance of different groups' radical participation (Kristiansen, 1985) (Wollstonecraft, 1792) (Engels, 1884) (Armstrong, 2020) (Weisman, 1992) in urban planning, and the reclaiming of the city as a place for political action. However, it has been underlined, lately, that many questions remain underexplored when it comes to gendered rights to the city.

Accordingly, in this chapter, I would like to permeate the potential of intersectionality into urban design, because I think it may be a useful way to understand the contribution of design to the reproduction of such categories of identity, hegemony, and forms of oppression. This brief review of the literature shows that there has been a tremendous increase in consideration of the connection between gender and its intersections, planning, and cities. It pays special attention to the gaps and opportunities revealed by the feminist approaches to intersectionality, while it aims to investigate how gendered inequalities in urban space can be understood through the work of some feminist theorists, that although the term intersectionality is somehow new, they have been doing intersectional academic work and activism long before universities and other institutions recognized the term and its importance. These feminist contributions will give us different perspectives on intersectional relations in the city.

2.1 Feminisms and intersectionality theory

Scholars often trace the intersectionality back to the activism of black feminists in the 1970s and 1980s, especially to the work of Combahee River Collective, a black lesbian activist organization based in Boston, Massachusetts (Levine-Rasky, 2011). However, even before this, feminist activists were addressing the complex social realities of marginalized women (Maj, 2013). Black activists such as Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, and Ida B. Wells-Barnett played an important role in putting the experience of black women at the center of their work and acknowledging the cross-oppression that affected their lives (Collins, 2000). The highlight of Combahee River Collective is that when the National Women's Organization (NOW) — dominated by the white middle class at that time— dominated the public image of feminist radicalism, they played a role in bringing the complex reality of black women to public forums (Thompson, 2002 in Maj, 2013).

In *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), one of the founding members of NOW Betty Friedan claimed that achieving gender equality depended on women being active in *"mainstream cultures of education, electoral politics and all public institutions"* (Rudy, 1999: 38). Expanding women's access to formal employment and education was at the top of the NOW agenda at that time. In this regard, Combahee River Collective (1977) played an important role in emphasizing that the white feminist movement did not address their special needs. They pointed out that white liberal feminists theorized women's lives from the perspective of privilege, so they were not considering the situation of women in marginalized society. The difference between Friedan and Collective political scholarship illustrates the political background within which intersectionality developed (Maj, 2013).

A central principle of the intersectionality theory is that social identities are not mutually exclusive, nor do they operate in isolation from each other, nor are they sufficient to simply "add" them to each other to create a lens to examine social location, experience, and accompanying needs (Hankivsky, 2014).

According to Dr. Olena Hankivsky (2014), this view needs to be analyzed from the micro, mess and macro levels, paying special attention to time and space. Intersectionality involves understanding the multifaceted, complex, and interconnected nature of social position and power structure, and how they shape human life. This analysis requires an understanding how this relationship and the subsequent distribution of advantages and disadvantages have developed and coexisted in history, and how to transform them to create the conditions for a more socially just world. It also requires those who participate in this theory, research, and policy paradigm to be self-reflexive on their social position, power, and privileges in the process of intersectional analysis (Hankivsky, 2014).

The intersectionality leads to a fundamental change in how feminism understands the relationship between various privileges and oppressive systems, including sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, and ableism (Kern, 2020a). Therefore, and to

better understand how the term intersectionality was born, it is necessarily to talk about feminism.

The first key issue in the development of feminism can be said to be one of equal rights. The first wave of feminism that began at the end of the 18th century and achieved results at the end of the 19th century tried to oppose the legal inequality of patriarchy and the forced dependence of women on men (Rendell et al, 2000). As described in an excerpt from Virginia Woolf (1929), women's struggle for equal rights can be characterized by their individual and collective exclusion from the public sphere.

The second wave of feminism that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, especially in the United States, paid more attention to understanding the reasons why women are different from men, rather than how women could obtain equal status with men (Rendell et al, 2000). The second wave of feminism recognizes that as important as the political and institutional forms of discrimination is discrimination experienced at the individual level—for example, within the home—that led to the phrase "the personal is political"(Rendell et al, 2000). The difference between the first wave and the second wave of feminism can be summarized as the focus shifted from equality to difference, from resolving national inequality to resolving the differences between women and men and each other (Rendell et al, 2000).

In theoretical studies "feminism[2]" is either seen as an extension of existing socioeconomic theories (such as liberalism or Marxism), or as an independent theory that opposes existing dogma (Kristiansen, 1985). Definitions and attempts to explain the reasons for female differences come from many different types of feminism, but for many people, although the precise analysis forms are different, sexual differences are pointed out as the cause, and patriarchy is regarded as a form of oppression (Rendell et al, 2000).

The following definitions are selected from a longer list of feminisms, these ones — although overlapping is frequent— will give us a general approach to the origins and evolution of intersectionality.

2.1.1 Single system theories

2.1.1.1 Liberal feminism

Liberal feminism originated from the social contract theory of the 16th and 17th centuries, which advocated that all human beings have equal opportunities to obtain education and training commensurate with their abilities and can use this training to achieve any status in society (Kristiansen, 1985).

There is a concept in liberal feminism that the public domain (law, government sphere) is the place where our lives are completely defined. The early feminists

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[2] The study of women's role and place in society.

(Wolstoneccaft, 1792; Mill & Taylor, 1869; Stanton et al, 1881) were quite radical during this period, demanding equal access to education and women's voting rights (Kristiansen, 1985). Liberal feminists emphasize the value of freedom and believe that a just country guarantees individual freedom (Baehr, 2021).

2.1.1.2 Marxist feminist

Traditional Marxism analyzes gender inequality as the economic source. Marxists interpreted the first division of labor between the sexes as an increase in wealth and a system of private property (Kristiansen, 1985). This is said to have happened in ancient times because men used their physical strength to control newly developed agricultural families, including domesticated animals (Engels, 1884). Beginning in the 1840s, Marxism analyzed the unpaid and reproducible "women's work" as an integral part of capitalism (Armstrong, 2020).

Marxists believe that women should become full members of the labor force so that they can fight against men and overthrow private property and class rule. According to them, this is the root of their oppression. In order to achieve this goal, they understand that housework must be industrialized, and that cultural Revolution must be carried out to eliminate the remnants of ideas and customs (Kristiansen, 1985).

In the field of design, some Marxist feminist designers (Matrix, 1984; D. Hayden, 1986; J. Little et al., 1988) drew architectural inspiration from the female body and designed the uterine shape and curvaceous forms instead of phallic towers, spaces that focuses on enclosures (shelters and prisons), exploring the relationship between inside and outside (openings, voids and gaps). Socialist and Marxist feminists have also participated in the criticism of the "man-made" environment and promoted different types of architectural design (Rendell et al, 2000).

2.1.1.3 Radical Feminism

Radical feminism is a political theory that has recently emerged, and its focus is that the "personal is political" (Kristiansen, 1985). Radical feminists do not think that liberalism and Marxism overemphasize the so-called public world. On the contrary, they tend to pay more attention to the dominance of men in the so-called private life. They also believe that the oppression of women is fundamental. Women are first dominated by men, and then by race and class (Kristiansen, 1985). Based on this understanding, they drew a conceptual model to understand all other forms of oppression. "Our sex (gender system) has roots in the organization of reproduction, which appear to have predicted all forms of class society" (Gordon, 1978).

When dealing with differences, there are several radical feminist approaches (e.g., Kanes, 1992) that focus on the ways in which gender differences affect architectural practice. One is to criticize the implied patriarchy of the architectural value system, and believe that because women are different from men, they have different priorities when organizing and designing architectural production. This approach

focuses on the inherent problems of women as users in an "artificial" environment, and the way the patriarchal ideology is imprinted in space (Rendell et al, 2000). Essentialist radical feminists regard femaleness and femininity as containing a series of qualities that are very different from maleness and masculinity. According to this argument, contemporary patriarchal society—organizing and monopolizing private property for the benefit of male heads of household—reflects this value in the architectural forms they produce, which are usually phallic buildings, the typical example is the skyscraper (Rendell et al, 2000).

2.1.2 Dual System Theories

2.1.2.1 Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminists basically agree with Marx and Engels' historical method that human nature varies according to changes in the mode of production (Kristiansen, 1985). However, socialist feminists challenged the traditional Marxist concept of what constitutes a mode of production. Life is not just a technical activity that people organize to provide clothes, shelter, and food, but includes people's needs for sex, nurturing, and babies. This means that socialist feminists accept radical feminist views that women's oppression is at least partly rooted in the so-called personal realm (Kristiansen, 1985).

In her essay "The unhappy marriage of Marxism and Feminism" (1979, 1981), Heidi Hartman described the sexual and economic oppression of women as due to patriarchy, rooted in kinship, and the mutually reinforcing relationship between the socio-economic structure, now capitalism. She believes that although workers and capitalists have opposite economic interests, as men, they have common interests, controlling women's labor within and outside the "home" (in terms of production and reproduction) meaning, keeping women uncompetitive, low incomes and a sexual commodity (Kristiansen, 1985). Men want to be the masters of his "family", and capitalists want women's low-paid and unpaid "army" to remain intact.

Socialist feminists believe that this interrelationship can explain the idea and practice of family wages paid to male workers, male workers' reluctance to include women in their class struggle, and hostility towards people who dare to overcome gender barriers. Therefore, the struggle of socialist feminists for women's liberation is twofold: the struggle against the kinship system ruled by men and the struggle against capitalism (Kristiansen, 1985).

2.1.3 Multi-system Theories

2.1.3.1 (Women of Color) or Black Feminism

Black feminism mainly deals with the politics of difference. They accuse most feminist theorists that are white middle-class women for being colorblind, Marxists for being both sex and colorblind, and radical feminists for ignore the reason for

loyalty amounts people is usually race and not sex (Kristiansen, 1985). It is believed that although gender and class are dense forms of systemic oppression, race is the most serious obstacle to women's unity, because people of one race usually have more common interests than women of different races.

The authors of the Combahee River Collective Statement on Black Feminism in 1979 believes that the most important criterion for judging the adequacy of feminist theory is that it can explain the situation of black women (women of color): if black women are free, it means everyone else must be free, because their freedom would need the destruction of all oppressive systems (Kristiansen, 1985).

2.1.3.2 Care-Focused Feminism

"Care-focused feminists regard women's care ability as a human strength rather than a human weakness" (J. E. , 2014). These feminists may be concerned about justice ethics and caring ethics. Justice seems to be a kind of "masculine" ethic, while care is "feminine". Justice and care should be balanced, and the two are not mutually exclusive (J. E. , 2014).

Carol Gilligan (1982), in his book "In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development" on ethics of care, saw a problem with the use of "male" ethics as standards instead of "female" norms, such as connections and relationships. She developed her work from the six stages of Kohlberg's moral development. Gilligan's goal is *to develop a test that can accurately measure the moral development of men and women. Neither men nor women should be considered as the morally inferior sex" (Tong & Fernandes Botts, 2018: 165).* Like psychoanalytic feminists, caring-centered feminists are interested in distinguishing the psychological differences between women and men. According to care-focused feminists, boys and girls grow up into men and women with specific gender values and virtues that help empower men and deprive women in a patriarchal society (Tong & Fernandes Botts, 2018).

Due to the political agenda of early feminism and the emphasis on women's solidarity and their difference from men, many forms of feminism have been criticized for focusing too much on the similarities between women, rather than the differences between them (Jane Rendell et al, 2000). However, many feminists addressing forms of oppression other than sex and gender (such as class, race, and sexuality) created work that implicitly or explicitly criticize this trend and pointed out how other factors in women's lives contributed to their experience of sex difference and oppression (Jane Rendell et al, 2000), born this way, what would later become known as intersectionality.

As mentioned earlier, the term "intersectionality" was first introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) when discussing the employment of black women in the United States. According to Nira Yuval-Davis (2006), during the preparatory meeting for the World Anti-Racism Conference (WCAR) held in South Africa in September 2001, she was finally invited to introduce the concept of intersectionality. The special

rapporteur of the Violence against Women of the United Nations Secretariat, Radhika Coomaraswamy, introduced the issue at WCAR's NGO Forum. She pointed out the term "intersectionality" that has become very popular and used in various UN and NGO forums since then (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Finally, on April 23, 2002, the resolution on women's human rights recognized the importance of examining the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination, including examining its root causes from a gender perspective (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Intersectional theorists emphasize that the forms of oppression are not merely additional, as if they are completely independent ruling layers (Runyan, 2018). On the contrary, women of color actually experience different forms of racism from men of color, just as they experienced different forms of sexism from white women. In this sense, gender is always "racialized", and race is always "gendered" (Runyan, 2018). An important contribution among intersectional theorists, is the one of Floya Anthias, who has studied more the class. The author conceptualized class, gender, and race as an intersecting and mutually reinforcing system of domination and subordination, possibly constructing multiple, unbalanced, and contradictory social models (Anthias, 2001 in Bellini & Maestripieri, 2020). In other words, she argues that they are interrelated but different unequal systems, since people occupying positions may conflict with each other, for example a middle-class black woman, who enjoy privileges because they belong to the middle class, but at the same time could suffer for women and black discrimination (Bellini & Maestripieri, 2020).

Intersectional theory has also crossed more identity boundaries. According to Professor Anne Sisson Runyan (2018), although Crenshaw's early work centered on heterosexual immigrant women of color, intersectional theory is now being applied to understand how we have multiple identities, even though these identities are constructed and temporary. In this way, the intersection of theory and practice is "a work in progress", as Crenshaw and others have argued (Runyan, 2018).

Due to the influence of consultants and thinkers from the United States, discussions on diversity and intersectionality have "arrived" in European equality policies (Woodward, 2005). This is important because since the late 1970s, European feminist scholars, especially—but not only—in the United Kingdom, have been debating these issues, but they have clearly had no significant impact on policy makers (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Before Crenshaw, as we have already mentioned, black feminists had been talking about how their experience differed from that of white women and black men. The theory of intersectionality is used as a tool for gender and economic justice (Symington, 2004). Recognizing the limitations of theorizing gender as a unified collective that transcends race and class, the intersectionality requires scholars to be more inclusive of a wider group of women when analyzing gender and feminist definitions (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff , 2008). In fact, the intersectionality further recognizes that, for many women of color, their feminist efforts are simultaneously

embedded and integrated into their efforts to oppose racism, classism, and other threats to their access to equal opportunities and social justice (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff , 2008). These past and present efforts often position men as allies. The term intersectionality —now usually mentioned in the second, third and most recent fourth wave of feminism — proposes that if we do not explore how issues such as race, immigration, history, and social class arise, gender cannot be used as a single analytical frame. Therefore, scholars and theorists who support this theory must pay attention to the countless overlapping and mutually reinforcing oppressions that many women face in addition to gender (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff , 2008).

2.2 Class and gender

Since the criticism developed in the second wave of feminism in the 1960s (when class and stratification theory and research were first targeted), the debate on gender and class has been wide-ranging (Crompton, 1989). The political focus of the second-wave feminism was embodied in the statement "the personal is the political" creating an environment in which abstract class theory failed to explain the oppression of women and was regarded as a "more general intellectual sexism" (Crompton, 1989). As a result, considerable theoretical efforts have been devoted to (a) the development of class theory to explain the oppression of women, such as in domestic labor debates, and/or (b) the development of interpretations of gender oppression regardless class, focusing on the concept of patriarchy. These arguments were included in the debate on the ultimate determinants of gender inequality, namely the arguments of "class first" versus "patriarchy first" (Crompton, 1989).

In the UK, many feminist studies focused on the analysis of capitalism and patriarchy, as well as understanding the different ways in which classes and gender oppress women. For example, Sheila Rowbotham raised questions specifically about gender and class relations, such as "Which comes first?", "Which is stronger?" and "Do they always intersect in the same way?" (Jane Rendell et al, 2000). For Rowbotham, the family is a unit of production. Even in a developed capitalist society, she states that the relationship between women and the means of production is different from that of men. She believes this is the continuing foundation of patriarchy: the roots of the gender division of labor and the resulting male/female values (Kelly-Gadol, 1975). According to her, the working class has clearly doubled the oppression of women.

Socialist and Marxist feminists have put forward different theories, trying to explain how the two social structures of capitalism and patriarchy are related to each other at home and work, and in private and public places (Jane Rendell et al, 2000). However, the problems in developing a Marxist feminist analysis have received increasing attention in the last decades. Hartmann's The Unhappy Marriage of

Marxism and Feminism and Michelle Barrett's Women's Oppression Today are some important contributions to this debate.

According to Barret (1980), the "Marxist feminist" analysis of female oppression is still fragmented and contradictory, lacking a conceptual framework suitable for its project. She regards the problem of women's oppression not to be related to the mode of production, but to the development of social patterns, in this case British capitalism. According to her, gender divisions precede capitalism and will not automatically disappear with a socialist revolution. In other words, the oppression of women within the family that exists today was not necessary a prerequisite for the development of capitalism (Connelly, 1983). Barrett believes that in the process of development, capitalism adapts to and utilizes the existing gender division of labor through a particular family household with ideological and material foundations. It is through the relationships within the family that women become economically dependent on men. Through familiarity and gender ideologies, family life and motherhood have become the core aspects of femininity. These aspects complement each other and have a profound impact on women's status in the broader division of wage labour and the relationship between their employment and housework (Connelly, 1983).

Like Barret, Heidi Hartmann (1979) suggests a new direction for Marxist feminist analysis of capitalism, which is conceived around the primordial contradiction between labour and capital and uses what might be termed "sex-blind". Both Barrett and Hartman pointed out that it is necessary to explore the relationship between sexual organization, family production, household, and the historical changes of production methods and systems of possession and exploitation (Jane Rendell et al, 2000).

Similarly, class and stratification theories based on feminist ideas (e.g., Rosemary Crompton, Diane Rey, and Beverly Skegs), pay attention to the role of the family in reproducing inequality through cultural, symbolic and emotional capital (Bellini & Maestripieri, 2020).

For Crompton (1998), social class, gender, and household inequality are interrelated. She showed that successful middle-class men depend on women's supportive labour as family "service domestic workers" (which allow men to work without domestic interference) and "white-collar proletariat" as secretaries and supporters, which means men can get a faster promotion with their support. In her view, to understand class inequality, it is also important to understand gender inequality (Savage, 2011). According to her, the treatment of gender and class in a single framework or method reveals the weaknesses of some existing theoretical attempts to manipulate "class", which indicates the need for a more flexible approach (Crompton, 1989).

Diane Reay and Beverly Skeggs' approach is united by a dynamic and related concept of class, which is cultural and symbolic, but differently experienced by men

and women. Their research aims to evaluate the way the class operates in daily life and the way of reproduction within the family (Bellini & Maestripieri, 2020). While Reay is interested in the psychosocial and emotional aspects of classified identities, arguing that childcare is not only educational work, but also emotional work (Bellini & Maestripieri, 2020), Skeggs instead, states that class is made and given value through culture, she explores how different classes are given value, and how culture is deployed as a resource and a form of property (Reay, 2005). Skegs also studies how classes are known and spoken in a variety of different ways, always working through the classification of race, gender, nation, and sexual orientation. In her view, class struggle is not just a collective action, it is the basis of the way class is daily lived and that permeates everyday judgments and relationships (Reay, 2005).

2.3 Race and gender

While in class analysis, feminist theorists began to question the approaches of Marxist feminism and class; political collectives in the UK, such as Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, and in the US Kimberlè Crenshaw and the Boston-based Combahee River Collective's, began to reflect on the "simultaneous" nature of oppression they face as women and blacks, laying the foundation for the already mentioned theory of intersectionality. If class is conceptualized not only because of occupation or market status, but also based on culture, morality, and symbolism, then other dimensions such as gender and race gain importance as cross-dimensions that influence the formation of the identity. Sooner or later, the debate about the categorical nature of cultural practice approached the debate about the overlapping nature of multiple disadvantages (Bellini & Maestripieri, 2020). Thus, the development of an intersectional perspective on gender and race is deep-rooted in the work of scholars who study women of color (Browne & Misra, 2003). These works are usually mentioned under the headings of multiracial feminism (Dill & Zinn, 1996), multicultural feminism (Okin, 1998), or post-feminism (Mohanty, 2003). Multiracial feminist theorists (Hill Collins, 1999; Glenn, 1999) believe that race and gender are socially constructed, not only affecting personal identity, but also providing organizational principles in the social system. In addition, these categories constitute each other to create and maintain social hierarchy (Browne & Misra, 2003). Multiracial feminists claim that gender related beliefs and practices are inseparable from race. According to Irene Browne and Joya Misra (2003), traditional definitions of femininity, including passivity and weakness, describe the white middle-class women's social norms, while mainstream culture has traditionally constructed black femininity alongside this image. According to them, race and ethnicity are also constructed in gender meaning. In mainstream culture, these meanings provide a legalized ideology for subordinate men and women of color (Browne & Misra, 2003)). The stereotypes in the mainstream culture of black men

include the idea of "hypersexualized Black man", who pose a potential threat to white women, which is a reason for lynching (Davis A. , 1981)

For Patricia Hill Collins (1990, 2000), racial division of labor, institutional racism, and different family structures place African-American women in a epistemic relationship with society, which is different from white women and other women (Ferguson, et al., 2021). According to Collins, stereotypes of black women have included "*the asexualized Mammy, the promiscuous Jezebel, and the profligate welfare queen*" (Browne & Misra, 2003: 490). These images reinforce racial divisions by denigrating black women. At the same time, these images view white women as weak and need the protection of white men, thereby exacerbating gender inequality among whites. Therefore, gender experience deeply reflects the meaning of race and ethnicity. Collins (1990, 2000), refers to the interlocking system of race, class, and gender as constituting the "dominant matrix". In this matrix, individuals can experience disadvantages and privileges at the same time through the combined statuses gender, race, and class (Browne & Misra, 2003).

She remarks:

"I am frequently asked, "Which has been most oppressive to you, your status as a Black person or your status as a woman?" What I am really being asked to do is divide myself into little boxes and rank my various statuses. If I experience oppression as a both / and phenomenon, why should I analyze it any differently?" (Collins, 1993: 28)

As socially constructed categories, race and gender are regarded as fluid, historical, and occasional. A growing body of black feminist literature showed how the meaning given to gender and race changes with historical circumstances and local conditions (Browne & Misra, 2003). Throughout the feminist writings of 1980s, the signs of different life experiences from those of white women repeatedly appeared distinctively by American authors. Their contributions imply the existence of at least another gender category reflected in the titles of books written by feminists of color during that period. While in *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, but Some of Us Are Brave* (1982), African-American feminists, authors, and educators Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith co-edited a collection of essays designed to develop programs for African American women´s studies, involving racism and sexism; the feminist anthology *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1981), edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria E. Anzaldúa focuses on the experiences of women of color, challenging white feminists who claim to be united based on sisterhood (Morgan, 1970). Both books, show that feminists of color exist in the gap between the standardized social categories (Sandoval, 1991). Moreover, in the title of Bell Hook's first book (1981), the question of *Ain't I a Woman?* became also a provocative statement where she provide historical evidence of the specific sexism endured by black female slaves and how this legacy affects black women today (Sandoval, 1991).

Another important contribution for multiracial feminists is the one of Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill (1996). Their criticism stems from widespread attention to the exclusion of women of color from the academic study of feminism and the misunderstanding of their experiences. They insist on challenging the ruling system, not only as a gender subject, but also as women whose lives are affected by multiple hierarchies (Zinn & Dill, 1996). According to them, the multiracial feminist perspective is an attempt to go beyond merely acknowledging the diversity and differences between women in order to examine the dominant structure, especially the importance of race in the social construction of understanding gender (Zinn & Dill, 1996).

We could say in sum, that the feminist intersection theory assumes that gender and race are socially constructed categories that contain inherent power differences, which permeate all aspects of social life from identity and self-concept, to interpersonal communication, company operations, to the organization of economic and legal systems (Browne & Misra, 2003). Or in words of Cynthia Levine-Rasky, we could say that (2011, 241), *gender is always racialized, and race is always gendered. There are racialized differences within social class groups as there are social class differences within any racialized group" (Levine-Rasky, 2011: 241).*

2.4 Space and gender

The question of whether a space has gender characteristics and, if so, how it classifies gender is a problematic one. Regarding whether the gendered space is produced through deliberate architectural design behaviors based on the gender of the architect, or through the explanatory lens of architectural criticism, history, and theory, a series of questions have been raised (Rendell et al, 2000).

The following contributions solve the problem of gendered space from another perspective—through use, given that each of them deals with space, but in a different way.

According to architectural historian Jane Rendell (2000), certain places may be "sexed" according to the occupants' biological sex (such as public toilets) or gendered according to the "gender" associated with different types of activities (For example, kitchens related to women).

In defining the dialectical relationship between society and space, the work of Marxist geographer David Harvey (1989) and sociologist Anthony D. King (1980) is central to the assumption that space is socially produced, but that space is also a condition for social production. While Harvey's Marxist analysis focuses on place and space, Anthony D. King believes that architecture is constantly reproduced through use and daily life. He explores the relationship between social forms and architectural forms, and between society and the built environment generated by making the following questions the core of his book: "What can we understand

about a society by examining its buildings and physical environment? What can we understand about buildings and environments by examining the society in which they exist?" (King, 1980: 1).

Anthropology is one of the first disciplines to propose the relationship between gender and space, and that it is defined by power relationships. The work done by feminist anthropologists in the "public" and "private" spheres, kinship networks, and social exchange relations has been essential to feminism, especially for those interested in spatial boundaries, such as urbanists and historians (Rendell et al, 2000).

Here, it is worth noting the work of Shirley Ardener, which has been particularly important in the study of the different culturally allocated spaces between men and women and the special role of space in symbolizing, maintaining and strengthening gender relations (Ardener, 1993). She pointed out that although the division of space and social forms is closely related, there is no simple one-way "cause and effect". Their cumulative interdependence indicates that we should think from the perspective of "simultaneities" (Rendell et al, 2000: 113).

The author gives an example: a dozen people in a small room and a dozen people in a big hall are "not the same thing"; the seating space formed by a round rather than a square table may affect the nature of the social interaction between the occupants. Here, the "theatre of action" determines the action to some extent, because the environment imposes certain restrictions on our mobility and in turn, our perception of space depends on our own mobility, whether it is walking, machinery or other means of transportation. This led her to conclude that "behavior and space are interdependent" (Ardener, 1993). Ardener pointed out that space defines the people in it, but at the same time, the existence of individuals in the space in turn determines its nature. Therefore: "People define space" (Rendell et al, 2000: 113). In addition, she suggests, that a woman may be "silent" with respect to her husband and "dominant" with respect to her children. In other "real" or "social" spaces, women may be the main determinant, but in other places, gender may be irrelevant or irrelevant. Age, class, and many other characteristics may further increase complexity in multidimensional situations (Ardener, 1993).

More recently, people have paid special attention to the way in which power defines the relationship between gender and space and how the power relationship is engraved in the architectural space (Rendell et al, 2000). For example, American scholar Daphne Spain's discussion in Excerpts from "The Contemporary Workplace" (1992), tells us how the social status of women defines and is defined by the workspaces they occupy. Accordingly, she examines the space conditions for women's work and men's work, and classified women's work as "open-floor", while men's work is more likely to be "closed door". In other words, women work in a more public environment and have less control over their space than men. According to her, this lack of spatial control not only reflects the decline of women's

professional status, but also intensifies women's professional status by restricting the opportunities for men to transfer knowledge to women (Spain, 1992). She emphasizes that the structure of the workplace provides different spatial arrangements for typical working women and typical working men, and how these arrangements lead to gender stratification.

The establishment of a connection between the space occupied by women and their social status is also related to the work of feminist geographers, such as Liz Bondi (1990, 1992, 1993), Linda McDowell (1993), Gillian Rose (1993), and specially Doreen Massey (1994), who believe that space is produced and productive through gender relations. These feminists believe that if gender affects the society in which we live, the way we are treated, and how we perceive ourselves, then this social situation must have some impact on the space we make and use (Rendell et al, 2000).

In her essay "Space, Place and Gender" (1994), Doreen Massey used her experience and described various aspects of daily life, reflecting on how the playing field was completely handed over to the boys. She developed the concept of space as a product of cross-social relations. At the same time, she traced the development of ideas about the social structure of space and place and linked these concepts with gender issues and various debates within feminism. The geographers Massey and Rose both made important criticisms of the male geographers Harvey and Soja's work on postmodern space, arguing that their descriptions ignore how the gender operates with the space and social structure work (Rendell et al, 2000).

As pointed out by Jane Rendell (2000), it is important to note that in addition to being gendered through physical occupations—the different residences of men or women in the space—spaces are also produced as gendered through performance. The description of gender space uses text and images that are culturally related to a specific gender to trigger comparisons with living organisms—for example, the soft, curvaceous interior is related to women, and the phallic tower is related to men.

An important contribution of this section is the work of the Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1991), who provides us with a useful theoretical framework to consider how representations can help generate social spaces and be produced by them. Lefebvre does not simply consider production in the urban field through the activities of the construction industry and urban design but is interested in how space is produced conceptually and materially. He believes that the social production of space works through three different but interactive processes: "spatial practice" (material or functional space), "spatial representation" (space as a codified language) and "representational space" (lived daily experience of space) (Lefebvre, 1991: 33).

On the other hand, Jane Rendell analyzed how can we link this framework to gender and space issues. Here, the most common manifestation of gender space is the paradigm of "separated spheres", an opposing hierarchical system consisting of the

dominant public male production sphere (city) and the subordinate private reproductive sphere (home). She also states:

"The origins of this ideology which divides city from home, public from private, production from reproduction, and men from women is both patriarchal and capitalist. But, as an ideology, it does not describe the full range of lived experience of all urban dwellers. This is problematic for feminists because assumptions regarding sex, gender and space contained within this binary hierarchy are continually reproduced" (Rendell et al.,2000: 103).

Within this framework, other important works include the works of Susana Torre (1996), Elizabeth Wilson (1991) and Griselda Pollock (1992), who in their feminist works on gender and space adopted this dominant framework as a starting point for critique of the limited definitions of gender space offered by the ideology of separate spheres and providing alternative ways of thinking about the gendering of space. According to Jane Rendell, their works can be read as "deconstructions" of male-female polarization of separate spheres (Rendell et al, 2000).

Susana Torre's study of Plaza de Mayo mothers in "Claiming the Public Space: The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo" (1996) is an example of how women's appropriation of public space is an empowering and political act. Alternatively, the negative status of suburban women in the private sphere can be reassessed by reconsidering the productive activities rather than reproductive activities that take place at home.

Similarly, in "Into the Labyrinth" (1991), Elizabeth Wilson explored how women endure suffering in the metropolis. She pointed out that although women, like minorities, children, and the poor, are still not formal citizens because they have never been allowed to take to the streets fully and freely, industrial life still attracts them to public life, where they survive and prosper in the interstices of the city, and deal with the contradictions of the city in its own unique way. She claims that a new urban approach is needed, where we welcome and maximize the freedom and autonomy provided by the city and make it available to all classes and groups. Until that happens, she states, "we will never solve the problems of living in cities" (Rendell et al, 2000: 53).

In contrast, the analysis of the art historian Griselda Pollock in the excerpts from "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity" (1992) the analysis of various forms of cultural representation explained as gendering is the focus of her work. Here, she suggests that the gendering of space is structured in a more complicated way than the separation of spheres ideology suggests, one which pays more attention to the relationship between looking and movement. Pollock borrowed heavily from feminist psychoanalysis and semiotic theory to study the relationship between women and public space, especially how Paris, as a modern city, was adjusted through visual expressions—in this case, male impressionist paintings. She constructed a gender space model, showing how many impressionist artists' paintings connect specific types of women with specific spaces in the city: "Ladies" appear in parks and theaters; while "fallen women" appear behind the scenes of

theaters, cafes, and brothels (Pollock, 1992). According to Jane Rendell, Pollock's work can be said to be an example of the third and most important deconstruction strategy, namely an intervention strategy—creating or discovering a new term that is undecidable in binary logic. Such a term acts as both and neither of the binary terms; it may include both, yet go beyond their scope, thus indicating that individual spheres are not sufficient to describe the gender space (Pollock, 1992).

Feminist urban historians studying the occupation of cities by women have shown the importance of understanding how ideological mechanisms such as patriarchy and capitalism marginalize women's attitudes towards public spaces (Jane Rendell et al.,2000). It is obvious that the separation of the public and private spheres problematizes the relationship of women towards the city, both on the material and ideological levels. Therefore, this relationship can only be understood through cultural representations. It is important to consider how gender ideology does not precede but is produced by historical documentation and cultural forms of representation because, as these feminists argue, if gender affects the society in which we live, the way we are treated, and how we perceive ourselves, then this social situation must have some impact on the space we make and use (Rendell et al, 2000).

2.5 Gender movements and intersectional challenges

Intersection has become the main analytical tool used by feminist and anti-racist scholars to theorize about identity and oppression. Despite the emergence of intersectionality as the main research paradigm in women's studies and other fields however, there is still little debate about how to properly study intersectionality, meaning its methodology (McCall, 2005)

In the essay "Re-thinking intersectionality" (2008), Jennifer C. Nash revealed and critically questioned the hypothesis supporting intersectionality by focusing on the four tensions in intersecting scholarship: lack of a clear intersecting method; using black women as a typical intersecting theme; the unclear definition of intersectionality; and the empirical validity of intersectionality. Although her analysis is not intended to undermine intersectionality; instead, it encourages both feminist and anti-racist researchers to contend with the theoretical, political and methodological obscuration of intersectionality in order to construct a more complex way to theorize identity and oppression (Nash, 2008).

When we analyze the power relations that make up all social systems and shape women's lives in different ways, we can begin to address the core feminist issues about how genders are constructed and structured in different ways in society (Zinn & Dill, 1996). Acknowledge the use and limitations of intersectionality help us to ensure that we do not ignore the challenges faced by people belonging to multiple marginalized groups as we strive to achieve a more just society.

In this way, intersectional thinking has also paved the way for more inclusive and coalitional social movements and agendas. We are now witnessing the advent of movements (now transnational) such as the Women's March, Black Lives Matter, and the Global Justice Movement arising out of the World Social Forum, all of which are led or heavily influenced by women and feature prominently queer women and women of color (Runyan, 2018). These movements regard the struggle against racism, classism, neocolonialism, xenophobic nationalism, heterosexism, transphobia, ableism, ageism, Islamophobia, and ecological destruction as indivisible. Of course, in practice, such movements are not always as inclusive or focused on intersectionality as they should be, this is because, when they are forced to respond to multiple attacks on multiple fronts, this leads them to prioritize certain issues and participants over other issues. However, organizers and activists affected by intersectionality reject a monolithic movement based on a single and exclusive identity or a single-issue politics. On the contrary, the intersectionality-informed movements remain flexible and forward-thinking, continuing to listen for and voicing of new or previously hidden inequalities that are not addressed in social justice movements (Runyan, 2018). In this way, intersectional theory and practice is "a work in progress," as we have already said.

Interactions between equality categories can be examined in relation to many issues, with the correct data. For example, the interaction of disability status and gender can be reviewed based on its impact on promotion (Christoffersen, 2017). Studying interactions is important because, as we have seen, intersectionality is more than "addition"-you can´t really understand the intersection of gender and race by simply adding gender to race, meaning:

$$\text{Gender + race} \neq \text{intersection of gender and race}$$

This is because the intersection is more than just the sum of its parts. For instance, from an intersectional perspective, gender and race interact, so race changes the quality of gender, and gender changes the quality of race. The effect they produce together is different from the effect than each would produce on their own. Based on experience, these two elements cannot be separated and are not mutually exclusive categories, as suggested by the additional approach (Christoffersen, 2017). Therefore, it is crucial to obtain and generate accurate data that can provide reliable insights to predict how people experience the spaces. Unfortunately, disaggregated data based on people's different experiences and needs are still not the mainstream of urban planning (Akins, 2005), and decision makers often fail to take into account girls and women needs because information about their lives and experiences is incomplete or missing. As we will see in the next chapter, in a world of data-driven policy and decision-making, the gender data gap, including the way people experience multiple and intersecting inequalities, is problematic. Sadly, the problem is not just our data gaps; but the data we do have is often biased, one-sided, and/or sexist (Mind the (gender data) gap, n.d.).

2. GENDER DATA GAP IN URBAN PLANNING

Women are the majority, they are absolutely everywhere and always have been, however, we live in a society built around men, around a sexist city that effectively silences and erases women's accomplishments, experiences, needs and daily lives. This is man's world, or in words of Leslie Kern (2020a): "city of men", because the people who built it did not take into account gender differences. Kern also points out:

"As a woman, my everyday urban experiences are deeply gendered. My gender identity shapes how I move through the city, how I live my life day-to-day, and the choices available to me" (Kern, 2020a: 16).

The chronicles of the past leave little room for the role of women in human evolution, instead the life of men is used to represent the life of the entire human race (Criado Perez, 2019). Feminist philosopher, Simone de Beauvoir, author of The Second Sex had already mention this in 1949 by describing the phenomenon of men constructing the concept of woman from their own experience rather than from what women are in reality, stating that women are framed as "the Other," while men are the self and subject:

"Humanity is male, and man defines woman not in herself, but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being. […] He is the Subject, he is the Absolute – she is the Other" (Beauvoir, 1949: 26).

The stories we tell ourselves about the past, present and future are marked by the "absence" of the female image. This lack of gender-specific data, is what journalist and feminist activist Caroline Criado Perez, describes in her book "Invisible Women: Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men" as the gender data gap. The gender data gap, as she says: "isn't just about silence. These silences, these gaps, have consequences. They impact on women's lives every day" (Criado Perez, 2019: xi). When your big data is destroyed by the silence, the truth you get is half-truth at best. And usually, for women, they are not true at all (Criado Perez, 2019).

Through revealing the data and revealing the hidden places where inequality still exists, Criado Perez has collected a wealth of statistical data. However, most of the facts presented aren't new for all women of course, as journalist Angela Saini wrote for The Guardian:

"We already know that we're paid less, that we do far more unpaid labour at home, that the queues for our loos are longer, that we are the disproportionate victims of domestic violence. But it's nevertheless useful and sobering to have it listed in this way, to have numbers to quantify our pain and misery" (Saini, 2019).

Seeing all this imbalance in percentage terms and big data gives the process of understanding and combating it an important dimension. This data gap exists for

women in general, firstly because we do not collect data, but also because we usually do not separate data by gender, then, when it comes to women of color, women with disabilities, and working-class women, these data are almost non-existent (Criado Perez, 2019).

In this chapter, I will review some of the examples shown by Criado Perez in relation to the city and urban design, and how do these cases must be solved through an intersectional data collection from planners and politicians to make better use of the data that already exists, because this is more an issue of policy and design than an issue of data. The aim of this chapter is to show that if we want to design a world that works for everyone, we need women in city planning, as Criado Perez argue: "If the people taking decisions that affect all of us are all white, able-bodied men (nine times out of ten from America), that too constitutes a data gap" (Criado Perez, 2019: xiii).

3.1 Mobility women´s needs and urban planning policies
The following example, like most of the gender data gaps in urban planning is the result of a gap in perspective, this means that men, who still most of the time are the ones in charge of designing the city, didn't deliberately design it to exclude women, they just didn't think about them and that their needs could be different from them. Of course, this is also a result of not involving women in planning.

In Sweden, they used to snow-clearing the streets in winter beginning with the main roads, like many other cities in the world, but this happens to affect women and men differently because men and woman travel differently. According to the Global Mobility Report of 2017, it is more likely that women walk and take public transport than men, while men are more likely to drive to work than women (Goldmark, 2012). Also, men are most likely to have a fairly simple travel pattern: a twice-daily commute in and out of town, but women have more travel needs because they still do 75% of the world's unpaid care work, so their travels patterns are more complicated (Criado Perez, 2019). What all these statistics reveal us is that snow-clearing in Sweden in fact, was not gender neutral at all because it was unconsciously discriminating women by prioritizing commuters in cars. Later, officials realized that driving through three inches of snow was easier than pushing a stroller, a wheelchair or a bike, so they started to prioritize pedestrians and public transport users. In addition, clearing sidewalks first saved the country money: a study conducted in a town in Sweden found that pedestrians are three times more likely to be injured in icy conditions than car drivers; 70% of the injured are women (Glaser, 2019). These injuries, therefore, cost money in healthcare and lost productivity.

This is clearly a problem of transport planning, mainly because the profession is 'highly male-dominated' but also because engineers design mostly focuses on the

travels made from home to work, which means for peak hours, but planning for peak hours doesn't explain why female travel gets ignored because women travels doesn't tend to fit into peak hours, as urbanist planning professor Inés Sánchez de Madariaga argue (Criado Perez, 2019). Gender gaps in travel data continue to exist, and many traffic surveys deliberately omit shorter walking and other "non-motorized" trips (Anh & Schkyter, 2010), because they are not considered to be relevant for infrastructure policymaking:

"Given women generally walk further and for longer than men (in part because of their care-giving responsibilities; in part because women tend to be poorer), this marginalization of non-motorized travel inevitably affects them more" (Criado Perez, 2019: 34).

In short, the hypothesis that short-distance walks have nothing to do with infrastructure policies is far from the hypothesis that women have nothing to do with infrastructure policies. But they are not because men tend to travel alone, while women's travel is hampered-shopping, strollers, children, or older relatives they take care of (Criado Perez, 2019).

Another good example we find it in a 2016 study in Chicago that reveals how much Chicago's transport system is biased against typical female travel patterns (Schwieterman & Michel, 2016). The study compared Uberpool (the car-sharing version of the taxi app) with public transportation in Chicago, and the results showed that for downtown travel, the time difference between Uberpool and public transportation isn't very relevant—about 6 minutes on average. But for travel between neighborhoods, which means the type of travel that women use to make for care of responsibilities, Uberpool took 28 minutes to complete a 47-minute journey by public transportation. Given women's lack of time[3] (A study of 32 families in Los Angeles found that most mother´s uninterrupted leisure time lasted no more than 10 minutes on average (Schulte, 2019), Uberpool might seem like a good option, the thing is that it costs way more than the public transport, and also women are cash poor compared to men. This, of course, is an issue of resources but also is a matter of attitude and priorities. As per the World Bank annual report from 2007 women's unpaid care work contributes $10 trillion to annual global GDP but still, travels for paid work are more valuable than travels for unpaid care work (Criado Perez, 2019). Here, there's also an economic argument: For every percentage increase in the female employment rate, the higher the GDP. But for women to work, cities must support this work. One of the keyways to do this, as Sanchez de Madariaga suggest, is to design the transportation system so that women can do unpaid work and still arrive at the office on time (Criado Perez, 2019).

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[3] Feminist researchers have found that many women do not feel they deserve long periods of time for themselves the way men do, instead they feel they have to earn it. And the only way to do this is to get to the end of a To Do list that never ends: the daily chores, as philanthropist Melinda Gates writes in her new book The Moment of Lift (Gates, 2019).

Here, as we can see with these examples, is a matter of improving the accessibility. It's not easy, and especially cheap, to change all the infrastructure system but for sure they are ways to improve urban mobility. Take for example buses, which routes are flexibles and can be easily readjust for people needs. In Spain they opted for introducing a new orthogonal bus route which resulted more useful for trip-chaining (Criado Perez, 2019). In Mexico they have something called "combis", which are minibuses that go from one neighborhood to other, and they also have collective taxis.

The idea that the home is primarily a leisure place continues to support planning practices around the world. But if for these decision makers, the home is a letup from paid labor or a recreation place, it is far from its role in most women's lives. According to data from the International Monetary Fund, women around the world are engaged in three times as many unpaid care work as men; therefore, the legal separation of the home from the workplace can make life extremely difficult, especially for women (Criado Perez, 2019), and even more difficult if we consider that usually, gentrified and privatized public space pushes the lower-class women to the outskirts of the cities.

It's clear, with all this data, that the time has come to decentre the heterosexual, nuclear family in everything from housing design to transportation strategies, neighborhood planning to urban zoning. By this, I also mean that is urgent to consider intersectional gender data, city planners and architects can't take anymore the white, able-bodied cis man as the default subject and imagine everyone else as a variation on the norm, therefore we can't use only gender as the main category to gather data. We have seen, how the systems of inclusion/exclusion, privilege/oppression, and social isolation are replicated and expressed through urban planning. Sánchez de Madariaga argues that if we really want to start designing a transportation system that serves both women and men, we must do it in collaboration both women and men, because the mobility of women is also a master planning policy issue (Criado Perez, 2019).

3.2 Safe toilets in urban planning

It is not new to anyone that women are used to queuing when they go out, but not everyone knows exactly why this happens. The next example shows how a neutral design can fail. This happened in a theater in London, when they replaced the "male" and "female" signs with "gender neutral with urinals" and "gender neutral with cubicles", the obvious thing happened: everyone used "gender neutral with cubicles", while only men use the so-called "gender neutral with urinals", they did not make the toilets actually gender-neutral by doing so, but increased the provision for men, because women usually cannot use urinals, and men can of course use urinals and cubicles (Criado Perez, 2019).

This matter of sex discrimination is a problem of male-biased design since historically, it has been fair and equitable to give men and women the same floor space in public toilets. However, equal floor space is not very equal: men's toilets have both cubicles and urinals, this means that the number of people who can relieve themselves at the same time per square foot is much higher than that of the women's toilets (Criado Perez, 2019). But also, women need public toilets more than men. Firstly because, studies have shown that women spend twice as much time in the toilet as men (Greed, 2014). This is due to physiological considerations, but also because of the need to enter the cubicle and dispose of more clothes than men (Kira, 1975). Secondly, women are more likely to go out during the day (Cavanagh & Ware, 1990), take public transportation more frequently than men (Gershenson & Penner, 2009), and are often accompanied by children or elderly and disabled relatives (Molotch & Norén, 2010). Thirdly, 20-25% of women of childbearing age may have menstruation at any one time, so they need to change tampons, sanitary pads or menstrual cups (Criado Perez, 2019). And lastly, women also need to go to the bathroom more than men due to pregnancy can significantly reduce bladder capacity, also women are eight times more likely to have urinary tract infections than men, which again increases the frequency of the need to go to the bathroom (Al-Badr & Al-Shaikh, 2013).

All these data are just considering just anatomical differences between men and woman. But it gets a lot worse if we talk about safety. According to the NGO WaterAid 1.25 billion women and girls lack safe and proper sanitation facilities, and 526 millions of them do not have toilets at all (WaterAid, 2012). Also, WaterAid reports that women and girls without toilets spend an estimated 97 billion hours each year looking for a safe place to relieve themselves (Callister, 2017). This problem is particularly serious for women, largely because of the attitude that men can "go anywhere" (Greed, 2014), while it is shameful for women to be seen peeing. But also, the lack of access to toilets that meet women's basic needs increases the risk of violence that many women face every day. In Katra, in northern India, most of the 750 households did not have toilets for generations (Anand, 2014). Women used to get up before dawn and wait for several hours until dusk to go out again looking for a relatively private place to urinate or defecate. The issue is so critical that it was address in 2014 by the prime minister of India Narendra Modi's first Independence Day speech:

"We are in the 21st century and yet there is still no dignity for women as they have to go out in the open to defecate and they have to wait for darkness to fall, (…) Can you imagine the number of problems they have to face because of this?" (Anand, 2014)

Unfortunately, as Criado Perez said: "this isn't just a problem in poor countries" (Criado Perez, 2019: 49). In many developing countries, not only are there few public toilets, but most families also don't have private toilets. Therefore, there are whole countries that are "under-toileted" as urban planning professor Clara Greed argue.

Open defecation is the norm, which mainly affects health and well-being (Greed, 2014). In fact, over 940 million people globally must defecate outside because they lack access to toilets (Qayyum, 2017). A 2015 study in Mumbai titled "Housing, water and sanitation survey of slums in Mumbai 2015", conducted by the International Institute of Population Sciences (IIPS) found that 12.5% of women in Mumbai slums defecate in the open at night because they are more willing to take this risk than walking 58 meters, which is the average distance between the community toilet and their home (Lukose, 2015). However, defecation in the open air is not much safer for women: men lurking near and along the areas and routes that women need to defecate are indeed at risk of sexual assault (Anand, 2014). The extent of assault ranges from voyeurism (including being masturbated) to rape—in extreme cases, even murder (Criado Perez, 2019).

Accurate data on the degree of sexual harassment and assault faced by women when trying to engage in what should be ordinary activities is difficult to obtain, and few women are willing to talk about things that they are likely to be accused of as "encouragement" (Qayyum, 2017). However, the available data says Criado Perez (2019), clearly shows that failure to provide adequate sanitation facilities is a feminist problem.

This, of course, is also a political issue. Even when local governments may think that they are cutting costs by not providing public toilets, a 2015 Yale University study showed that this is a fake economy (Gonsalves et al, 2015), the study authors developed a mathematical model for Khayelitsha, in South Africa, that correlated the "risk of sexual assault with the number of sanitation facilities and the time women walk to the toilet" and calculated tangible costs (loss of income, medical care, court and prison costs) and intangible costs of sexual assault like pain and suffering, risk of homicide, compared with the cost of installing and maintaining toilets. The study showed that the government presented 635 sexual assaults at a cost of $40 million each year. By increasing the number of toilets in Khayelitsha, to 11,300 at a direct cost of $12 million will reduce the average distance to the toilet by almost half and result in a 30% reduction in sexual assault (Criado Perez, 2019). The authors added that the figures are conservative because their cost calculations do not include "*the many additional health benefits of improving sanitation in resource-constrained urban areas*" (Gonsalves et al, 2015: 1-2). There are many additional health benefits, especially for women. But again, the health problems caused by lack of public health facilities are not limited to low-income countries. A 2007 study showed that closing public toilets in the United States has been a trend for more than half a century and in the UK, 50% of public toilets were closed between 1995 and 2013 (Criado Perez, 2019).

Urban planning that does not consider women's risk of sexual assault is a clear violation on women's equal rights in public places and lack of sanitation facilities.

As Criado Perez argues: "*Supply is just one of many ways planners exclude women with this insensitive design*" (Criado Perez, 2019: 52).

3.3 Safe public spaces in urban planning

One of the most basic human rights is the right to communicate freely with others in public spaces, and here comes the issue of fear and its importance. Fear of attacks by strangers is the core of urban civilization, and this is especially evident in the hours of darkness, because it has long been associated with illegal behavior, male pleasure, and female subordinate status. (Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013).

According to Criado Perez, women are about twice as likely to be afraid in public places as men. And, as unusually as we have seen, she has data to prove it. Urban planning professor Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris has explained that criminal and empirical research from around the world show that most women are feared of potential violence in public places (Criado Perez, 2019). Once again, when we carefully observe the experiences of different women, we can realize that low-income women have a particularly high fear of crime, why? Firstly, because they tend to live in areas with high crime rates, and secondly, because they may work for zero hours and often go home after dark. For the same reason, ethnic minority women tend to experience more fear, but they must also deal with the additional danger of (usually gendered) racial violence. All this fear says Criado Perez: "*affects women's mobility and their basic right to enter the city*" (Criado Perez, 2019: 53).

There is clearly an injustice here. Too often, however, it is the women themselves that are blamed to feel fearful, but of course, not the planners for designing urban spaces and traffic environments that make them feel unsafe. Here there is also gender data gap behind all of this (Criado Perez, 2019). The official statistics show that men are in fact more likely to be victims of crime in public spaces, including public transport. But this is kind of a paradox, according to Loukaitou-Sideris, that has concluded that women's fear of crime is irrational and a problem but not a crime itself. Although, there is a story behind it when we look closer, because when women circulate in public places, they are dealing with a series of threatening sexual behaviors as well. Criado Perez not even talked in the first place about more serious crimes, like being assaulted, but women deal with men's behaviors every day that make them feel, often deliberately, uncomfortable. From catcalling, make fun and ridicule them, to sexualized insults. These actions are not crimes properly, but they all add up to a feeling of sexual threat, and the thing is that these behaviors can easily escalate. The invisibility of these threatening behaviors faced by women in public places gets worse when we realize that men will not do so to women accompanied by other men that in any case, they are unlikely to experience this behavior (Criado Perez, 2019).

The lack of large-scale data on the prevalence of sexual harassment is not only due to insufficient reporting, but also it is usually not included in crime statistics because sexual harassment is "usually unclear", and many studies have failed to define or codify the types of harassment (Criado Perez, 2019).

Political analyst and communications consultant from Mexico City, Mariana Lizarraga has pointed out that another problem is that sexual violence is normalized to the point that it seems like an intrinsic way of thinking among many people.

"The ease with which perpetrators can commit these crimes is the result of a culture of normalization that includes victim blaming and telling women to fear public space because we are not safe there" (Lizárraga, 2018).

There are some countries that have taken action through combat sexual harassment in the cities. The women-only subway trains in Mexico City, for instance, are almost as old as the subway system itself. But over the past 50 years, the city has gradually increased female-only options by setting longer operating hours of the female-only wagons and women-exclusive taxis and buses.

However, this attempt to reduce sexual harassment on public transport is also discriminating the LGBTQ community by separate the wagons just in "women and men". As Ana Pandal, co-creator of "Organización Genera" (A Puebla-based association that seeks to raise awareness of gender-based violence in Mexico) says:

"A real change would require a major structural change, and no one is doing it (…), we must focus on letting people know what street harassment is as well to ensure that both our society and authorities fully reject it" (Lizárraga, 2018).

A good evidence-based solution includes transparent bus shelters to improve visibility and increase lighting, not only at the bus and subway stations themselves, but also on the routes leading to them. Loukaitou-Sideris says that the location of the bus stop is also important:

"Sometimes even moving the bus stops a few feet up or down the block if it is in front of a well-used establishment can make all the difference" (Criado Perez, 2019: 61).

Another good method, consists in introducing request stops between official stops for women who take night buses, Criado Perez argue:

"Although women make up the majority of bus users overall, they are in the minority when it comes to night buses, and while we don't have data on why exactly this disparity exists, given the data we do have it seems reasonable to conclude that feeling unsafe might have something to do with it" (Criado Perez, 2019: 61).

The advantage for traffic planners is that these measures are not particularly expensive.

We still need that each transport authority collects its own data, but also the will to collect it. But since they are not legally obligated to do it, this will is lacking. And when we don't collect and, more importantly, use sex-disaggregated data in urban design, we find that unintentional male bias showing up in the most surprising places (Criado Perez, 2019).

3.4 Girl´s presence in parks and public playgrounds

In both 2009 and 2010, the annual international survey, the Mercer Study, rated Vienna as the city with the "highest quality of living in the world" (Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013). Some of the underlying factors that have contributed to this highly favorable judgement of the city's liveability is their gender-sensitive planning approach. Although, it is difficult to assess the specific effects of the outcome of 20 years of gender-sensitive planning initiatives, without doubt the sharpened social awareness of the technical department within the city's administration has had some influence (Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013). Specially to a large extent it has been due to the impulse originated by the activity of the urban planner Eva Kail, whose direct action has promoted the incorporation of this gender perspective in the subsidy regulations and in the construction of public housing stock, in the production of public space, in the design and management of daily mobility, and in the preparation of catalogs of good practices. It all started in the mid-1990s, when a study by local officials in Vienna found that from the age of 10, the number of girls in parks and public playgrounds "remarkably decreased." The thing is that instead of simply think that the girls just needed to be stronger and upward, the city officials started to think if there was a problem with the design of the park and they began to plan some pilot projects and collecting data. (Criado Perez, 2019). Their findings were very enlightening. It turns out that a single large open space was the problem, because these forced girls and boys to compete for space, and girls do not have the confidence to compete with boys, which is social conditioning for you, so they tend to give boys space. However, when they subdivided the park into smaller areas, the decline in women reversed. They also addressed the sports facilities in the park. Initially, these spaces were surrounded by barbed wire on all sides, with only one entrance area, where a group of boys would congregate, but most girls, unwilling to participate in the challenge, did not go in at all. Vienna's very own Leslie Knope and Claudia Prinz-Brandenburg, came with a simple proposal: more and wider entrances, and like the grass areas, they also subdivide the sports field (Criado Perez, 2019). Formal sports such as basketball were still available, but now there was also more space for informal activities for girls who are in fact more likely to participate. These are subtle changes, as Criado Perez argued, but they worked.

The fact that girls are interested in different games, sports and activities and therefore have different requirements regarding playground design was rarely considered before, but the Co-ordination Office made the interests of girls a central aspect of its activities (Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013). One year later, not only the number of girls in the park increased, but the number of "informal activities" also did. According to Elisabeth Irschik, from the City of Vienna's Architecture and Urban design department, and Eva Kail, the design concept for a

park predefines its possible use by different target groups (Sanchez de Madariaga & Roberts, 2013). Now all new parks in Vienna are designed along the same lines. Another example we have it at the gym, where most women who have used it, have experienced that moment of psyching herself up to walk into the free weightlifting zone, knowing that many men who dominate that space will look at them on a range from nuisance to freak. Technically, of course you can just walk in as Criado Perez points out, but there is an additional psychological barrier that needs to be removed, that most men do not face it at all, and it takes a special kind of self-confidence to not be disturbed by it at all (Criado Perez, 2019).

It's the same story as the sports facilities in Vienna: If it is full of men, girls tend to miss it and avoid the inevitable gaze and the clear feeling that you don't belong there. The sad thing it's that most reactions from quarters to such complaints is:

"To tell women to stop being delicate flowers – or for feminists to stop painting women as delicate flowers" (Criado Perez, 2019, p: 63). Of course, not every woman is troubled by this leering and masculine posture, but women who do avoid these spaces are not irrational because, when women venture into the so-called gender-neutral shared exercise space, there is a lot of hostility from men. As with the public transportation environment, the gym is usually a typical example of male biased public spaces disguised as equal opportunities. The good news is that this male bias can be designed, and as we have seen, some data collection has already been done.

3.5 Sex-disaggregated data in unpaid work

When the United Nations declared 1975 the Women's Year, representatives of Iceland's five largest women's organizations formed a committee to organize the commemoration. After some discussion, they came up with the idea of a strike (Rudolfsdottir, 2005). On October 24th, no woman in Iceland will do a little work. They let men in Iceland see how they can cope without the invisible work that women do every day to keep the country running. No paid work, no cooking, no cleaning, no childcare. And instead of going to the office, doing housework or taking care of their children, women took the streets, thousands of people gathered for equal rights with men (Criado Perez, 2019).

This day is called "Women's Day Off" in Iceland, and Vigdis Finnbogadottir, the first female president in Europe, regards this day as a turning point moment:

"What happened that day was the first step for women's emancipation in Iceland," she argues. "It completely paralyzed the country and opened the eyes of many men" (Brewer, 2015).

As a result, banks, factories and some shops had to be closed, as did schools and nurseries, which left many fathers no choice but to take their children to work. According to the bcc news, there are reports that men armed themselves with candies and colored pencils to entertain a group of over-excited children in the workplace. The most popular sausages that are in fact easy to cook and popular with

children were in such high demand that they were sold out at stores (Brewer, 2015).This might also explain the other name which it is known this day in Iceland: the Long Friday.

One year after the strike, in 1976, Iceland passed the Gender Equality Act, which prohibits gender discrimination in workplaces and schools (Criado Perez, 2019). And today, the pay gap in Iceland is around 18 per cent but the government has pledged to close this by 2022 (Searle, 2016). Iceland has also been named by The Economist as the best country to be a working woman (The Economist Group Limited, 2016). Although this is certainly something to be celebrated says Criado Perez, there are reasons to object to the wording of The Economist, because it is affirming that the term "working woman" is a tautology, but as she says:

"There is no such thing as a woman who doesn't work. There is only a woman who isn't paid for her work. Globally, 75% of unpaid work is done by women, who spend between three and six hours per day on it compared to men's average of thirty minutes to two hours" (Criado Perez, 2019: 70).

According to her, even in the country with the highest male unpaid working time, which is Denmark, men still are spending less time on unpaid work than the country where female work has the least unpaid hours, which is Norway. One might think that the unpaid-work imbalance between men and women is getting better, and at an individual level, sure, there are men who are doing more, as Criado Perez says, but not at the population level, because it turns out that the proportion of unpaid work performed by men is still very high (Criado Perez, 2019). For instance, an Australian study found that even among wealthy couples who pay for domestic helpers, the remaining unpaid work is still distributed in the same male-to-female ratio, and most of the remaining work is still undertaken by women (PwC Economics and Policy, 2017). If we go further, we can see that as women increasingly join the paid labor force, men have not matched this shift with the relative increase in unpaid work, therefore women have simply increased their total working hours, and many studies in the past two decades have found that women have undertaken most unpaid work regardless of the proportion of household income they bring in (Criado Perez, 2019). But also, even if men do increase their unpaid work, it is not by doing routine housework that in fact constitutes the bulk of the workload, but instead they are taking more interesting activities, such as taking care of the children. According to data from the OECD Development Center, an average of 61% of housework is done by women. For example, in India, women spend five of their six hours of unpaid work a day on housework, while men spend 13 minutes (Ferrant et al, 2014). Men also rarely take on the more personal, messy, and emotional aspects of elderly care. As maintained by the organization Alzheimer's Research UK, up to 70% of unpaid dementia caregivers are women, and female caregivers are more likely to help with bathing, dressing, toileting and controlling incontinence than men (Alzheimer's Research UK, n.d.).

As stated by the US Bureau of Labor Statics, men meanwhile, have carried on engaging in some leisure activities such as watching TV, playing sports, playing computer games, or exercising. Men spent more time in these activities (6.0 hours) than women (5.2 hours) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015), which means that US men manage to find over an hour sparer time per day to rest than their female counterparts. In the UK, an ONS (Office for National Statistics) analysis revealed that men enjoy nearly five more hours of leisure time per week than women (Office of National Statistics, 2018), and an Australian study found that compared with men, women's leisure time is more fragmented and combined with other tasks (Criado Perez, 2019).

In Mexico, in a study made in the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Xochimilco (Xochimilco Metropolitan Autonomous University) (Fanger, 2018) about the relation between the qualitative aspects of free time and gender, 30 interviews were conducted with women and 10 interviews with men to record whether there was a definition or a reference for free time. Some results are that while in most cases, men define their free time as a remaining activity, women define it as a coexistence or related to an experience, a mental state, that can be associated or perform with other "compulsory" times.

On the other hand, the woman refers to the lack of time, rather than to the free time and restrictions that she mentions. The demand for "more time" in women is related to demands within the domestic sphere, while in men they are related to paid work. Lastly, the obligation that women feel with respect to covering family demands make them live differently than men their possible access to free time (Fanger, 2018). When asking women how they would define or feel related to their free time, some even said they felt guilty when they had it and prefer to do activities like read, study or even talk with their mother, while others reported a "rest linked with an activity", stating that they rest while they sew or knit o the subway (Fanger, 2018).

Some conclusions of this study were that men's mentions of free time are almost always absolute and a single activity is carried out, while women's mentions are relative and several simultaneous times coexist, it is not mentioned it as an independent, unique event. Also, among women, free time activities that usually are considered as work, are often mentioned: I pick firewood, sew, stew, I am with my children alone, etc. This is for sure because paid work clarifies their compulsory and rest or recreational time, but at home, time is non-stop (Fanger, 2018).

This work also showed the need to go deep into the relationship of free time not only with gender, but also with social class, since it recorded some of the differences in terms of the distribution of time and its valuation, especially between middle- and upper-class women and men.

Although the data are enlightening, they are not new, at least for me. At home, my mother never stopped working full time, in addition of taking care of housework, she also was taking care of my sister and me. When she had time to rest, usually

after eating and cleaning the kitchen, while my father took his nap, my mother used to "use" the time to call my grandmother or do some other pending tasks. When I asked to lie down for a while, she would always say: "I can't be without doing anything."

As a result, in the world, with very few exceptions, women work longer hours than men. A study from the University of Michigan found that husbands create an extra 7 hours of housework for women every week (Criado Perez, 2019). An Australian study also found that women spend more time doing housework even when they are single and working full-time. Although single women do slightly more housework than single men, men and women spend the most time doing housework during the single period. Later, when women start to cohabit, regardless of their employment status, their housework time will increase, while men will decrease. These gender gaps in housework will persist over time and will further expand when children enter the picture (Ruppanner, 2017).

As a result, in the world, with very few exceptions, women work longer hours than men. Not all countries have access to sex-disaggregated data, but for countries with data, the trend is clear. The size of the gap varies from country to country of course (the World Bank estimates that in Uganda, women work an average of 15 hours a day, while men work an average of 9 hours a day), but the gap remains more or less the same (Criado Perez, 2019).

However, the reality is that half of the world's population has a female body. Half of the world's population must deal with the sexual threats to this body every day, also the entire global population needs care that is currently provided mainly by women without compensation. These are not niche issues, so if public space is really suitable for everyone, we must start to think about the lives of the other half of the world. And, as Criado Perez says, this is not just a question of justice, it is also a simple question of economics (Criado Perez, 2019).

3.6 Sex-disaggregated data in paid work

According to the National Bureau of Statistics, the number of working mothers in England has increased by more than 1 million in the past 20 years, but according to the writer Hadley Freeman, this also means that many women are growing up without a roadmap for how to do this. If we talk about working mothers without considering the roles that men must play, we are only seeing half of the picture (Freeman H. , 2018).

Preliminary data collected by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound, 2020), shows that the COVID-19 crisis is likely to cause a sharp decline in employment in the EU. There is still a lack of evidence on the impact between specific groups, but according to EIGE (2020), due to the additional unpaid care responsibilities caused by the closure of schools and childcare facilities, women may face a greater risk of unemployment, which may be

difficult to integrate with employment; for single parents this is especially true because the vast majority of them are women. In addition, women are more likely than men to engage in unstable or informal jobs and have limited access to various jobs and social protection, which puts them at a particularly disadvantaged position (EIGE, 2020).

According to the European Statistical System (Eurostat), in 2018, one-third of employed women worked part-time in the EU (30%), almost four times as many as men (8%). Similar patterns have been observed in all member states (Eurostat, 2020). It is well known that the hourly pay for part-time work is lower than that of full-time work, partly because senior positions are rarely offered as job-share or flexible working hours. As a result, women end up in jobs that are below their skill level, and these jobs provide them with the flexibility they need, but unfortunately, as Criado Perez states, not the pay they deserve:

"Some call women's segregation into low-paid work a choice. But it's a funny kind of choice when there is no realistic option other than the children not being cared for and the housework not getting done" (Criado Perez, 2019: 76).

A "choice-that-isn't-a-choice" like Criado Perez calls it, is making the women poor. The recent study from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), found that compared with men, the gender pay gap in hourly wages is much larger in countries where women spend a lot of time on unpaid care (Ferrant et al, 2014). All this makes women face extreme poverty in their later years, partly because they simply cannot save for it. But this is also because when the government is designing pension plans, they did not consider the lower lifetime income of women. For instance, the payments received by pensioners are directly based on their past contributions and the number of years the person is expected to receive benefits. As Criado Perez argues, this is not entirely a data gap, because most of the data does exist, but unless the government uses it, collecting it is useless (Criado Perez, 2019).

"This means women are penalized for the following: having to take time out for unpaid care work; early retirement (still a legal requirement in certain countries and professions); and for living longer" (Criado Perez, 2019:77).

In addition to solving the problem of male bias in pensions, the government should also address the poverty problem of women in old age by introducing policies that enable them to continue in paid work. This begins, but certainly does not end, with properly paid maternity leave (Criado Perez, 2019), especially because not all maternity leave policies are created equal. The length of time and the amount provided are important. If women are not given enough time off, they may leave the paid workforce altogether or change to part-time work. According to the New York Times, when Google noticed that they were losing twice as many women who had just given birth as other employees, they increased maternity leave from three

months of partial pay to five months at full pay. Turnover rate it is down by 50% (Miller, 2012).

Another recent analysis in Australia found that the best paid maternity leave period to ensure women continue to participate in paid labor was between seven months and one year. But still, no country in the world provides adequate paid maternity leave for this length of period. Compared with other industrialized countries, women's paid labor participation in the United States is actually declining—a 2013 study found that the lack of family-friendly policies accounted for nearly one-third of the difference (Criado Perez, 2019). As Criado Perez states, there seems to be no reason not to make such policies based on who is actually carrying the child and/or the primary caregiver. But this is still not happening and is not because paternity leave is not important, because it is indeed important, but besides simple fairness issues, considering fathers should have the right to participate in the lives of their children, the existing data shows that appropriate paid paternity leave has a positive impact on women's employment (Criado Perez, 2019).

For example, Sweden's paternity leave policy is one of the most generous (and innovative when introduced) in the world. Since 1995, Sweden has reserved a month's parental leave for fathers (paid at 90% of income). This month cannot be transferred to the mother: the father must use this leave, otherwise the couple will lose their total leave allowance. This increased to two months in 2002 and further increased to three months in 2016 (Jackson, 2015). Before the introduction of "use it or lose it" leave for fathers, only about 6% of men in Sweden took paternity leave, even though they had been able to take paternity leave since 1974. In other words, men did not ask for leave before the government forced them (Criado Perez, 2019).

However, persistence is worthwhile, because the benefits of a policy that support in the law equal parental responsibility for the children that, after all, as Criado Perez says, both parents have created, are long-lasting. According to the New York Times, men on paternity leave tend to be more involved in childcare in the future (Miller, 2014). This perhaps explains why a 2010 Swedish study found that for every month of leave taken by the father, the mother's future income increased by an average of 7% (Bennhold, 2010). However, evidence-based parental leave policies cannot solve all problems, because women's unpaid work does not start and end with newborns, and traditional workplaces are tailored to the lives of mythical unencumbered workers:

"He – and it implicitly is a he – doesn't need to concern himself with taking care of children and elderly relatives, of cooking, of cleaning, of doctor's appointments, and grocery shopping, and grazed knees, and bullies, and homework, and bath-time and bedtime, and starting it all again tomorrow. His life is simply and easily divided into two parts: work and leisure" (Criado Perez, 2019: 85-86).

The good news is that some companies have already tried to address male biases hidden in traditional workplaces and workdays. Some examples: Campbell Soup

company provides on-site after-school courses and summer courses for employees' children. Google provides takeaway food allowances in the first three months after the baby is born, subsidies for childcare services, and provides convenience facilities such as dry cleaners on campus, so employees can handle errands during the working day. Sony Ericsson and Evernote went further, paying to their employees to get clean their houses. U.S. workplaces are increasingly providing special breastfeeding space for new mothers, and if they must travel during breastfeeding, American Express will even pay for the delivery of breast milk to home (Criado Perez, 2019).

The reality is that around the world, work cultures based on ideological beliefs that prevail in male needs continue to disadvantage women (Criado Perez, 2019). This also happen in Academia, and in Germany, Nobel Prize-winning developmental biologist Christiane Nüsslein-Volhard, has done something about it. She found significant differences in the time available to her PhD students and paid special attention of how this was disadvantaging women with children (Purtill, 2017). She then set up a foundation for "committed researchers" whose children received full-time care during the day. Finalists will receive a one-month allowance that can be used in anything that reduces the domestic burden: house cleaning services, time-saving appliances such as dishwashers or electric dryers, night and weekends babysitters when the daycare centers are closed or unavailable. The recipient must study a postgraduate or post-doctorate job at a German university, and the most important thing: she must be woman (Criado Perez, 2019).

It is obvious, that the paid work culture as a whole needs to be completely reformed. It needs to be considered that women are not the unburdened workers that traditional workplaces aim to adapt to. And even if men are more likely to adapt to this ideal, they are more and more men that no longer want it. After all, all of us, including companies, are inseparable from the invisible and unpaid work caregivers do. This is just a fact that we should now stop punishing women for it, instead, we must begin to recognize it, value it, and design paid workplaces to account for it (Criado Perez, 2019). But to reform this paid work culture, also cities must support these working women. In addition to increasing women's paid employment (and therefore GDP as we saw before in *Mobility women´s needs and urban planning policies*) by actively creating new employment opportunities for women, investing in social infrastructure can also increase women's paid employment by reducing the unpaid labor that women engage in (Criado Perez, 2019).

In the European Union, women spend less time at get to work than men on average. Caring responsibilities play a major role in women's decisions to prioritize shorter commutes and work closer to home. Among women and men in couples with children, the gender gap is even greater, with women spending on average, six minutes less commuting to and from work. According to the European Institute for Gender Equality, in most of the European Member States, women in couples with

children spend less time commuting than men. With women potentially compromising their career for location, they are likely to have a smaller pool of jobs to choose from, which could limit their career and pay prospects (Eurofound, EWCS, 2015).

Access to affordable, high-quality public infrastructure, such as care and education facilities, health services, and transportation, affects women's and men's opportunities to balance paid work with other activities. The unbalanced division of care responsibilities and housework between men and women affects the way they use or require certain types of transportation and infrastructure. As we have seen, commuting time can be a good indicator of whether existing public infrastructure helps or hinders women and men from handling daily activities (Eurofound, EWCS, 2015).

3.7 Towards more inclusive data

In a world where decisions are based on data, missing, incomplete, and poor-quality data are harmful and prevent and hinder progress in achieving gender equality. Insufficient data on the diversity of women's lives and experiences hide these realities and help maintain inequality—especially the ways in which intersecting factors and overlapping identities form and compound experiences of poverty and inequality. Significant resources worldwide continue to be used to fund household-level data collection, which systematically obscures the life experiences of individuals in these families (Mind the (gender data) gap, n.d.).

In recent decades, participatory design in urban planning has begun to look for new tools to collect qualitative data about urban user experience. Which means that the more insights and accurate data we have now, the greater our chances of influencing future spatial planning (Akins, 2005). Survey tools based on maps and smartphones have been developed to collect location-specific data on the quality of specific locations from actual users of the space. This approach can increasingly be used to enhance those who feel uncomfortable in public spaces and help city planners better understand why and how these experiences change (Akins, 2005).

Also, due to the lack of racial data on a global scale, "Data for Black Lives" is a campaign dedicated to using data science to create concrete and measurable changes in black lives. Others have developed toolkits, manuals, data standards, and information on data collection methods to support more inclusive data (Mind the (gender data) gap, n.d.). The Inclusive Data Charter is an initiative of the Sustainable Development Data Global Partnership. It was launched in 2018 to promote the availability and use of inclusive and disaggregated data so that governments and organizations can better understand, and address inequalities based on people's needs, marginalization and disadvantages experiences (Mind the (gender data) gap, n.d.).

Crucially, the data of decision makers allows people to understand the situation, priorities and life realities of various individuals. This means making better use of existing data while closing the data gap by collecting more and better gender data. Only with a collaborative and intersectional perspective can everyone truly participate in the development of the city. With this, we can design a city where everyone really feels welcome (Akins, 2005).

3. SUPPORTING FEM*KUTSCHI

As we have seen, since ages, women have been at the core of urban planning and development. They are not only important users of urban space in the traditional role of family managers, but also the main producers of the community environment as community leaders, but also the initiators and members of the neighbor network. Keeping in mind the intersecting nature of urban space co-living, the current development of urban infrastructure needs to be refurbished to promote more obvious gender equality in its use and benefits (Jacob, 2018). It has been noted that a major trend in urban planning and development reflects the male view that women are the mainly caregivers. Therefore, more gendered inclusiveness is essential for a sustainable environment, which requires a radical change in our thinking and behavior after we examine families, communities, towns and cities from a gendered perspective (Jacob, 2018).

In the essay "Feminist approaches to urban design," (Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2011) Kristen Day explains, how different constraints disadvantage women's use of environments. These constraints include house-work and childcare responsibilities that restrict women's travel convenience, as well as traditional gender norms for safety and modesty that hinder women's freedom in public spaces. When these experiences reinforce or reproduce oppressive gender relations, women's use of the urban environment may be restricted. When women demand their own space and challenge restrictive gender norms regarding their location, resistance to the use of the urban environment may be posed (Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2011). Examples might include women's health centers and women's bookstores, although often, the most strategic solution is not necessarily a design intervention.

It is now clear that although the lives of an elderly widow, for example, in inner cities and low-income lesbian mothers renting in gentrifying neighborhoods look different, interventions that improve one person's access to city services and amenities may benefit the other. As we have seen, accessible transportation, plowed sidewalks, affordable housing, safe and clean public toilets, access to community gardens, livable minimum wages, and shared spaces such as prepared meals will relieve many family burdens, not mentioning that it will also contribute to other important goals, such as environmental sustainability (Kern, 2020a).

During my last semester at the Berlin Technical University, I participated on the design studio Fem*city Berlin. Based on the assumption that social power and gender relations are engraved in the spatial structure of our cities, the goal of the studio was to rethink spaces in a particular area in Berlin by bringing a different kind of justice into the city through a queer-feminist perspective. As Dolores Hayden argued in her essay "What would a non-sexist city be like?":

"Dwellings, neighborhoods, and cities designed for homebound women constrain women physically, socially, and economically (…) I contend that the only remedy for this situation is to develop a new paradigm of the home, the neighborhood, and the city; to begin to describe the physical, social, and economic design of a human settlement" (Hayden, 1980: S171).

In the design studio, we looked for feminist urban design strategies to reveal and offset them. Based on six test sites in different urban contexts in Berlin possible spatial, organizational, economic, social or symbolic changes were explored. Then, based on the specific location problems discovered, a transformation strategy was developed for each location, which can be interpreted as fragments of a feminist city, weaving oneself into the existing environment and changing it. During the semester we read feminists texts about gender and the city, from Doreen Massey, Jane Rendell, Dolores Hayden, Griselda Pollock, among others.

The project, made in collaboration with two other colleagues, was focused on strengthening female sports and care facilities, as a form of commons. With the help of a non-profit association, we wanted that reproductive work could find new shared forms, maximizing time for recreation and sociability. Following a method that we called "Hacking the program," the project set new rules and negotiations for the use of the existing leftover and underused spaces (most of them empty now because of the COVID-19 pandemic) situated between our area as a public node under transformation and the current women support organization *Interkultureller Mädchentreff* that is in the neighborhood. Since female participation rates in sport and active recreation remain lower than males (Reece et al, 2017), we wanted to intervene as well by hacking the existing public sportsground in the area, we wanted to introduce a form of resistance against gender-based exclusion and stereotyping, while supporting a new representation of women[4] in public spaces.

While working on this project, many questions and debates came up first between my team and then, between the professors and the rest of the class participants. How could we make a design with a gender perspective? How can we make it inclusive for everyone? And specifically, how can we empower these women through this project?

The understanding that spaces cannot be equally inclusive at all times might facilitate the creation of more diverse spaces that suit different urban dwellers' needs (Beebeejaun, 2017). It is important to point out that gender mainstreaming has its limitations and if it is not well thought can be dangerous. For instance, in this design proposal, one of the final critiques was that hacking the vacant store might reinforce gender norms and roles and romantic practices for women who are often seen as the primarily responsible for childcare, so this could reinforce inequalities in domestic and childcare labour.

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[4] For this project, when I talk about "women" and "girls" I include all self-identified women and girls with diverse gender and sexual identities within the gender identity spectrum.

In order to show how the project "Supporting Fem*Kutschi" from the design studio Fem*city Berlin at TU Berlin approaches the design of a non-sexist city, this chapter discuss the dimensions of gender, the intersections between gender and other dimensions of social domination and the various feminist criticisms we took into consideration.

4.1 Statement

Kurt-Schumacher-Platz district residents depend on various networks of social support structures and spaces. In these times of COVID-19 crisis and the uncertainties around Tegel airport redevelopment there is a growing need for strengthening the existing social support structures and extending them with new spaces to empower women.

A care-centered neighborhood praxis rooted in the feminist movement can contribute to a development of a wider political agenda. The project introduces a new spatial network run by a local non-profit association that is focused on strengthening female sports and care facilities as a form of commons. With the help of the association, reproductive work can find new shared forms, maximizing time for recreation and sociability.

The first phase of the work included mapping the socio-spatial structure of the area around Kurt-Schumacher-Platz. While exploring the fragmented character of this part of the city, multiple layers of social infrastructure, existing greenery, cooperative housing and spaces under transformation have become the defining features of the map (Fig. 1). For a better grasp of the historical changes and upcoming challenges, several residents as well as the founding manager of Girl's and Women's Center *Interkultureller Mädchentreff* were interviewed.

In the second phase of the work, a new strategy evolved to transform left-over and limited access spaces into a new form of commons based on female sports and care work. The project introduced a scheme for a non-profit association to run the new care-centered infrastructure, carrying out negotiations with existing social actors, who own and govern properties in the area, and advising the municipal authorities to set up new rules and social obligations, limiting the speculative drive of private property owners.

The strategy followed a method that we called 'hacking the program'; namely, it operates to rewrite "bits of code" in the existing infrastructural system, producing programmatic alternatives based on female lived experiences and spatial embodiment, formulating first steps towards a non-sexist city.
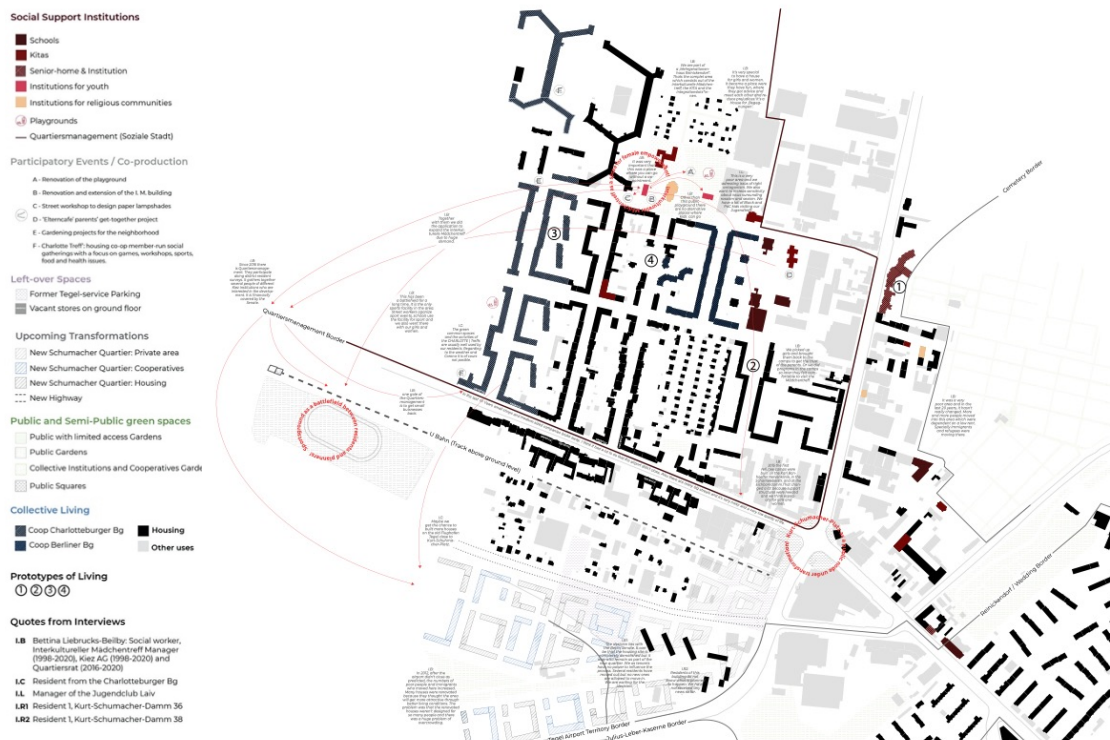

Fig.1 Kurt-Schumacher-Platz Map

The first intervention site was a vacant store close to Kurt-Schumacher-Platz. By adding an active form, the former workshop becomes reprogrammed into a space that enables care work across gender and generational boundaries. Here the new association will run a kindergarten and a health care facility for women (Fig. 2). It becomes an example that can be adapted to other vacancies, forming a wide network for spaces of care.

Uses
- *Flexible timing programs for women*.*
- *Workshops encouraging women* and girls to become active and involved in sport and active recreation.*
- *Inviting gathering community spaces.*

Space elements
Zonification of different activities that allow diversity:

First floor
- *Kids area*
- *Kitchen*
- *Dining room*

2nd floor
- *Fitness area*
- *Coffee shop*
- *Changing room*
- *Care facilities*
- *Social area*

Dynamics
Providing different programs during the day for all women conviving sports and social facilities with child care and healthy food.*

Mobility
Guarantee adequate conditions for movement, connection and accessibility with strollers to the place.
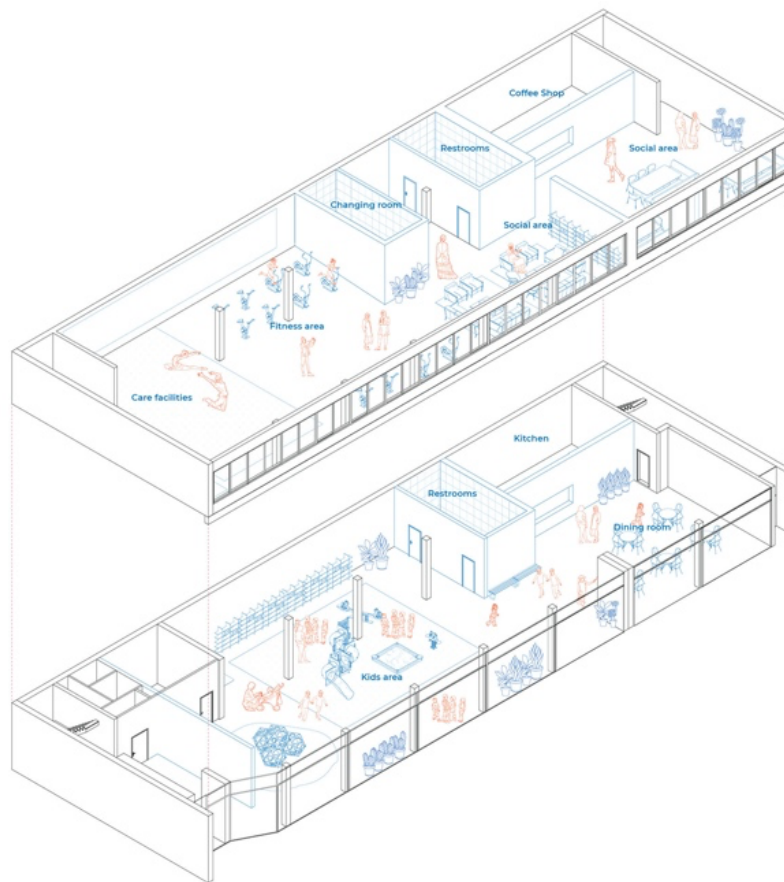
Fig.2 Hacking the Vacant store

Based on interviews with residents and questionnaires, where girls aged 9 to 17 described their free time activities and wishes for the neighborhood, the second intervention aims to 'hack the program' of the sportsground next to U-Bahnhof Scharnweberstraße (Fig.3). This sportsground had been mostly used by male football associations. To address the need for a gender-equal sports infrastructure and to compensate for the lack of recreational spaces, the intervention reprograms the field into a landscape of diverse indoor and outdoor activities. Based on a dialectical juxtaposition, the visitor is directed from passive contemplative spaces, such as meditation zones and food gardens, into active sport facilities and back again. The fragments are sewn together by using the structure of a pergola that can, by itself, be adaptable to include new additions such as gender neutral changing rooms and various spatial elements.
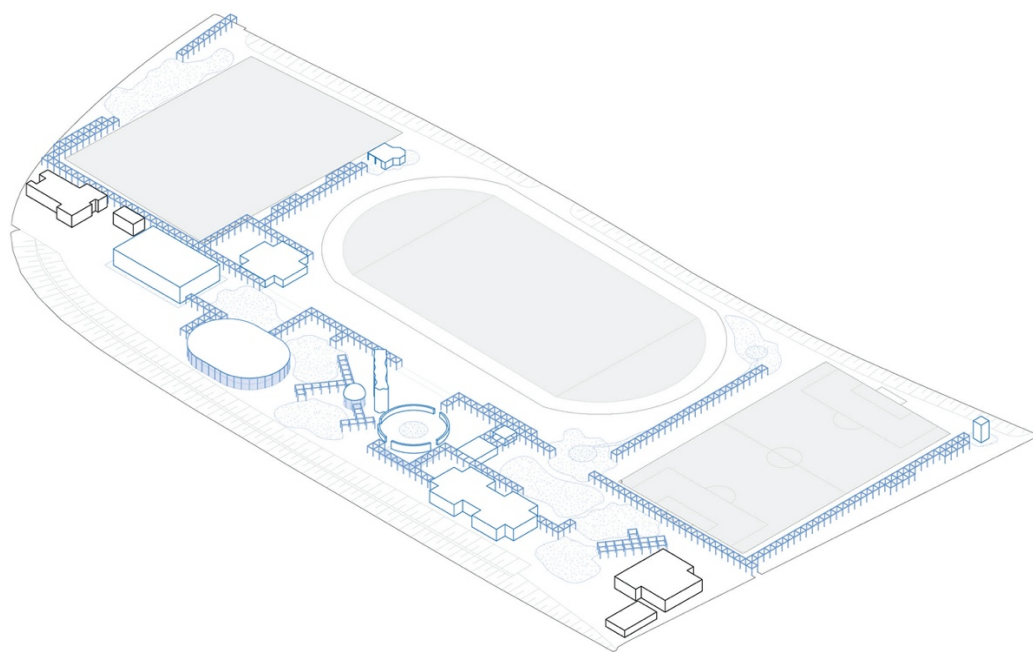
Fig.3 Hacking the Sportsground

4.2 Dimensions of gender

The project addresses various dimensions of gender through the ways in which it offers support to women in the surrounding community. We can break this support down into three different categories: (1) structure (2) gender (3) empowerment. The category structure (1) contains the dimensions: structural order, institution and division of labour. The second (2), contains gender roles, undoing gender and gender as feeling. The last, empowerment (3) includes the dimension of knowledge systems. The following part of the text explains how these dimensions have been incorporated into the design of the project.

The non-profit organization was designed as a meeting centre for women to organize events on the sportsground and offers general support for women in the neighborhood. This institution helps to develop a space that contradicts the existing structural order, and institutional realities (1). It allows women to experience participation in community decision-making in a structure specifically addressing the needs of the women in the surrounding area. The paradigm of the institution is to provide community support that exclusively addresses female realities. This mean that otherwise societally ignored forms of labour, for example reproductive work, becomes a central theme. It provides support in parenting labour through

onsite child-care, and consideration of child-care schedules by providing institutional support during hours outside of "normal" business hours.

The sportsground (Fig.4) provides a space for women to participate in activities and sports they are otherwise excluded from or where equivalent public-spaces are male dominated, helping them to escape gender roles/expectations and constraints (2). It's an act of undoing gender by performing in activities otherwise defined outside their expected gender/behaviour, for example by playing sports in a space in which female sport activity is not the exception but the rule. The sportsground creates gender specific space allowing women to identify with one another, and their related struggles. We tried to create a space in which women can experience a feeling of belonging and a sense of ownership. Through this ability to identify with others in a space that is not defined by female passivity but rather female activity, gender expression and self-identification is emphasized.
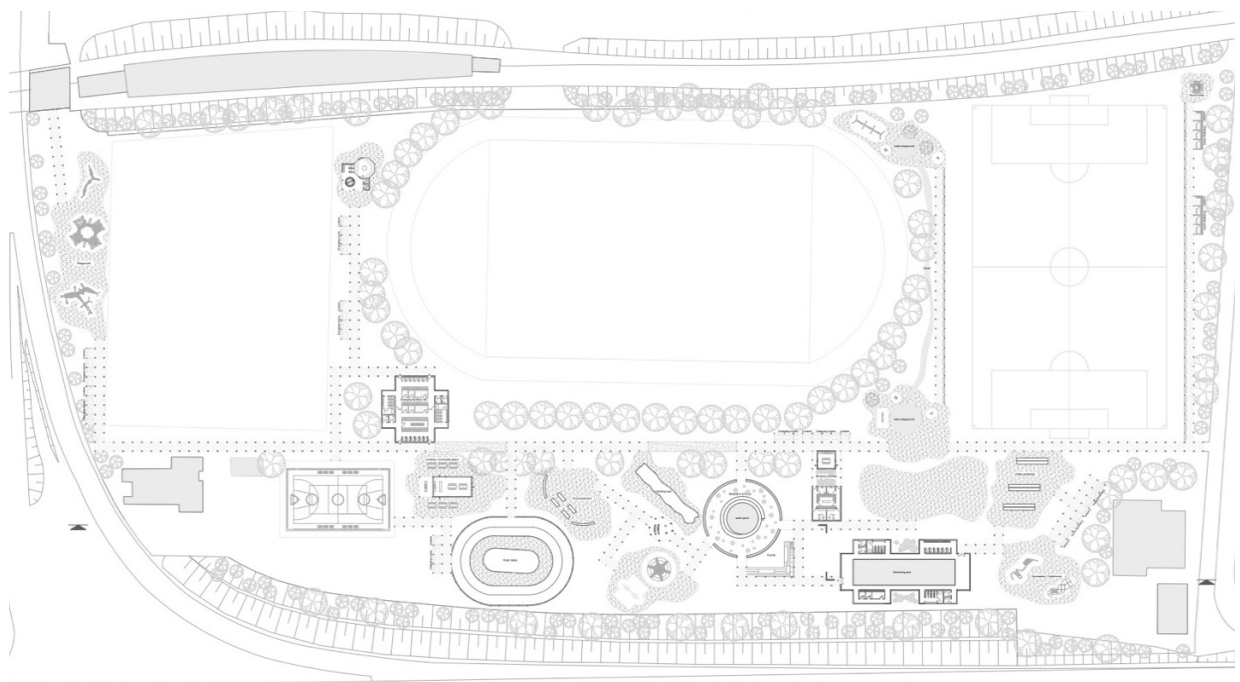

Fig.4 Sportsground intervention floorplan

The project also provides space for learning various skills and activities, developing tools of empowerment through knowledge (3) of various forms of expression, for example a stage for performance, and fields for physical training. Other community spaces on the complex help develop knowledge of community collectivisation through a community kitchen design. This type of reproductive labour is shared, in contradiction to the existing isolated family labour structure in which this task is often carried out by women individually. They become familiar with a sense of

ownership of the products of their labour, as it is done not within the patriarchal family, but rather both labour and product are shared and owned by women.

4.3 Intersections between gender and other dimensions of social domination

The project took into consideration intersections of class, disability, religion, gender identity, age, and race. As we have been saying, the core of intersectionality is acknowledging that all women do not share the same levels of discrimination just because they are women (Coleman, 2019) hence they experience the space in different ways. We believe that by "hacking the program" the interventions made on the sportsground as well as at the vacant stores can benefit different women.

We took into consideration for the sportsground´s strategy different women of a wide age range. For teenage girls we proposed a roller derby track (Fig. 5 and 8) on the sportsground. This is a sport practiced practically by women because it fights against the idea of masculinity in sport, claiming the strength of women, so it is another way to break taboos and claim female empowerment. In words of Michelle Glorioso: "Roller derby has a lot to offer to women and to feminism (…), it encroaches on cultural elements usually reserved for men: sports, violence, and sexism" (Glorioso, 2011: 41)

Fig.5 Roller derby track prototype

Another important topic that we discussed a lot were the public toilets and changing rooms. We knew from the interview with Bettina Liebrucks-Beilby (Social worker and *Interkultureller Mädchentreff* Manager) that public toilets were a real need for women in this area. Access to toilets outside the home is important to women, particularly because many women menstruate and need to urinate more frequently (Kern, 2020a). We wanted to avoid typical gender-segregated public toilets that enforce binary perceptions of gender and silence queer and trans identities. We arrived at this decentralized gender-neutral toilets and changing rooms (Fig 6 and

8), we took into consideration safety and different religions aspects that might make women not feel comfortable by taking a shower next to a man for instance.
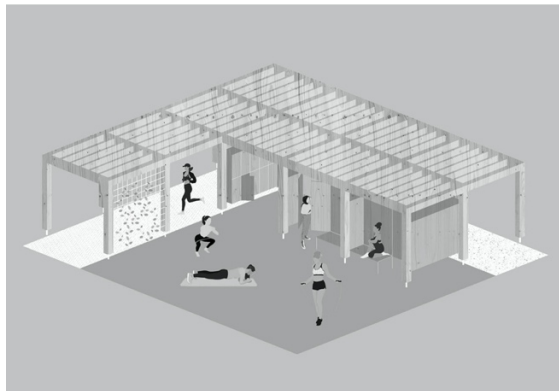

Fig.6 Decentralized gender-neutral toilets and changing rooms

Since this area has many immigrants, we wanted to avoid discrimination because of women ethnicity or nationality. Based on this, the community kitchen is a shared space for things like meal preparation, cooking workshops and events. This, together with the community garden (Fig.7), that will also serve the women fitness club at the vacant store, will relieve burdens on many kinds of households, not to mention contribute to other important goals such as environmental sustainability.
We combat gender discrimination by having a special schedule with time slots for the use of the soccer field exclusively for women, to avoid male dominance in the field. Also, on the swimming pool (Fig.8), it will have special hours exclusively to offer temporary safe spaces for the LGBTQ+ community.
Talking about the class, since most of privatized public space push the lower-class to the outskirts of the cities, we wanted to leave the sportsground as open and barrier free as possible. Also, we wanted to make the workers facilities building (Fig.8) more visible in our design because it is something that most of the time is designed to be far from the entrance (with a secondary access) or even hidden.

Fig.7 Community Garden

On the vacant store project, we created a space that can make care work and social reproduction more collective, less exhausting, and more equitable. Also, here we wanted to have special programs and workshops for girls and women, as Bettina Liebrucks-Beilby told us: "there is a special need for education programs and support for refugee girls and women in the area because they are not used to have their own space and especially not used to use public institutions. Therefore, it is very important to teach the language and have career-promoting programs".
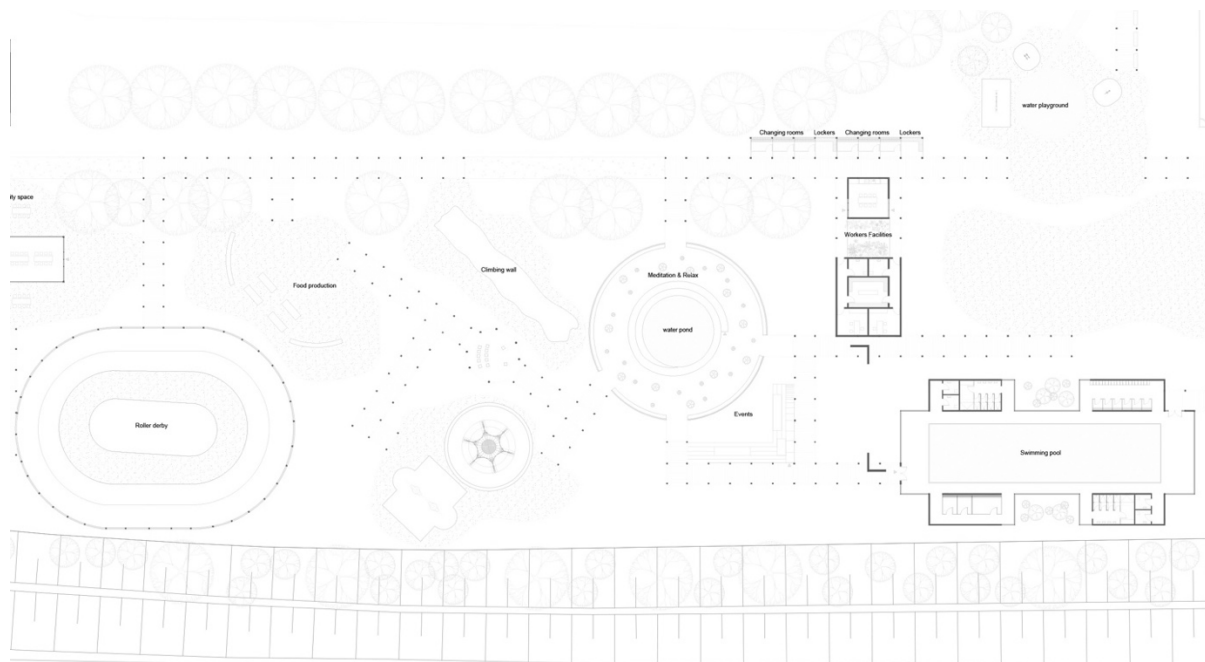

Fig.8 Sportsground intervention floorplan zoom-in

4.4 Feminist approaches in the project
Our project mainly follows four feminist approaches: care-focused feminism (C. Gilligan), liberal feminism (D. Hayden), socialist feminism (I.M. Young) and Marxist feminism (S. Federici).
Care-focused or also known as ethics of care is a term popularized by American psychologist Carol Gilligan. As we have explained before, in the ethics of care, actions are carried out aimed at responding to the basic needs of a person who cannot meet them alone. And, in this process, the details, the tiny gestures are very important, which, in short, are what make life pleasant and give it meaning. By promoting new forms of care taking in community space and intersectional practices of hosting, sharing and repairing a new infrastructure of care can be developed. We share this belief and apply the idea of "care + repair prototypes" to the re-

programming of various empty stores along *Scharnweberstraße* and to redevelop the public sportsground with infrastructure for gender equality.

The idea of hacking the program and reprogramming unjust spaces into new commons arrives both from Keller Easterling's statement: "The infrastructural operating system is filled with well-rehearsed sequences of code – spatial products and repeatable formulas like zones, suburbs, highways, resorts, malls, golf courses. Hacking into it requires forms that are also like software." (Easterling, 2014: 72) and from Dolores Hayden's liberal feminist urban reformist approach. Hayden asks: "Is it possible to build non-sexist neighbourhoods and design non-sexist cities?" (Hayden, 1980: 266). For reorganizing both home, work and neighbourhood, she proposes "HOMES" (Homemakers Organization for More Egalitarian Society), a small participatory organization. The existing male dominated environment would be reprogrammed into a cooperative movement and extended into a feminist direction. Supporting Fem*Kutschi project for a district-wide non-profit association running a network of reprogrammed spaces has its roots in these lines of thought.

About social justice the project's approach was influenced by philosopher Iris Marion Young. Young criticizes the liberal distributive paradigm that regards persons as primarily consumers of goods. She shifts the idea of social justice to a focus on procedural issues of participation in deliberation and decision-making (Young, 1990). In the project co-production, equal rights and communing practices have a central role. Young claims that the concept of justice coincides with the concept of the political, according to her "the concept of domination and oppression, rather than concept of distribution, should be the starting point for a conception of social justice" (Young, 1990: 16). In the project we emphasize the importance to address the concrete and existing inequalities in the district. Oppression and domination consist in systematic institutional processes and conditions, which inhibit or prevent people in participating in determining their actions. In her essay "Throwing like a girl" Young concludes that "women in sexist society are physically handicapped" (Young, 2004: 42). In a patriarchal system, women are physically inhibited, confined, positioned and objectified. Only by fighting against the existing systemic domination and oppression, we can develop an emancipatory vision. Some examples from the project include firstly the support for the sportsground to remain public (instead of being taken over by the upcoming neighborhood *Schumacher Quartier*) and become a space supporting new representation of women in public; secondly, an initiative for new municipal rules and obligations for private property owners of vacant stores, in order to turn these into feminist common spaces.

Regarding the theme of gendered division of labour, our approach was influenced by feminist Silvia Federici's work, in her book "Wages against housework" she deals with the issue of domestic work, and she analyses how capitalism has always relayed on this unpaid housework. Demanding wages for domestic work, she states that *"when we struggle for wages, we struggle unambiguously and directly against our*

social role" (Federici, 1975: 5). Under the subtitle "The struggle for social services" Federici concludes with the proposal of socialization and collectivization of housework. In the project with the help of the non-profit association, reproductive work can find new shared forms, maximizing time for recreation and sociability. The re-programmed vacant store functions both as a kindergarten and a female health care facility. In addition, the redesigned sportsground offers spaces for shared reproductive work, cooking, care-spaces for children and spaces for collective gardening.

4.5 Supporting Fem*Kutschi Critiques

At the end of the design fem*city studio, we were asked to analyse our own project, and to identified weak points in it. In terms of gender dimensions, we analysed the discourses on gendered language practices, gender constructivism, and desire related to sexual and romantic practices. Though there are physical elements that engage in linguistic gender discourse, insofar that we create a space in opposition to normative male dominated spaces, within our own design, discursive elements were not a focus point. While our project alleviated and helped women in the community, with an attempt to build community organization, we did so as minor rejection of much broader problems. This did not allow us to challenge the way gender is communicated as whole in the community. Related to this, we also might fail to challenge gender through a constructivist lens; we might empower women and girls to break certain gender roles, but at the same time the focus on reproductive labour does not break expectation of the female gender as being responsible for care work, but rather collectivizes reproductive labour among women. At the same time, normative aspects of sexuality and romantic desire were not explicitly challenged either. While the expectation is that we have been able to design an inclusive space, without specifically addressing issues related to non-normative practices, we cannot expect this to provide the same level of empowerment as for the gender dimensions we specifically address.

Developing this project based on a wide range of programs can also be limiting and might have unwanted consequences. It requires a lot of effort to follow up the different activities and workshops proposed, since it is not yet clear how the residents will like the programs. In addition, the proposed spaces cannot be equally inclusive at all times. The process of communing requires grassroots' participation and continuous motivation. If this project is a step towards building new solidarities and connecting women and the LQBTQ community, then we should ask, who will have the interest and the time to participate.

Finally, the project ends with a manifesto to join the fight towards a non-sexist city claiming that "Fighting for a non-sexist city is building spaces and networks of support and empowerment". The times that I have presented this project, because

we also presented it at the women support organization *Interkultureller Mädchentreff,* I like to finish saying, or rather acknowledging that this design proposal might not be the solution, but the importance of this type of projects lies in opening the debate because the answers may or may not be but the important is to start the narrative.

CONCLUSIONS

What would care-full urban futures look like? Is the center question that remains in Leslie Kern book "Feminist City", where she claims for a feminist city. According to her, a feminist city must be a city that removes physical and social barriers, welcomes and accommodates all bodies. A feminist city must be care-centered, not because women should continue to be primarily responsible for care, but because the city has the potential to distribute care more evenly. A feminist city must seek creative tools that women have always used to support each other and find ways to integrate this support into the structure of the urban world (Kern, 2020a).

Therefore, it is important to make intersectionality less research-oriented and more practice-oriented. As I have already pointed out, the design strategy in Chapter IV might not be the answer, but it could be a good way to start the debate about creating spaces that value diversity and inclusion. We need a space for everyone, but we also need everyone to have a space to promote diversity, just like in this kind of projects. In this way, this project may be feminist in content, in that it challenges power by choice of the design strategy; in form, in that it challenges power by shifting the way in which the women experiment the urban space; and in process, in that it challenges power by building participatory and inclusive processes in both the vacant store and the sportsground. When we count in our own communities, after careful consideration and care, we can work to rebalance the unequal distribution of power. As we have seen, when intersectionality becomes part of the urban planning process, cities can better serve citizens. The real difficulty in resolving the complexity of the concept of intersectionality lies in understanding that identity is a dynamic structure related to certain social organizers or inequality. Therefore, intersectionality is a continuous process that enables planners to understand that the experience of space and mobility is different due to personal identity or identity intersection. Intersectionality can help us design better cities for everyone, even those living on the margins. I have explained how feminist research have contributed to better configure urban structures, infrastructure, and convenience facilities by emphasizing women's perspectives in order to be sensitive to women's concerns and needs in the built environment, thereby contributing to a better design. Only by integrating the different experiences and needs of women and men into urban planning and design, can it be possible to form an inclusive urban planning process, public space and land management.

By understanding how design contributes to the reproduction of such categories of identity, hegemony, and forms of oppression, we can create urban policies that enact the potential of intersectionality into urban design. In this way we can create spaces

that make care work and social reproduction more collective, less tiring, and fairer y integrating gender mainstreaming into all aspects of urban life. For example, by considering women's care responsibilities in urban planning, we make it easier for women to fully participate in the paid labor force, and as we have seen in previous chapters, this is an important driver of GDP. Also, when we consider women's socialization when designing open spaces and public activities, in the long run, we once again save money by ensuring women's long-term health.

Not including the perspective of women is a big driver of an unintentional male bias that affect almost every aspect of our lives from public transportation to politics. By including a feminist perspective, we must consider the differences between women and men, otherwise we could create systems and spaces that strengthen the status quo. But also, as we have seen, when considering these differences, we must also consider differences among women. In this way, we must continue to promote the empowerment of women and men who support feminist agendas in planning and design. We must also recognize the many ways women play a leadership role in shaping cities and communities. And finally, we must work to reduce the restrictions that affect women's use of the urban environment (especially those related to childcare and family care), while also challenging the gender roles that put women at a disadvantage. It is important to work with policymakers to resolve potential issues related to the role and status of women, while we continue to improve the quality of the urban environment to support the lives of both women and men.

I believe this can only be achieved by collecting correct data. Because data are never neutral; they are always the biased output of unequal social, historical, and economic conditions: this is once again a matrix of domination. And only when you understand the history, culture and background around it can you discover this pattern. Therefore, it is certain that data is part of the problem. But they are also part of the solution. I believe that analyzing data is a powerful strategy to challenge power and fight for justice.

There is now collaboration between official statistical organizations on how to better and more securely incorporate gender identity into data collection. Although data is critical to visibility, the risks that may arise from increased visibility must be considered, including safety risks for people with different sexual orientations, gender identities and expressions, and sexual characteristics. Because women and minorities themselves do not need more evidence to prove the discrimination they face, because they live it every day. However, when their experiences are recorded as data and combined with the experiences of others, it can be used to challenge the institutional system of power and have a broader impact than just their career trajectories (D'Ignazio & Klein, 2020).

This is what Cathrine D´Ignazio and Lauren Klein (2020) call data feminism: a way of thinking about data, including their uses and their limitations, is determined by

direct experiences, commitment to action, and by intersectional feminist thought. Data feminism is not only related to women, because gender inequality requires more than one gender, and more than one gender is needed to achieve justice (D'Ignazio & Klein, 2020). Therefore, data feminism, like justice, must be both a goal and a process. As we move towards the goal of reshaping the world, it will guide our thoughts and actions.

From my perspective, a feminist city is a city that welcomes everyone and an inclusive city. It can not only solve the challenges faced by people in privileged positions, but also solve those who feel oppressed in public places. The challenges faced by people -just like in a real community, in a feminist city, mutual trust is based on taking collective responsibility for the most difficult problems and taking action to break stereotypes and reimagine the world. The goal of the city should be to promote the integration of marginalized groups for whom it can be said: "When they enter, we will all enter."

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