

THE ANONYMOUS IS FEMININE: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE ARTICULATION BETWEEN WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

EL ANÓNIMO ES FEMENINO: UNA REVISIÓN CRÍTICA DE LA ARTICULACIÓN ENTRE LOS DERECHOS DE LAS MUJERES Y EL DERECHO A LA CIUDAD

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ABSTRACT

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In the following pages, a critical review of the right to the city will be outlined from the perspective of women's rights. The first part of the article discusses the importance of the conceptual contributions of the various currents of feminist theory for the formulation of the right to the city, and the second part presents a brief overview of the main international milestones on the right to the city for women that have been developed from the formulation of the "European Charter for Women in the City" (1995) to the more elaborate proposal on the right to the city at the V World Social Forum (2005), through the review of the documents of the Habitat I, Habitat II and Habitat III Conferences and, mainly, the proposal of the "Charter for the Right of Women to the City" developed within the framework of the World Forum of Women held during the celebration of the Universal Forum of Cultures (Barcelona, July 2004).

RESUMEN

Palabras clave:

derechos de las mujeres, derecho a
la ciudad,
teoría feminista

En las siguientes páginas, se esbozará una revisión crítica del derecho a la ciudad desde la perspectiva de los derechos de las mujeres. En la primera parte del artículo se plantea la importancia de los aportes conceptuales de las diversas corrientes de la teoría feminista para la formulación del derecho a la ciudad y, en la segunda, se presenta un breve recorrido por los principales hitos internacionales sobre el derecho a la ciudad para las mujeres que se han desarrollado desde la formulación de la "Carta Europea de las Mujeres en la Ciudad" (1995) hasta la propuesta más elaborada sobre el derecho a la ciudad en el V Foro Social Mundial (2005), pasando por la revisión de los documentos de las Conferencias Hábitat I, Hábitat II y Hábitat III y, principalmente, por la propuesta de la "Carta por el Derecho de las Mujeres a la Ciudad" elaborada en el marco del Foro Mundial de las Mujeres desarrollado durante la

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celebración del Fórum Universal de las Culturas (Barcelona, julio 2004).

Introduction

Feminist Theory, Women's Rights and the Right to the City: Theoretical Considerations

More than forty years of feminist theory in studies on the city, urban planning and urban architecture, remove the floor of the epistemological structures that support the thinking, planning and construction of cities in which, until today, the hegemonic weight of the "patriarchal reason" is expressed in an extremely forceful way.

Indeed, several feminist philosophers have described the eminently androcentric and sexist quality of scientific thought. Feminists call this hegemonic and dominant way of thinking "patriarchal reason". Celia Amorós (1991) has proposed a profound characterization of patriarchal reason, referring mainly to modern philosophical science as an eminently patriarchal, misogynist and sexist discourse which, in addition, has been capable, over the last three centuries, of scientifically substantiating the patriarchal social order (the expansion of patriarchal reason to practically all world societies has been carried out through the processes of colonization).

In this sense, the sexist quality that characterizes modern philosophical and scientific thought, manages to construct and reinvent, at different historical moments, an ideology that symbolically and scientifically bases male superiority as natural and exalts female inferiority based, mainly, on the universal maternal discipline over women, due to which they maintain a way of being and being in the world extremely close to nature and, therefore, exempt from reason; women are, from this perspective, a kind of 'cosmic teat'. The critical alternative proposed by feminist thinkers and philosophers, in particular, consists in irrationalizing modern philosophical foundations in order to disarticulate the ordered set of meanings on which the order of power inherent to patriarchal reason is based.

María-Ángeles Durán (2008) states, with great common sense, that:

There are very few publications on the city and architecture made *from* the perspective of women, and we all agree on that. But hardly anyone dwells on the fact that the publications that do exist on city and architecture, to which we turn to form or understand ourselves and to make decisions, have been written *from the male perspective*, even most of those that define the relationship between the city and women. (p. 22)

This does not mean, obviously, that it is not possible to find more distant antecedents of women who have theorized about the city, urban planning and urban architecture (Durán herself makes an interesting journey in this regard since the late nineteenth century), although it is true that the irruption of feminist theory in academic proposals and analyses of this nature has been more recent.

In the same sense, the presence of women only began to be significant in the areas of urban management, design and planning in the second half of the twentieth century, coinciding with the expansion of women's possibilities for participation in institutions linked to the public-political-productive space, as well as with the identification of the third wave of feminism (Durán, 2008). In this regard, Teresa del Valle indicates that "the consideration of the city from the gender systems, in which the spatiotemporal methodological strategy could be framed, is still in its beginnings" (Del Valle, 1996, p. 98).

Indeed, the theoretical contributions of feminism, in each and every one of its currents, represent an interdisciplinary theoretical-practical proposal of proven academic interest to address new readings of the discussions on social and economic inequalities, taking into account the differential impact of the patriarchal system in

societies and its determining influence on the development processes of societies and cities.

Feminist theory has been constituted as a multi, inter and transdisciplinary theoretical *corpus* whose main core is the critique of *patriarchal reason* that seeks to demonstrate and explain the subordination of women within the framework of a foundational system of power relations between the sexes; that is, feminist theory "is the categorization of reality based on the feminist interpretative framework and (is) the interdisciplinary theoretical corpus that gives meaning to that interpretative framework" (Cobo, 2015). Feminist theory and its various currents have been making considerable contributions to the critical positions that propose new paradigms of social intervention, postulating the inclusion, among others, of the gender category in them.

Therefore, from its first critical elaborations to the present day, feminist theory has played a fundamental role not only in showing the evident subordination of women in very diverse societies and cultures, but also in offering a theoretical and practical framework with sufficient explanatory capacity for the phenomenon of subordination derived from the ideological construction of sexual difference.

The analysis of male domination, essentially historical in nature, has been (and is) the point of fusion in which the various feminist currents converge and its theoretical explanation constitutes the hard core of feminist theory from which a series of analytical categories and notions are developed that, in recent decades, have gained strength and academic validity in the field of social sciences as well as in the questioning of the hegemonic positivist tradition which, in this case, widely characterizes the epistemological principles of architecture and urbanism and their predominant use in the planning and design of cities (with the exception of the so-called "critical paradigm" also existing in these sciences).

Moreover, feminist theory stands out for its radically critical essence, questioning not only the social structure where the system of patriarchal domination is constantly reproduced and renewed, but also the classical (and not so classical) narratives on the ways of constructing knowledge and, moreover, claiming from the various scientific disciplines the social relevance of the study of patriarchal relations of domination as a problem of sufficient and evident importance.

Indeed, as Elizabeth Gross (1986) notes, one of the fundamental efforts of feminist theory is thus to "shake off all the social, political, scientific, and metaphysical underpinnings of patriarchal theoretical systems" (p. 88) so that traditional narratives, discourses, and methods are subjected to "feminist critical scrutiny" (p. 89). Thus "the unspoken basic assumptions of patriarchal theories, the ways in which they develop and acquire importance, their use of criteria and methods of inclusion and exclusion are now beginning to be analyzed from feminist perspectives" (p. 89) calling into question much of the foundational mortar of the sciences.

In this way, feminist theory is concerned with studying and analyzing both women's issues and the multiple aspects of the life of societies potentially susceptible to analysis, as well as revisiting traditionally accepted notions and structures of scientific knowledge; according to Gross (1986) this critical exercise leads to questioning "both the content and the structures of discourses, disciplines and institutions, attempting to present alternatives or develop them where they did not yet exist" (p. 90). The same author also develops the idea that feminist theory becomes a critical project with a clear anti-sexist essence that, in addition, goes further and proposes "the right to different paradigms and theoretical tools and perhaps also a reconceptualization of the whole system of acceptable theoretical knowledge and methods" (Gross, 1986, p. 92).

In short, feminist theory brings to the sciences not only new problems of analysis that are currently acquiring high social relevance, but also new ways of interpreting and developing critical readings of social structures with a discursive perspective that articulates categories and notions with sufficient explanatory capacity and, undoubtedly, less suspicious of biases derived from the preeminence of *patriarchal reason*. This contribution is fundamental for the analysis of approaches to the right to the city from the perspective of women's rights, and is what Durán (2008) claims when he highlights not only the blatant male tradition in studies on the city and urbanism, but also the peculiar and hegemonic male presence in cities through icons, images, languages and architectural and urbanistic forms.

This masculine sense is the one that seemed to prevail in Henry Lefebvre, first, and David Harvey, later, when enunciating their postulates on the right to the city; in their arguments, the modification of the relationship between social classes in the public space is given preeminence, mainly as a constituent part of the hard core of the recovery of the city for the people, its transformation and recreation (Harvey, 2008) in the face of the massive commodification of urban space and life in it. A warning is found in Shelley Buckingham (2010):

If we accept that people are not neutral and socially constructed through gender categories, and we understand that space is also a social production and simply does not exist (Koskela, 1999), then we can recognize that space is not neutral (Fenster, 1999; Martínez, 2009) and that it must be analyzed considering the different actors and functions that participate in the creation of daily life. This is the key to understanding the particularities of women's right to the city. (p. 60)

Tovi Fenster (2010) develops an interesting feminist critique of Lefebvre's first postulates on the right to the city and evidences the presence of *patriarchal reason* in them since they focus on the space of the public and, rather, refer to the idea that Buckingham questions: the non-existence of a "singular homogeneous human prototype that can serve as a basis for defining what people's *needs* are" (Fenster, 2010, p. 59).

Indeed, Fenster (2010) identifies in the Lefebvrian right to the city the absence of questioning patriarchal power relations "as one of the dominant factors that affect the potential for realizing the right to use the city and the right to participate in urban life" (p. 68) since it forgets the necessary reference to the impact on the life of the collectivity of one of the most important hierarchizing dichotomies that characterize the power structure in the patriarchal system; that is, the one referring to public vs. private space, giving preeminence to the former in its formulation of the right to the city.

Also Teresa del Valle (1996), following the geographer Dolores Hayden, makes a brief critical statement to the postulates of Lefebvre and Harvey (including Castells and Gordon); she emphasizes that "none of these works take into consideration the situation of women as salaried workers or as domestic workers, nor the spatial inequalities to which they are subjected" (p. 98) and reinforces the need for these postulates to be articulated with the theoretical contributions of feminism since "only in this way will it be possible to make a feminist critique of the spatial design of cities and the distribution of services within them" (p. 98). In any case, Del Valle (1996) recognizes the articulated existence of two patterns of urban space configuration: on the one hand, the one corresponding to the capitalist system and, on the other, the one that responds to gender constructions; both systems maintain a profound relationship with the past and present forms and ways in which land use and urban property tenure systems are defined.

Indeed, the public, political and economic spheres have been secularly vetoed for women who, according to the feminist interpretation of the patriarchal social order, were rationally ascribed and confined to the private sphere. As feminist theorists have amply

demonstrated, the logic of the patriarchal system has historically articulated two well-defined spaces, delimited and assigned to men and women in a differentiated manner: public space and private space. In this way, women are excluded from the citizen premises and will not feel part of the state pacts until much later. Subsequently, the discourses of modernity and scientific construction during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries contributed to legitimize this dichotomy, making the private the non-state space par excellence and, therefore, the space where the regulatory norms of life in society (citizens' rights) do not enter to govern the inter-generic relations that are considered more characteristic of the private sphere.

From these theoretical frameworks, the feminist proposal is ready to include in the postulates of the right to the city the links between the enjoyment and appropriation of public and private spaces; in these reflections, housing -as the private space par excellence of women-, its location, design and organization, acquires a central role. According to the feminist interpretation, women's free enjoyment of public spaces in the city has been secularly regulated by the patriarchal social order and their segmented and differentiated use of private spaces has been associated with the sexual division of labor, issues that limit the extension of the right to the city and that have been brought to the fore by feminist theorists in the last four decades.

Teresa Del Valle (1996) explains this theoretical position:

In general, and taking into account socio-cultural gradations, it can be seen that the construction of urban space is more oriented towards keeping women in spaces destined to family roles than to promoting their incorporation into society in general. (p.97)

According to Del Valle (1996), then, the delimitation, structuring and valuation of urban spaces are defined by the gender-based power relations characteristic of the patriarchal social order and, in this sense, public space appears foreign and strange to women. This implies the fact that "generalizations about women, whether to place them inside or outside, stereotype and reduce the knowledge of their movements between and within spaces, and in general, the being of women in social life" (Del Valle, 1996, p.109).

In short, the hierarchical structure characteristic of the social and historical gender order in a given community tends to delimit the forms and ways in which women and men use and recreate urban space, both private and public, in such a way that changes in this order lead to changes in the arrangement and distribution of urban spaces. In this way, the rupture with the gender symbolic order would lead to what Del Valle (1996) calls "new spaces with characteristics of social change" (p. 129) which, in the case of women, appear when they massively and collectively occupy the public space, either temporarily or definitively.

Method

A Brief Overview of the Main International Milestones on Women's Right to the City

In 1976, the First United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (known as Habitat I) was held in Vancouver (Canada); in its Declaration and Plan of Action, apart from some tangential and specific mentions of women's participation in decision-making on the management and planning of human settlements, there are no recommendations that could account for women's unequal access to the goods and resources of cities (both private and public); rather, the basis of its proposals evidences a profoundly family-oriented approach.

The 2nd United Nations Conference on Human Settlements was held in Istanbul (Turkey) from June 3 to 14, 1996. The high-level meeting adopted two documents of particular importance for cities and, in general, for the many different types of human settlements in the world: the Istanbul Declaration and the Habitat Agenda (which includes a Plan of Action). While the Declaration makes virtually no reference *stricto sensu* to gender inequalities and their relationship to the differential life chances and enjoyment of women and men in cities, the Habitat Agenda devotes more space to "equality between men and women" in its Chapter III "Commitments" and in its Global Plan of Action.

In addition, the Preamble of the Habitat II Agenda takes as precedents the Beijing Conference (1995), the Cairo Conference (1994) and the Vienna Conference (1993), all of which were particularly important for the expansion of the international framework for women's rights and gender equality, although not strictly binding for the national regulations of the countries. Point 15 of the Preamble insists on the need to recognize the role of women in human settlements and echoes the unequal gender relations that have a differential impact on women compared to men, mainly in terms of access to housing and decision-making spaces in the management of settlements (Habitat Agenda, 1996); however, among the Principles and Objectives of this document, there is no explicit mention of the importance of considering women's rights and the secular factors of inequality derived from the patriarchal structure of societies in the definition of the design and management of human settlements, in the sense indicated above and described through feminist criticism, despite the fact that various women's organizations presented the so-called "European Charter of Women in the City" (1995) at the Conference.

Throughout 1994 and 1995, the Equal Opportunities Section of the Commission of the European Union co-financed a line of research promoted by a working team made up of various European women's organizations (City & Shelter of Belgium, FOPA Dortmund of Germany, Groupe Cadre de Vie of France, PRAXIS of Greece and SEIROV-NIROV of The Netherlands) which resulted in the European Charter for Women in the City (1995):

To conceive a new philosophy in urban planning, probably to make a constructive contribution to a real democratic debate that takes into account the needs and different expectations of citizens, both women and men. Efforts to revitalize cities must converge to create new political and economic priorities aimed at increasing social harmony. The issue of the moment is to recreate spaces and create social ties that increase equal opportunities for women and men in rural and urban life. (p. s/n)

The document based its existence on the need to make women visible in city decision-making and urban planning, on the specific impact on women of living conditions in cities, on the evident discrimination against women in the design of urban spaces (both private and public) and on the need to break with the sexual division of labor as a way of structuring spaces in cities, among others, in order to propose a series of twelve fundamental points:

1. Women in the city and active citizenship (...).
2. Women in the city and decision-making and equality in democracy (...).
3. Women in the city and equal opportunities (...).
4. Women in the city and participation (...).
5. Women in the city and daily life (...).
6. Women in the City and Sustainable Development (...)
7. Women in the city and Safety and Mobility (...).
8. Women in the city and the right to habitat and housing (...).
9. Women in the city and gender issues (...).

10. Women in the city, education and practical application at the local level (...).

11. Women in the city and the role of the media and the transmission of experience (...).

12. Women in the city and action networks (...). (European Charter for Women in the City, 1995, p. s/n)

Monique Minaca (1998), one of the participants in the working team that elaborated the European Charter for Women in the City, explained the situation of women's rights in the city:

The situation has not evolved much; it remains stagnant, both within education and within the various policies of the city due to the fact that the various actors and professionals, mostly male, continue to perpetuate static, rather archaic situations and reproduce family stereotypes. Indeed, the social evolution of women remains little taken into account or is still absent from urban planning and city management issues. At best, it can be observed that the issue of violence is beginning to emerge and be the subject of consideration. (p. s/n online)

These were the premises that led the work team to become interested in women's right to the city through an action-research process that would make it possible to counteract the invisibility of women in city planning processes, to give greater space to the contributions of feminist theories on urban issues, and also to ask that feminist contributions could contribute to thinking about the city from the perspective of women's own experiences. In addition, it was insisted that:

The involvement of women as well as the consequence of the recognition of their know-how in everyday life, really taken into account in the conception, organization and management of the city, would become in a tangible way the fair expression of women's full and complete citizenship. (Minaca; 1998: s/n online)

A few years later, in 2004, several feminist organizations drafted the Charter for Women's Right to the City within the framework of the World Women's Forum held during the Universal Forum of Cultures (Barcelona, July 2004); the preliminary ideas were that this document could be presented at the World Urban Forum, also to be held in Barcelona in September 2004. According to Ana Milena Montoya (2011), already during the 3rd World Social Forum in Porto Alegre (2003), the social organizations gathered there had drafted the first version of the "World Charter for the Right to the City", which was subsequently revised and given its final form at the 5th World Social Forum (Porto Alegre, 2005).

The Charter for Women's Right to the City of 2004 (2012):

It aims to emphasize the pending challenges to achieve the equitable and democratic cities we all aspire to. It also takes up the *European Charter for Women in the City* (1995) and the declarations of the *Meeting "Building Cities for Peace"* and the *Montreal Declaration on Women's Safety* (2002). (p. 199)

The document reviews the main problems faced by women in cities and organizes them into two main areas; on the one hand, those related to women's participation in the democratic management of cities (which includes participation in local management and planning, as well as in social control and public spending). And, on the other hand, women's relationship with the budgets of a sustainable city (which includes, among others, women's access to public services in the city, safety, mobility, environment and access to housing).

These same axes are developed in the document in the form of proposals that are specified in the following summary of our own elaboration:

democratic management of the territory: affirmative legislation, recognition of women's and feminist organizations as local actors for dialogue,

institutionalization of equality mechanisms in cities, guaranteeing women's participation in decision-making and management spaces, transformation of the public-private dichotomy and the resulting sexual division of labor, gender budgeting, making visible the differential use of time between women and men and elaborating urban quality of life indicators with a gender perspective.

sustainable cities: housing tenure and access to urban services, safe public transportation and adequate mobility of women in the city, safety and non-violence based on gender in cities, and cultural transformations that lead to subvert the subordination of women based on gender relations.

The following year, within the framework of the 5th Porto Alegre World Social Forum held in January 2005 in Porto Alegre (Brazil), the final version of the "World Charter for the Right to the City", which had been the subject of earlier reflections and versions since 2003, was drafted. The document includes non-discrimination based on gender or sexual orientation in its definition of the right to the city, as well as the principles of equity and social justice as part of the collective right to the city; it also assumes equality and non-discrimination based on gender as a principle and strategic foundation of the right to the city, and endorses the mandates contained in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979) and in the IV World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995).

In the various articles that make up the body of rights integrated into the right to the city, beyond the use of inclusive (non-sexist) language, some proposals can be identified that are related to the postulates contained in the Charter for Women's Right to the City: political participation and affirmative policies (Point 3, Art. VIII, Part II), public transportation and mobility taking into account differential needs based on gender (Point 1, Art. XIII, Part III), access to housing and urban property (Point 4, Art. XIV, Part III), access to shelters and social housing for women victims of gender violence (Point 5, Art. XIV, Part III) and equal right to work and provision of public care services (Point 4, Art. XV, Part III).

However, other proposals linked to women's right to the city do not appear with sufficient specificity in the 2005 "World Charter for the Right to the City" document, despite the fact that, as Enrique Ortiz Flores (2006) -who was the President of the Habitat International Coalition precisely during the period in which the Charter text was produced- indicates, this document "is an initiative that arose from organized civil society and that has taken a long process of discussion to enrich and strengthen the proposal" (p. 17). Among the most notable absences are those referring to the recognition of women's and feminist organizations as local actors for dialogue, the institutionalization of local equality mechanisms, the transformation of the public-private dichotomy, the visibility of the differential use of time, the elaboration of urban life quality indicators with a gender perspective, and the urgent and necessary cultural transformations to subvert the subordination of women based on gender power relations.

For Shelley Buckingham (2011), also a member of Habitat International Coalition, there are five prioritized aspects of common feminist demands for the "World Charter for the Right to the City" (safety, public infrastructure and transportation, proximity, breaking the public-private hierarchical dichotomy, and participation). However:

Some of the points mentioned above have been included in the World Charter for the Right to the City. However, they are more related to accessibility to services and less to the equal participation of women in the creation of urban spaces or to the questioning of persistent gender inequalities. Likewise, there is still a lack of broad discussions that include the gender perspective in the debates that followed the creation of the Charter (...). Women should be included in participatory

planning processes that shape the debate on the right to the city, as they represent a general group of intersecting identities that experience the city in different ways. Although there are differences in the particularities of the needs and uses of different groups of women, the common elements mentioned above should be incorporated into all global discussions about the right to the city. (Buckingham, 2011, pp. 63-64)

In October 2016, the Habitat III Conference was held in Quito (Ecuador) with the generic slogan "Innovation and urban solutions" whose main objective was the definition of a new urban agenda that would take up the proposals of Istanbul (Habitat II, 1996). Prior to the Conference, a series of ten "urban dialogues" were held to discuss the contents of the new urban agenda to be adopted at Habitat III. A review of the results and conclusions of some of these dialogues shows the inclusion of some aspects related to the right to the city, but practically none of the documents consulted refer to the feminist demands articulated around the "Charter for Women's Right to the City" and the importance of taking into consideration the impact of gender relations and their influence on people's lives in cities.

Ana Falú (2015), in her presentation at the web conference "The gender agenda in the face of Habitat III" organized by the UN Women Training Center, raised the need to "rethink the planning of cities from the perspective of women" based on the question "how does the sexual division of labor that persists between men and women, and access to urban goods, affect the planning of cities and neighborhoods and its impact on daily life?". Their response supported the idea that the urban issues to be discussed at Habitat III should take into account three fundamental aspects: on the one hand, accessibility to transportation and services in the city; on the other hand, the characteristics of urban equipment and the design and use of public space in a differential manner between women and men. And finally, the issue of violence and discrimination against women in public spaces in cities. In addition, it proposed a series of indicators with a gender perspective to be incorporated into public projects and policies (2015):

- Status and position of women
- Situation in relation to the Territory
- Services, Transportation, Equipment
- Changes in the division of labor. Economic activities
- Access to and control of economic and social resources, education, health, culture, etc
- Availability of time for women
- Decision-making (in life cycles, including your sex life and body management)
- Social and Political Participation. Participation in Local Governments (p. y/n)

Finally, the New Urban Agenda resulting from Habitat III, included several issues related to "achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls" (UN, 2017, p. 3), to "promoting the development of integrated age- and gender-sensitive housing policies and approaches in all sectors" (including an "age- and gender-sensitive" tenure regime) (p. 14), to "the establishment of well-designed networks of streets and other public spaces (...) and free of crime and violence, in particular free of sexual harassment and gender-based violence" (p. 30), an issue repeatedly called for by the feminist associations that promoted the "Charter for Women's Right to the City", to "age- and gender-sensitive participatory approaches in all phases of urban and territorial planning and policy-making processes" (p. 28) as well as to promote "access for all to safe, affordable, accessible, accessible, sustainable, age- and gender-sensitive land and maritime transport and urban mobility systems" (UN, 2017, p. 28).

Discussion and Conclusions

Some Final Considerations

Feminist theories bring new perspectives to the right to the city and openly present the critique of the traditional consideration of urban space as something neutral for planning and enjoyment based on the premise, already expressed by Shelley Buckingham (2010) and Tovi Fenster (2010), that it is not possible to think neither of a neutral human prototype nor of a neutral urban space that responds to such categorization.

The gender-based power relations that structure patriarchal hierarchies in the current social order shape the forms and ways in which people use and enjoy the city. The inclusion of feminist approaches and approaches are highly strategic -mainly those referring to how such relationships constitute everyday lives- and, therefore, become more than necessary and urgent in the design and planning of cities, as well as in recent formulations of the right to the city.

The proposals expressed by women's and feminist organizations interested in new urban planning and architectural visions refer to the two main hierarchical dichotomies that sustain the patriarchal social order: the division between the public and private spheres and the sexual division of labor. According to feminist theorists of the city, both dichotomies organize urban space in such a way that it expresses, maintains and reproduces the gendered social order in both public and private spaces. Breaking these dichotomies is therefore a key issue for the reconfiguration of cities in the 21st century.

Indeed, according to Paula Soto (2011), it is necessary to take into account that:

Beyond the body, the material and symbolic sites of power multiply: workplaces, domestic spaces, places of recreation, shopping centers, squares, the neighborhood, the community; all of them can be analyzed as geographical variations of masculinity, femininity and their meanings (Massey, 1993; McDowell, 2000). (p. 13)

For several decades, feminist theorists who have been studying urban issues have proposed various options for subverting the gendered social order that is reproduced in these spaces. The "European Charter for Women in the City" (1995) and the "Charter for Women's Right to the City" (2004) are some examples of how it is possible to integrate the feminist perspective and women's rights in the planning and management of cities. However, seven years after the Third United Nations Conference on Sustainable Urban Development and Housing (Habitat III), it can still be said that women, their interests, their experiences and their daily demands are relegated by the preeminence of *patriarchal reason* and the masculinist bias of urban studies and public policies and, beyond these, of international regulations for human settlements.

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