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a gender perspective

SPECIAL ISSUE

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

Alicia Yon, SriPallavi Nadimpalli

Abstract

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

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

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

Key Words

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

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

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

Parole Chiave

Identità, discriminazione, diritto alla città, disaggregazione, inclusione

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

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

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

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

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

2. The case of Melbourne, Australia

Disability-based violence in focus

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

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

The intersecting nature of gender, disability and violence

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

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

A lack of policy or a policy lack?

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

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

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

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

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

3. The case of Bengaluru, India

Understanding the 'neutral' urban female in India

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

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

Domestic workers

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

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

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

Problems and limitations

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

Fig. 2 - Domestic worker engaged in gardening

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fig. 3 - Domestic worker engaged in household chores

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Defining the 'right to the city' for domestic workers

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

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

5. Towards reclaiming a gendered right to the city

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

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

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

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

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

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

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