

## THE DIALOG BETWEEN WOMEN AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

## O DIÁLOGO ENTRE MULHERES E O DIREITO À CIDADE

Laila Nazem Mourad<sup>1</sup>  
Gisela Cunha Viana Leonelli<sup>2</sup>  
Joel Meireles Duarte<sup>3</sup>

## ABSTRACT

This article aims to identify the dialogue between women and the right to the city in Salvador. The methodology includes the crossing of the content extracted from the bibliographic research and qualitative interviews, carried out with ten women representing different spheres of power constituted in the city. The interviews were conducted in light of the following themes: the concept of the right to the city; women and the public space; women and urban violence. As a result, women's perception of the right to the city, and the female condition in the Bahian capital was obtained. From this, it was concluded that our cities continue to produce and reproduce public spaces conceived from the dominant view of men, nurturing different forms of violence against women in the city, reaffirmed in the city's planning and management proposals.

**Keywords:** Salvador. Right to the City. Woman. Public Space. Urban Violence.

## RESUMO

Este artigo tem como objetivo identificar o diálogo entre as mulheres e o direito à cidade em Salvador. A metodologia inclui o cruzamento do conteúdo extraído da pesquisa bibliográfica e

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<sup>1</sup> Doutora em Arquitetura e Urbanismo (UFBA); Docente do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Planejamento Territorial e Desenvolvimento Social (UCSAL). Universidade Católica do Salvador – Brasil. ORCID Id: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4175-0089> ORCID id: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5403-1345> Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/8464508890621003> E-mail: [mourad.laila7@gmail.com](mailto:mourad.laila7@gmail.com)

<sup>2</sup> Doutora em Arquitetura e Urbanismo (IAU-USP); Docente do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Arquitetura Tecnologia e Cidade e do Curso de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da FEC-UNICAMP. Universidade Católica do Salvador – Brasil. ORCID Id: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2371-3092> Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/0925768769790678> E-mail: [gisela@fec.unicamp.br](mailto:gisela@fec.unicamp.br)

<sup>3</sup> Possui graduação em Direito pela Universidade Católica do Salvador (2009) e mestrado em Planejamento Territorial e Desenvolvimento Social pela Universidade Católica do Salvador (2017). Universidade Católica do Salvador – Brasil. Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/6551879424299977> E-mail: [joelmeireles@live.com](mailto:joelmeireles@live.com)

entrevistas qualitativas, realizadas com dez mulheres representantes de diferentes esferas de poder constituídas na cidade. As entrevistas foram realizadas à luz dos seguintes temas: o conceito de direito à cidade; mulheres e o espaço público; mulheres e violência urbana. Com isso, obteve-se a percepção das mulheres sobre o direito à cidade e a condição feminina na capital baiana. A partir disso, concluiu-se que nossas cidades continuam produzindo e reproduzindo espaços públicos concebidos a partir da visão dominante dos homens, alimentando na cidade diferentes formas de violência contra as mulheres, reafirmadas nas propostas de planejamento e gestão da cidade.

**Palavras-chave:** Salvador, Direito à Cidade, Espaço Público, Violência Urbana.

## INTRODUCTION

On January 17, 2018, the eve of the classic Ba-Vi, fans of Esporte Clube Vitória - mostly men - celebrated the inauguration of Avenida Mário Sérgio, also known as Via Expressa Paralela - Barradão. The name of the new highway in Salvador (Bahia), which connects Avenida Luís Viana Filho (popularly called Avenida Paralela) to the red-black stadium Manoel Barradas, honors the former player and idol of Vitória, who died in the tragic accident of the aircraft that transported the Chapecoense team to Medellín, Colômbia, in 2016.

Governor Rui Costa, a supporter of the rival Bahia, emphasized the investment of R\$ 40 million in the implementation of the 4 km road and in complementary projects, including the expropriation of about 300 families in that region.

The excessive financial and social cost of implementing an expressway of just 4 km - with the almost exclusive purpose of facilitating a mostly male access to a football stadium - in contrast to the condition of almost invisibility for women in Salvador's urban planning reflects only part of the social problems faced by women in that city.

The first capital of Brazil, whose population is mainly formed by women, instead of conceiving urban planning that includes them in the creation or recreation of what they lack in the city, instead of being their place of autonomy and freedom, ends up becoming one more place of oppression and gender annulment.

Due to the historical and social context to which they are subjected, women are denied the right to experience the city as they should. In a society saturated in male chauvinist, patriarchal and

sexist ideas, the actions of the State and society are directed at men and, on the down side, obstruct - or even deny - women's full access and right to the city (ROLNIK, 2017a).

In reverse to the existing reality, to urbanism without reflection, it is proposed the full use of public space by women, equal participation in the exercise of their right to the city, the full exercise of citizenship, the fulfillment of the city's social function and, finally, the democratic management of cities, as a way to include, without restriction or prejudice, women in the daily life of the city.

The adopted methodology is based on bibliographic research and qualitative interviews conducted between September 2016 and February 2018, with ten women who experience the city of Salvador and are involved in the debate on the right to the city, namely: Angela Maria Gordilho Souza, Antônia dos Santos Garcia, Creuza Maria Oliveira, Eleonora Lisboa Mascia, Hortênsia Gomes Pinho, Marli Aparecida Carrara Verzeznassi, Marta Rodrigues Sousa de Brito Costa, Melissa Florina Lima Teixeira, Nágila Maria Sales Brito, Tânia Scofield Almeida<sup>4</sup>. The guiding questions focus on the theme of the right to the city and women in the territory of the Bahian capital, in order to answer the following questions: “what is the concept of the right to the city?” and “what is the understanding of the right to the city, for the interviewed women<sup>1</sup>, in the city of Salvador?”.

## **WHICH SALVADOR IS THIS?**

The first capital of Brazil, the city of São Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos, was founded on March 29, 1549, developed political-administrative and commercial activities, and was the headquarter of the General Government of Brazil as the most important city in the country until 1763.

However, with the transfer of the country's capital to Rio de Janeiro, the decline of the local export base, industrial concentration in the center-south and the economic predominance of this region in the Brazilian development process, Salvador was negatively affected and experienced a long period of economic and population stagnation. This period extended almost until the middle of the 20th century, when the city began to be affected by intense transformations. (CARVALHO; PASTERNAK; BOGUS, 2010, p. 304)

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<sup>4</sup>Throughout the article we will make a brief presentation of the women interviewed.

Since 1940, several factors have contributed to change the urban structure of the city, including: (I) the demand for housing and pressure on the urban structure; (II) the concentration of land ownership, depriving the poorest population of access to adequate living conditions; and (III) the occupation and production of popular territories by low-income people (GORDILHO-SOUZA, 2008), which

[...] later, with the economic growth and the modernization of the city, and the consequent valorization of the soil, [...] they started to be seen as a problem, being repressed and relocated by the State in unoccupied and distant peripheral areas, which contributed decisively for the conformation of the occupation and segmentation pattern of urban space. (CARVALHO; PEREIRA, 2013, p. 9)

In that decade, the first Urbanism Plan of the City of Salvador was developed, prepared by the Office of Urban Planning of the City of Salvador (EPUCS), coordinated, at the time, by engineer Mário Leal Ferreira. Based on the geomorphological understanding of the city and the historical occupation that favored the top of the hills, EPUCS identified and adopted a radioconcentric system, with radial roads connecting the neighborhoods to the center and concentric roads making the neighborhood to neighborhood connections. It is interesting to observe, in the zoning proposed by EPUCS, the creation of a Satellite Residential Zone next to the Industrial Zone, in the area known as Subúrbio Ferroviário (Rail Suburb), affirming the place of the poor in areas without an infrastructure of the city - a proposal of functionalist and classist zoning<sup>5</sup>.

In the 1950s, the discovery and exploration of oil in municipalities in its area of influence stimulated the population and urban growth of the city. In the 1960s, the new model of urban expansion, based on the industrial-metropolitan logic, was marked by several intra-urban actions. The national regional development policies of that period, centered on industrial investments and reinforced in the developmental logic of the federal government to complement the Brazilian industrial matrix, led to the implantation of the Petrochemical Pole and other industries in the neighboring municipality, Camaçari.

This logic causes impacts on the social structure and the urban fabric, observing, in the 1970s, the consolidation of a new urban center, driven by the construction of Avenida Luís Viana

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<sup>5</sup>The Subúrbio Ferroviário (Rail Suburb) is home to 290,017 inhabitants - approximately 10% of the nearly three million inhabitants in the capital of Bahia (IBGE / 2010).

Filho, of the Bus Terminal, of the previous Shopping Iguatemi (the current Shopping da Bahia) and the Administrative Center of Bahia (CAB).

Thus, the notion of a city is also consolidated, which, starting from the historic center, is fragmented into three distinct expansion vectors: (I) Orla Marítima Norte, where, despite the islands of poverty, the interests of real estate capital are concentrated, the main investments in infrastructure and a large part of the middle and high-income population; (II) Miolo, in the geographic center of Salvador, occupied more intensively by the low-income population, after the 1970s, where the landscape is formed by numerous housing estates financed by the State and public equipment and services are quite scarce; and (III) Subúrbio Ferroviário (Rail Suburb), whose occupation begins, especially from the 1940s, with a strong presence of popular subdivisions, high levels of violence, in addition to insufficient infrastructure, equipment, and public services (CARVALHO; PEREIRA, 2013, p. 5 ).

According to Pedro Vasconcelos (2002), in the 1980s, the population of Salvador had already reached 1.5 million inhabitants, an increase of approximately 500 thousand residents in ten years. Of this total, 53% lived in the Subúrbio Ferroviário and Miolo areas.

From the 1990's to the present, there is a rapid transformation and configuration of the city on the outskirts of Avenida Paralela, mainly through actions of corporate urbanism, with speculation and high profitability of landowners and real estate. What can be seen in the history of the development of Salvador, in the same way as in the rest of the country, is that the city has always been marked by a modernization that served to meet clear and specific interests, particularly in high-income neighborhoods.

Corporate actions operate in parallel, simultaneously, and jointly with the public sector, in close harmony with the processes of defining policies and public priorities for intervention in cities (CHESNAIS, 2002). This highly speculative production, characterized by competitiveness, visibility, and selectivity of spaces, imprints its marks on urban socio-spatial segregation, separating the low-income population from areas with infrastructure and job and services offers.

According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE (2010), the value of the average monthly nominal income declared by whites is 223% higher than that declared by browns (R\$ 2,870.21 and R\$ 1,286.83, respectively). Among blacks and whites, whites have an income of up to 309% higher (R\$ 927.87 and R\$ 2,870.21, respectively).

In comparison to gender, Salvador presents an alarming scenario in which women are at a great disadvantage compared to men. According to IBGE (2010), they represent 59% of the city's non-income earners; 76% of those earning up to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the minimum wage (MW); 68% of those receiving between  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  MW; and 57% of those with an income between  $\frac{1}{2}$  and 1 MW. In all income brackets above 1 MW, men are the majority, reaching 69% of residents with an income greater than 30 MW and having a salary, on average, 46% higher than that of women (R\$ 1,907, 04 and R \$ 1,299.58, in that order).

## WHAT RIGHT IS THAT?

Coined in the 1960's by the French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre, the concept of the right to the city has spread in international literature over the past few years and, today, several authors have studied and launched themselves into the debate about their reflections: Mitchell (2003), Fernandes (2005), Purcell (2003), Buckingham (2010), Fenster (2010), Marcuse (2010), Mathivet (2010), Rolnik (2011, 2016, 2017b), Harvey (2014), among others.

Outside the academy, events and demonstrations marked a global reach based on this concept, such as the V World Urban Forum, entitled "The right to the city: uniting the divided urban" (2010), and the June 2013 Journeys, whose analysis of their causes, conditions, and effects vary greatly even today.

For Lefebvre, the term "right to the city" is stated as a "superior form of rights", constituting the "right to freedom, individualization in socialization, habitat, and living" (LEFEBVRE, 2008, p. 134). It was a "revolutionary right in principle since it implied the rights to the work (to the participating activity) and the right to appropriation (as distinct from the right to property)".<sup>6</sup>

The city, as a construction, would be the centrality of the social space, the result of work and collective decisions about its production. The right to appropriation, on the other hand, consists of the modification of space by a group of individuals, to serve their needs, while the appropriate space can also be defined by their relations of ownership and consumption (production for consumption, for profit). In the capitalist space, the dominated space imposes itself, but it does not prevent appropriations from happening simultaneously.

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<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 134.

The right to the city, according to Lefebvre (2008), must be built and conquered through men's struggles against the capitalist mode of production in the city, which commercializes urban space and turns it into gear in the service of capital. To the French philosopher, the right to the city does not refer to the right to a better and more dignified life in the capitalist city, but to a very different life, in a society where the logic of the urban space production is subordinated to the use value and not to an exchange value.

In this perspective, the right to the city consists of imagining and reconstructing a totally new type of city, based on the repulsive chaos of an unrestrained globalizing and urbanizing capital (LEFEBVRE, 2008). However, this cannot “occur without the creation of a vigorous anti-capitalist movement whose central objective is the transformation of urban life in our daily lives” (HARVEY, 2014, p. 20).

From Harvey (2014), it is possible to understand that the right to the city can mean a political project of global urban revolution. In this sense, it appears as a way to unify and connect diverse social movements on an international scale and expose the links between urbanization, social issues, and justice, making everyone have the same right to a global city.

For Marcuse (2010), the right to the city cannot be lived as a practice invisibly incorporated into everyday life, like so many other rights, being conditioned by the active participation of citizens, which results in an obligation of these to the city.

Purcell (2003), in turn, proposes an update of the right to the city, suggesting that it should be practiced in the most direct sense, as a right to configure urban space in all its manifestations. In this way, the right to the city plays a central role in the discourse: if urban spaces, in fact, reproduce the social relations linked in them, urban citizens cannot enjoy any of their freedoms without their own environment.

What emerges from Purcell's central ideas is that the right to the city represents one of the especially promising ways to rescue the notion of citizenship of the human person. Furthermore, it is also a common and not an individual right, since this transformation inevitably depends on the exercise of a collective power to reshape urbanization processes.

For Buckingham (2010), it is essential that gender analysis is incorporated into the debate around the right to the city. The author indicates that, as it is a social production, space must be analyzed while taking into account the various factors and functions that take part in the creation of daily life, this being the key understanding about the particularities of women's rights to the city.

Geographer Tovi Fenster (2010) introduces important contributions to understand the particularities of women's rights to the city. According to the author, daily female experiences in cities are the “direct result of social interpretations of gender and space” (FENSTER, 2010, p. 58). In his analysis, he observes the close links between the discussion about the right to use public spaces - the city - and the right to use private spaces - the home. His studies reveal the “violation of the right to the city, based on gender as a consequence of fear, security and the practices of “sacralization” of public spaces” (FENSTER, 2010, p. 64).

In the same direction and entangling a criticism of Lefebvre, geographer Tovi Fenster adds that the French philosopher's traditional notion of the right to the city has limitations, as it does not pay attention to the advent of patriarchy and “does not take into account the effects of power relations based on gender about the fulfillment of women's right to the city” (FENSTER, 2010, p. 66).

Political scientist Charlotte Mathivet (2010), opposes the privatization of urban spaces and the commercial use of the city, proposes to create “another possible city”, considering that the right to the city means to restore the sense of the city, “to establish the possibility of good living for all and making the city the meeting place for the construction of collective life” (MATHIVET, 2010, p. 6).

According to Mitchell (2003), the right to the city seems to evolve naturally as insurgent citizenship, through the right to change the set of available rights, when they do not reflect the justified needs of citizenship. In this way, the change of focus to the needs of the poorest citizens, stigmatized, marginalized in citizenship, provides the basis for the evolving discourse of urban citizenship.

The right to the city is, therefore, practiced in the most direct sense, as the configuration of the urban space in all its manifestations. In its institutionalized form, this right implies, for example, the participation of residents in the council meetings of a company based in the municipality, if it involves making decisions that will affect the life of the city as a whole.

In addition to these concepts, the right to the city is based, above all, on human rights declarations: the Declaration of the Rights of the City, the European Charter for Women and, especially, the World Charter for the Right to the City, elaborated in 2006 from meetings of the Social Forum of the Americas, the Second World Urban Forum and the Fifth World Social Forum.

Written by a group of civil society entities, the World Charter for the Right to the City (POLICENTRIC WORLD SOCIAL FORUM, 2006) is based on the understanding that the right to the city is a collective right, with full use of urban life, equality of the city under the aegis of sustainability,



democracy, equity, and social justice. The document also highlights the interdependence of the right to the city from other internationally recognized rights (civil, political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental) and the objective of achieving the full exercise of the right to free self-determination - by vulnerable groups above all.

The World Charter for the Right to the City also seeks to bring together the commitments and measures that must be assumed by civil society and government entities - whether local, national or international bodies - that aim to establish parameters and behaviors so that all citizens live with dignity in cities (MATHIVET, 2016).

## THE FEMININ AND THE URBAN PLANNING

The discussion between gender and urban planning is recent in national literature (SARAIVA, 2017). Keeping this in mind, today, it is argued that

[...] urbanism must be feminist. Being a feminist does not mean being made for women only, but it refers to the need to fight against oppressive standards, which do not respect differences. These are standards that establish that the heteronormative man is superior, and therefore allows the rules to be elaborated from that point of view. (MARQUES, S., 2017, p. 84).

Thus, it is essential to understand the city through the relationship that the woman establishes with her, in order to correct historical errors in her planning process. "Being a pedestrian and being a woman were not concerns that urban planners were concerned with. This is a recent concern, as this locus of thinking about the city has traditionally been occupied by men " (MARQUES, S., 2017, p. 84).

The criticisms related to the insertion of women in city planning occur because the public power transforms their "participation in a merely symbolic character, a democratic theater in which people make guesses, as if it were favor of the public manager, without the contributions being really used and appropriate ", protests Hortênsia Pinho (2017)<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup>Hortênsia Gomes Pinho is a lawyer, doctoral student at the Urban and Regional Planning Program of the Institute of Urban and Regional Research (IPPUR / UFRJ) and Housing and Urbanism Prosecutor at the State Prosecutor's Office in Bahia (MP / BA). In 2016, within the scope of the MP, it promoted a wide debate with the

This symbolic stance affirmed by Hortênsia Pinho is present in the conception and practice of hegemonic urban planning, tending to favor healthy white men and disregarding women and social groups that are not of interest to real estate and land capital.

As Nágila Brito points out, women are not heard for urban planning of the city, especially in urban infrastructure projects, “otherwise the city would not be a place with narrow and steep streets” (BRITO, 2018)<sup>8</sup>. Furthermore, when a woman participates in the discussions about the city, she is obliged to take her son or face her husband, among other situations, because “there is an understanding that there is no need to go on Saturday, Sunday, public holidays or at night to participate in an assembly” (MASCIA, 2017)<sup>9</sup>.

Thus, it is clear that women face several obstacles, including at home, in order to have an active voice in the city's debate, especially because “the distinction of public and private spheres 'sexed' the city, developing male domination” (SARAIVA, 2017, p. 6).

Without the recognition that the city is lived by women and men, in addition to gender segregation by patriarchal culture, there will be no change in the city's thinking. “The State must incorporate into its structure spaces for the materialization of these public policies, creating or equipping better specific organizations that deal with these issues, such as women's coordinators, secretariats, ministries”, indicates Terezinha de Oliveira Gonzaga (2011, p. 56).

In this sense, Marta Rodrigues (2017)<sup>10</sup>, concerned with unemployment in Salvador, proposes a policy of popular solidarity economy. Her concern reveals the importance of providing the low-

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various social segments, in opposition to several proposals of the Master Plan bill for Urban Development (PDDU) of Salvador.

<sup>8</sup>Nágila Maria Sales Brito is a judge at the Court of Justice of the State of Bahia (TJ / BA). She assumed the said position in 2010, leaving the fifth constitutional MP / BA. Graduated in Law by the Catholic University of Salvador (UCSAL), holds a Master's Degree in Economic Law from the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) and a PhD in Social Relations Law from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP). She is currently coordinator of the Women's Commission at TJ / BA. She has publications in the Law area, with an emphasis on Bioethics and Biological Law, Stable Union, Concubinage, Shared Guard and Homo-affective Union.

<sup>9</sup>Eleonora Lisboa Mascia is an Architect and Urbanist. She was the manager and Housing Superintendent of the Secretariat of Urban Development of the State of Bahia (SEDUR), in addition to the national manager of Urban Entities at Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF). Currently, she is president of the National Federation of Architects and Urban Planners and coordinator of the social area of the Executive Housing Management of CAIXA in Salvador / BA.

<sup>10</sup>Marta Rodrigues Sousa de Brito Costa has a degree in Literature from the Catholic University of Salvador (UCSAL) and is a specialist in Human Rights by the State University of Bahia. Between 1995 and 2004, she was an advisor to the Human Rights Commission of the Legislative Assembly of Bahia and later in the Chamber of Deputies, working to confront death squads and fighting for decent housing and urban development in different communities. She was professor of literature at COEQuilombo (2000). She is a councilwoman for the second time, with strong ties to the black and feminist movement in Salvador (2017-2020).

income population with technical knowledge about this area, which is relevant not only for the city but also for women, because “gender differences also exist in unpaid jobs” (SARAIVA, 2017, p. 7).

Melissa Teixeira<sup>11</sup>, in turn, believes that the participation of women in the debate, although negatively disproportionate, is very strong in Salvador:

There are instruments in the City Statute that are handled by women [...]. Think of the strong participation and discussion, debate, public hearings that are promoted by the Legislative Assembly [and] that have very strong participation of women in social movements of the struggle for housing and the construction of a master plan (TEIXEIRA, 2017).

In this perspective, “planning agents and related political authorities have the main role of conveying the message that the gender-based approach is important in project development” (SARAIVA, 2017, p.10).

#### **THE FEMININ, THE PUBLIC SPACE AND THE URBAN VIOLENCE**

The public space “is the stage for the exchange of experiences between groups and people - or at least it should be - and it is from it that one can, in material terms, crystallize and consecrate part of that experience”, says Mariana Marcondes (2017, p. 92). This place, according to the history of the formation of Brazilian society, was produced from the Portuguese colonization, whose social base of the family was patriarchal, rural, semi-rural, and in the slavery regime (FREYRE, 2006).

The term patriarchalism, which goes back to patriarchy (from the Greek *pater*), has as definition, in short, the supremacy of man in social relations (FERNANDES, 2005), being “characterized by an institutionally imposed authority, of man over women and children in the family environment, permeating all organization of society, production, and consumption, politics, legislation and culture” (BARRETO, 2004, p. 1).

The relationships of male domination over women are embodied in a male imagination in which, for men, the appropriation of women is possible, regardless of their will. That is, men have been granted sexual rights without restrictions on women. “The idea that the female body is subject

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<sup>11</sup>Melissa Florina Lima Teixeira is a public defender in the State of Bahia, with extensive experience in land tenure and family law. In 2019, she had her work recognized in the “Pacification of Agrarian Conflicts, Public Defenders Responsible for the Practice”. In the Special Commission on the Social Right to Housing and Land Issues, the production of the booklet “violation of the right to housing and the right to the city by the families of Vila Coração de Maria, Dois de Julho neighborhood, Salvador-BA stands out.

to male appropriation, which is embedded in the whole issue of patriarchy, makes women more vulnerable in these public spaces” (PINHO, 2017).

This vulnerability is not only an absence of general public security - which affects women and men - but a social symptom related to the way women are seen in the city.

[...] it has to do with cultural stigma, the presumption imposed on all of us that one of us alone, in a public space, is there to be sexually harassed, which prevents us from having access to a basic right: to move and occupy the city freely, when and as you wish (ROLNIK, 2017a, n. p.).

In this social context, “the difference and the hierarchy between men and women is one of the strongest marks of our society and will have strong impacts on the production of space” (SILVA; FARIA; PIMENTA, 2017, p. 3). This occurs, according to Saffioti (2004), because patriarchalism represents a power structure that is based on both ideology and gender violence.

Hortênsia Pinho adds that, as the public space is seen as something inherent to the male, leaving the female private space, especially domestic, the city begins to exclude, for example, the woman who ascends in the labor market, and is hostile to her. “I realize that the issue of public space is serious - it is a male space, it is a space of domination, it is a space of constraint and a space of gender segregation” (PINHO, 2017).

However, it is important to emphasize that the violation of women's right to use the city is also a consequence of the attack on their rights in the sphere of the home. In yet another criticism of Lefebvre's ideas - this time, with regard to the notion of the right to use public and private spaces -, Tovi Fenster argues that, in isolating the discussion of the right to the city from the right to a home, Lefebvre disregards the power relations based on gender as a major factor in the right to use public spaces. That is, “women who experience strong patriarchal control at home necessarily suffer from restricted use of the city” (FENSTER, 2010, p. 70).

In effect, the relations “public x male space” and, in contrast, “private x female space”, which impose the segregation of city space, based on gender segregation, are seen as a challenge yet to be overcome.

[...] the house (the home!) is the feminine place by excellence - the realm of domesticity, a known and confined space -, while the street - a public space of the unexpected, fortuitous and unknown - is the place of masculinity. Women can cross these borders as long as they are accompanied by men - their boyfriends, partners, husbands, brothers or relatives. Alone women circulating

on the streets, at certain times and places, are "out of place" (ROLNIK, 2016, n. p.).

Parallel to Rolnik's thinking, Marli Carrara sees with disgust the need for the man's company so that the woman feels safe to access the public space. "In the past, we used to say 'come in twos or threes, or come in threes and fours, wait for a boy, who also goes out, and everyone comes out'. Today, we don't even have that anymore, because the insecurity is great" (CARRARA, 2017)<sup>12</sup>.

Tânia Scofield brings a clear example of the imbalances mentioned so far. According to her observation, the bike paths in Salvador, in addition to being almost exclusively used by men, are more accessible to them, even though it is "a woman's right to also take her bicycle and move around the city for work or leisure as want" (SCOFIELD, 2018)<sup>13</sup>.

It is notable, however, that this scenario is repeated in other cities in Brazil, such as São Paulo, where "the female participation in the use of the bicycle remained, on average, below 10% [...], surpassing this mark only in 2012, when there was a notable increase in its proportion", indicate Letícia Lemos, Marina Harkot and Paula Santoro (2017, p. 111).

[...] the challenges most frequently pointed out by women deconstruct the hypothesis that, 'by nature', women would be less likely to take risks and show that the segregation of the bicycle in the mobility system would be a solution to problems in the area of traffic education (LEMOS; HARKOT; SANTORO, 2017, p. 112).

The public and the private can also be understood from the notion of productive work space and reproductive work space. If reproductive work, aimed at women, is carried out in the home, it will therefore always be associated with the private sphere, although it also performs productive functions. Men's production is carried out on the street, in a company, and manufactures work outside the home, therefore in the public space. The sexual division of labor, between productive

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<sup>12</sup>Marli Aparecida Carrara Verzeznassi is an educator and activist for free territories and other societies. She is a member of the coordination of the Union for Popular Housing (UMP), as well as being affiliated to the National Union for Popular Housing (UNMP) and the Central of Popular Movements (CMP). In her performance, she defends self-management as a way of building decent housing. She was elected to the National Council of Cities (ConCidades) and to ConCidades / BA.

<sup>13</sup>Tânia Scofield Almeida is president of the Mário Leal Ferreira Foundation (FMLF), the responsible body for urban planning in the city of Salvador. In 2005, she completed a master's degree in architecture and urbanism, at UFBA, with the theme: "Planning, occupation process, and contradictions: a path between the discourses and practices that configure the territory of Cajazeiras".

and reproductive spheres, also creates a division between public and private space. This division makes the public space male-dominated, excluding women.

This sexual division of labor directly impacts the public space and makes it impossible to enjoy cities equally, since “they are currently designed to favor productive work, driven by the economy” (BUCKINGHAM, 2010, p. 61).

The culture of patriarchy in society is, in fact, complex and slow to change, as “it is omnipresent in our society and forms a permanent tension when it comes to the presence of women on the street and in public spaces” (ROLNIK, 2017, n. p. ). After all, the public space was planned and executed for and by men, under a patriarchal vision that disregards its use by women.

[...] you have urbanism - which is functional, modernist urbanism -, which is designed not for women's movements, not for the journey of women in the city, not for their work life and for their multiple journeys. Because, in fact, who circulates most in the city is the woman (PINHO, 2017).

Thus, women from Salvador, who represent the majority of the city's population, who move mainly in the sense of home to work or home to school, will only be able to fully and freely enjoy the city when there is no longer the need to be accompanied by men for this purpose. “Nowhere in the world can there be a right to the city as long as women are not able to walk alone on the streets, at any time, without fear” (ROLNIK, 2016, n. p.).

It is necessary, more and more, to understand that the different forms of occupation of the city are also due to gender differences, and that, because women do not form a uniform group, “it is necessary to consider the intersectionality that contemplates the differentiation between gender, class and race” (MARQUES, S., 2017, p. 85).

Thus, even if the public space belongs to everyone, one cannot lose sight of the fact that, in order to have a more egalitarian city, it is necessary to implement policies that dissolve the unbalanced gender correlation, since “working equity means treating unequal people differently, working the field of difference” (SANTORO, 2008, p. 16).

It is also extremely important that women appropriate not only the physical public space of the city, but also the space of fighting activity. “[...] and, if this space is democratic, inviting, if the woman is allowed to exercise her fighting activity[...], it is a conquered space” (MASCIA, 2017).

Nevertheless, Antônia Garcia (2017)<sup>14</sup> considers that the presence of women in some of these spaces of struggle, such as unions, is still a minority. And, in addition, it can be seen that they are not yet accessible to all women, especially black women.

Women are not occupying spaces. If the white woman is not, or the non-black woman is not participating in these spaces, imagine the black woman. We are still far from participating in spaces of power, spaces of decision. The spaces that women have a very present presence is (sic) in the social movement. (OLIVEIRA, 2017).

In this way, it is up to the woman "to ensure the place of struggle, with the purpose of providing participation parity [...], with the creation of conditions so that all subjects can participate in political decisions with independent voice" (SILVA ; FARIA; PIMENTA, 2017, n. p.). After all, "safe cities for all require, yet and again, the guarantee of the active participation of women in the construction and development of this debate and the confrontation of the macho culture" (CASIMIRO, 2017, p. 6).

Conquering the fighting space, however, is not an easy task, given that "women are practically invisible in these spaces, which are spaces for decision. We are often in the governors' room - just in the room - but in practice, we are not " (OLIVEIRA, 2017). In this context of neglect with the female figure, it is known that "Salvador is this capital, this perverse metropolis with women, because it leads to unemployment. And, if we are going to understand this unemployment, it has a name and a color: it is black women" (RODRIGUES, M., 2017).

In rural areas, this reality is no different, according to Isaura Conte, of the Peasant Women Movement of Rio Grande do Sul (MMC-RS). "Female invisibility has been constant in patriarchal society. And when it comes to peasant women, discrimination, exploitation, oppression and violence are even more highlighted" (CONTE, 2008, p. 1).

With a more optimistic view on the public occupation space in Salvador, Melissa Teixeira believes that progress has been made, although further progress is needed. "In the spaces where the city problematization is discussed, we always place ourselves, complement, think about space, not only for women, but for those who live with all of us. I think that it advances and is discussed" (TEIXEIRA, 2017).

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<sup>14</sup>Antônia dos Santos Garcia is a Social Scientist, researcher at the Center for Interdisciplinary Studies on Women - NEIM at UFBA. She was the Municipal Secretary for Reparations of the City Hall of Salvador from 2007 to 2008. Among several publications, she is the author of the book Women of the city of O'xum: gender relations, race, class and spatial organization of the neighborhood movement in Salvador.

This way, "the transition of women between the space of the home and the urban space, reflects the gradual female conquest of the public and political sphere", as pointed out by Diana Helene (2011, p. 5). And, by taking over decision-making spaces, women provide society with greater political maturity. "Women have this sensitivity of dialogue, speaking and listening, taking directions. And I think this is important to work on the issue of management" (GORDILHO-SOUZA, 2017)<sup>15</sup>.

Comparing the ideas of occupation and planning of the public space to social violence, Marta Rodrigues (2017) analyzes that, if there is no search for the construction of spaces that favor its use by women, the city tends to be more violent, meeting Clarice Rodrigues' reflections:

[...] a woman does not always choose an urban travel route due to its distance, but also because of the sense of security that this path provides. When there is lack of light, little movement and lack of visibility (blind spots), it is very likely that the woman will change her path, even if it means walking more (RODRIGUES, C., 2017).

In this sense, women guide their behavior from the produced public space, due to the violence that is imminent. This violence "can manifest itself in different ways, such as physical, sexual, moral, psychological and patrimonial violence, and causes harm, suffering and even the death of women" (MARQUES, H., 2017, p. 102). And so thinks Marta Rodrigues, pointing out that violence does not only occur in the public space, but also encompasses the space for dialogue, which is analogous to the fighting place:

If you don't listen to and incorporate what women in everyday life produce and what they think about the city, you are raping. It is as if women do not have a role within our city and in society. And we have that role. That voice has to come. The city must give the right and guarantee the voice of women (RODRIGUES, M., 2017).

However, it is not just the lack of dialogue that drives urban violence against women. The media - including instant messaging applications for smartphones and social media - can also be responsible for the spread of this hostility. "Anything that is happening, that appears (sic) someone cursing, using words to destroy the self-esteem of this woman or girl, [...] all of this is violence" (OLIVEIRA, 2017).

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<sup>15</sup>Angela Maria Gordilho Souza is an Architect and Urban Planner, professor and researcher at the Graduate Program in Architecture and Urbanism at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA). She was Secretary of Housing for the Municipality of Salvador from 2005 to 2008. She is currently president of ANPARQ (2019/2020) and member of the collegiate bodies of PPGAUFBA and the AU + E / UFBA Residence.



This violence, whether within the family or in the city - as both are umbilically linked - is classified as gender violence and is related to the feeling of men being able to take over women.

[...] the indexes of patrimonial, sexual, physical, psychological and affective violence are (sic) very high. I'm saying this because of my experience at the Family Court. We see a lot (of situations) because of gender, and because of men feeling like owners, as if we women were property, possession (TEIXEIRA, 2017).

Thus, it is fear - inside or outside the home - that directly affects the lives of women, who stop studying, working, and seeking personal and professional growth, due to urban violence, as often remembered in the interviews conducted. "Violence against women is an expression of the macho society in which we live and that prevents women from exercising their most basic human rights, such as the right to life and the right to come and go" (MARQUES, H., 2017, p. 102).

A dark or empty bus stop, a deserted street, possible harassment in public transport, the dangerous way back home at night, all of this, among other factors, makes the woman distance herself from social life.

The city is a space of constraint, danger and oppression [...]. I think that violence inhibits women's full access to the city. It is an inhibiting factor. If violence did not exist, we would have the question of male domination and oppression. But the city itself, in its planning and architecture, in all its spatiality, faces this issue of women (PINHO, 2017).

As a way of fighting this violence, in order to transform the city into a friendly place, "we need to open public spaces. The more closed, the less use of these spaces, the more violent [the city], that is, the spaces become violent and the less women can use" (SCOFIELD, 2018).

However, the situation of urban violence against women worsens when public services are not offered properly. The absence or inefficiency of public lighting, for example, has been repeatedly pointed out as the main factor that favors attacks on female life. "If there is no lighting in the neighborhood, this is already a step for the violence to also increase, because where it is dark is where a rape or theft is more likely to happen" (RODRIGUES, M., 2017).

The issue of the lack of lighting in increasing the likelihood of violence against women was also mentioned by Nágila Brito (2018). In an interview, the judge narrated a case, from her rapporteur, about a group rape at a street party, where the absence of functioning chemical toilets and public lighting led to the occurrence. She also maintains that the lack of state structure for the low-income population, such as a lack of urbanism in communities, will encourage violence against women, causing repercussions in the criminal sphere..

In the hegemonic narrative, it is up to women not to walk at night, in poorly lit places, with clothes and clothing considered provocative and postures considered seductive. This speech is present in the most diverse sectors of society, as the speech of the Colonel of the Military Police of Bahia, Eurico Filho Silva Costa, reveals when commenting on the rape of a Piauiense tourist in Itapuã, Salvador: “It was a risky behavior. What will a person do on a deserted beach from 7 pm to 11 pm when rape occurred? What will you do? She took the risk” (WENDEL, 2020).

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The perception of women about the right to the city and the female condition in the capital of Bahia, highlights the need for disruption, for the transformation of society operated by hegemonic thinking, which uses space, the body, and processes of economic production as an instrument of power domination. It becomes urgent, to experience other social relationships, other forms of urban life different from the hegemonic ones, and for this to happen, we need to activate the logic of ‘other societies’. Other societies, where the violation of the right to the city and gender-based violence is inconceivable. Violence in the use of public services, such as transportation, wage differences, physical, sexual, psychological violence, among others that women experience daily.

Regarding the female position in city planning, it appears that in the polarizing state-male world, based on institutions, the representation of women in public decision-making spheres is still limited, which does not mean the absence of participation and political action, on the contrary, women are at the forefront of the struggle for the right to the city, understood as a collective right, of full use of urban life, on an equal basis with the city.

The interviews carried out with women from different experiences and paths of life reveal that the sexism of the city translates into a difference in access to the city, which will be permeated by the constant fear of occupying the city, due to the harassment that women suffer in the public space and the fear of sexual violence. Unequal access to space is not simply the result of the production and reproduction of cities: it is a constituent element of them. To face gender inequality, saturated in all the structures that make up the city designed by men and for men, it is necessary to perceive and consider the female presence in the use and occupation of the city.

The city of Salvador has neglected the sociability of female characters in public spaces, as well as made invisible the existence of a clash of feminine gaze on the city in contemporary times, this subtraction of law has been reaffirmed in the planning and management proposals of the city.

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