NEGOTIATING WOMEN'S RIGHT TO THE CITY: GENDER-BASED AND INFRASTRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AGAINST BRAZILIAN WOMEN IN LONDON AND RESIDENTS IN MARÉ, RIO DE JANEIRO

ARTICULAÇÕES DO DIREITO DE MULHERES À CIDADE: VIOLÊNCIAS DE GÊNERO E INFRAESTRUTURAIS CONTRA IMIGRANTES BRASILEIRAS EM LONDRES E CONTRA MORADORAS DA MARÉ NO RIO DE JANEIRO.

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines obstacles to ensuring a gender just right to the city emerging from direct forms of gender-based violence and indirect infrastructural violence against women and girls. Drawing from the so-called 'infrastructural turn' in urban studies, the article presents an innovative analytical tool for the growing debate on the gender dimensions of urban violence. Methodologically, it presents empirical analyses of the transnational nature of gender-based violence against women in cities, reporting a quali-quantitative survey conducted between 2016 and 2018, with Brazilian women residing in London and women residing in one of the largest group of favelas in Rio de Janeiro, Maré. The study found that structural and infrastructural violence are directly implicated in the dynamics of gender-based violence that present severe restrictions on women's right to the city – be it regarding the difficulty of access to services and rights in the case of Brazilian migrants in London, or in the context of daily armed violence in the case of women in Maré. The article contributes to the interdisciplinary encounters between legal geography and feminist urbanism, formulating an understanding of gender-based violence in global cities in multidimensional, multiscalar and transnational terms, which transcend intimate, individualized and private experiences.

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RESUMO

O presente artigo examina os entraves ao direito à cidade com justiça de gênero, decorrentes de violências de gênero diretas e de violências infraestruturais indiretas contra mulheres e meninas. Com base na chamada 'virada infraestrutural' nos estudos urbanos, o artigo apresenta uma ferramenta analítica inovadora para o crescente debate sobre as dimensões de gênero da violência urbana. Metodologicamente, o artigo apresenta análises empíricas sobre a natureza transnacional das violências de gênero contra mulheres nas cidades, reportando uma pesquisa quali-quantitativa realizada entre 2016 e 2018, com mulheres brasileiras residentes em Londres e mulheres que residem em um dos maiores conjuntos de favelas do Rio de Janeiro, a Maré. Como resultado, verificou-se que violências estruturais e infraestruturais estão diretamente implicadas nas dinâmicas de violência de gênero que apresentam severas restrições ao direito de mulheres à cidade – seja quanto à dificuldade de acesso a serviços e direitos no caso de brasileiras imigrantes em Londres, seja quanto ao contexto de violência armada cotidiana no caso de mulheres da Maré. O artigo contribui para o encontro interdisciplinar entre a geografia jurídica e o urbanismo feminista, formulando uma compreensão das violências de gênero em termos multidimensionais, multiescalares e transnacionais nas cidades globais, que transcendem experiências íntimas, individualizadas e privadas.

Palavras-chave: Direito à cidade; gênero; violências infraestruturais; violências contra mulheres e meninas; urbanismo feminista.

1. INTRODUCTION

Women make up the majority of the urban population in the world today. Yet, there is little acknowledgement that urban space and urban life are effectively built and supported by women (CHANT AND MCILWAINE, 2016). This misconception has serious implications for an equitable urban experience and for women's right to the city globally. If, on the one hand, life in cities has the potential to promote important social changes, providing means for more gender equality, it is also significant that, on the other hand, effective and emancipatory changes are hindered on a daily basis by violence against women and girls, conditioning the ways of experiencing the city. In a global context in which one in three women experience gendered violence, with a higher incidence in cities (UN WOMEN, 2015), there is an urgent need to explore these dynamics, their obstacles and their alternatives. This article examines these issues in an effort to widen the narrow focus on gender in traditional debates

on the right to the city. Thus, we highlight the importance of considering gender justice in cities (MOSER, 2016; see also FALU, 2010), as well as the need to recognize the city as a multi-scalar, transnational and translocal phenomenon, i.e., as urban systems globally connected and supported by unequal gender relations.

This paper draws empirically on the transnational nature of violence against women and girls[1] in cities based on a study carried out through an international partnership between researchers from Brazil and the United Kingdom on Brazilian women residing in London and those residing in one of the largest group of favelas in Rio de Janeiro, known as Maré[2]. The research showed how gender-based violence can manifest itself in different ways and in various areas of the city in both contexts, fundamentally affecting women's lives and security. We argue that indirect forms of structural and infrastructural violence (RODGERS and O'NEILL, 2012; LAURIE and SHAW, 2018; DATTA and AHMED, 2020) are deeply gendered and are explicitly implicated in the dynamics of direct forms of gender-based violence that, in the urban context, present severe restrictions on women's right to the city. Informed by feminist perspectives, the paper contributes to the interdisciplinary encounters between legal geography and feminist urbanism, aiming to deepen understanding of gender-based violence at different local and temporal scales as well as to challenge causal narratives which focus solely on individual experiences (DOMINGUEZ and MENJÍVAR, 2014; JOKELA-PANSINI, 2020; MENJÍVAR and WALSH, 2017; PAIN and STAEHELI, 2014).

The paper is divided into three main sections. First, we outline the conceptual framework that informs the research arguing that violence against women and girls goes beyond the individual and private spheres and is structurally embedded in the public sphere and urban life. In this light, violence creates obstacles to a fulfilled and equitable urban experience, in contrast to many theoretical approaches in which urban violence is predominantly discussed in relation to the right to the city generically and rarely from a gendered perspective. In questioning the duality between the public and private domains, a new dimension of the right to the city begins to be outlined. Moving on to examine the empirical elements of the research, we draw parallels between the situations observed in regard to Brazilian women in London and to women residing in Maré, Rio de Janeiro, following a transnational approach on violence against women in the global city. Finally, we consider the infrastructural obstacles to women's right to the city in terms of difficulties of access to services and rights in the case of Brazilian migrants in London, or the everyday context of armed violence for women from Maré. In the conclusion, we consider the conditions of urban life for women in global cities, in terms of limits to their right to the city, reflecting on horizons of transformations and new research avenues.

2. CONCEPTUALIZING THE RIGHT TO THE CITY AND GENDERED INFRASTRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

Although the roots of gender-based violence lie in private relations of patriarchal power, these intersect and are exacerbated by other forms of indirect structural violence, relating to the challenges of living in cities in both the North and the global South (PAIN, 2014; PHILO, 2017). Urbanization processes are recognized as permeated by gender in the sense that women and men experience the city in markedly differentiated ways (CHANT, 2013). Even so, a gender lens is often lacking in the understanding of cities in that it tends to be treated in different and less comprehensive ways. Indeed, debates about the meaning of 'just cities' – articulated within the framework of the United Nations and particularly the Sustainable Development Goals[3] – tend to neglect the gender dimensions of urban justice (MOSER, 2016). In turn, urban theorization has been elaborated from an indisputably masculinist perspective (PEAKE, 2016), leading feminist analyses to critique a Lefebvrian formulation of urban rights in terms of their neglect of a gendered viewpoint that recognizes women's experiences in particular (VACCHELLI and KOFMAN, 2018).

Indeed, David Harvey (2014) defines the 'right to the city' in relation not only to the use of public space but also as the right to create and define these spaces in order to fulfill human needs for a full life in the urban environment. In these terms, the right to the city from a gendered perspective would involve safe access as well as the active participation of women in all aspects of urban life, including security in the circulation and occupation of public space as well as decision making powers about the resources available and accessed in the city (WHITZMAN et al., 2014). Although debates about gender-based violence as an obstacle to the right to the city often focus on the public sphere and on symptoms rather than causes, there have been recent moves towards more holistic and feminist approaches that foreground women's rights to experience the city in an equitable way (TANKEL, 2011).

In Brazil, the debate on women's right to the city has been gaining prominence. This 'right' is both an academic concept and a praxis of movements that combine urban and feminist struggles (BERNER and MELINO, 2016). In fact, Brazil's legal frameworks are often seen as pioneers in the field of the 'right to the city', with the City Statute of 2001 being a global reference point precisely because of its institutionalization of a concept coined by intellectuals and practiced by social movements (ROLNIK, 2012; MARICATO et al., 2013). Understood in this way, the ongoing forms of feminist dispute over urban space in Brazil in reaction to the gender disparities in the exercise of the right to the city is especially noteworthy (see reports on these experiences in IBDU, 2017). As a growing agenda for social struggles, women's right to the city has been increasingly consolidated in the urban political and theoretical agendas, intersected mainly by racial, generational and geographical issues.

Central to these debates has been the recognition that the experiences of women in the city cannot be dissociated from the private sphere (FENSTER, 2005), or from the intersections between the private and the public (PEAKE, 2017). It is only by exploring the gendered links between the public and private spheres in the city that a more comprehensive understanding of gender-based violence can be established (DATTA, 2016). Understanding gender-based violence in this way, therefore, makes the contradictory nature of urban gender transformations more evident, as cities make visible the effects of gender norms and practices (BONDI and CHRISTIE, 2003). Thus, on the one hand, urban life can lead to improvements in women's lives, mainly through better support systems and services for women survivors of violence compared to those in rural areas. Cities can also offer women opportunities to escape some unpaid domestic labour demands, access better paid work and potentially lead to shifts towards independence and self-development (BRADSHAW, 2013; HINDIN and ADAIR, 2002). On the other hand, urbanization also creates new demands for women in terms of new types of labor exploitation and specific urban problems such as pollution, inadequate housing, and mobility challenges (CHANT and MCILWAINE, 2016; MCILWAINE, 2013). Thus, the notion of the city as liberating for women needs to be moderated (PEAKE, 2017), especially the notion of the 'safe city', since gender-based violence acts as a barrier to women's rights of full participation in urban life (UN WOMEN, 2015).

Thus, the paradox of the experiences of violence against women and girls is that cities can also provide resources of protection for women who experience these violences. In a context where patriarchal restrictions may be more flexible in urban areas than in the countryside (CHANT, 2013), tolerance to gender-based violence tends to be lower in cities (HINDIN and ADAIR, 2002), with surviving women being more prone to act and trigger security mechanisms (HEISE et al., 2002). Tolerance also varies by country, being influenced by variations in criminal justice systems and prevailing attitudes towards violence, as well as state and civil society resources available to devote to support services (VACCHELLI et al., 2015). Where the locus of the city has replaced the country as the main scale of intervention in relation to social justice issues (MOSER and MCILWAINE, 2014; PEAKE, 2017), it is essential to recognize that the nature and responses to violence against women and girls vary significantly according to the city, within a broader context that fundamentally undermines gender justice at both local and global scales.

This relates to the 'multiscalar' dimension which draws on feminist debates about how the diverse and interconnected forms of gender-based violence span multiple locations and geographies, from the intimate site of the body in cities to the global and transnational scales (DATTA 2016; JOKELA-PANSINI 2020; DOMINGUEZ and MENJÍVAR, 2014; PAIN 2015). We consider multiscalar a crucial lens to capture the concomitant ways in which gender-based violences occurs in various locations,

transnationally, thus affecting women in Rio de Janeiro's peripheries and Brazilian migrants in London, as we will examine below.

Although often relativized as a problem in many cities, especially those with very high levels of male homicide rates (WILDING, 2010) or political violence (ESSER, 2014), gender-based violence is endemic across the urban world. Certainly, the relationship between gender-based violence and urbanization is not uniform everywhere, but there is a growing consensus that women experience especially high levels of insecurity and violence in cities (MOSER and MCILWAINE, 2014). The most widely accepted definitions of gender-based violence refer to violence in which women and girls are specifically affected because of their gender (WATTS and ZIMMERMAN, 2002) and the reasons for such violence are rooted in the exercise of social, economic or political power by men against women, implying the use of physical, sexual and psychological force and/or control in the private and public spheres (MCILWAINE, 2013). While acknowledging the limitations in accurate data collection, evidence shows that intimate partner violence in cities occurs less frequently than in rural areas, but violence outside the intimate partnership situation is greater in the former (MCILWAINE, 2013). Although, globally, about 35% of women have experienced some form of gender-based violence (WHO, 2013), UN-HABITAT (2006) suggests that they are twice as likely to experience violence in cities, especially in the so-called global South. Furthermore, despite the diversity in the nature and forms of gender-based violence in cities, its incidence is considered higher in certain parts of cities, such as in peripheral urban communities (CHANT and MCILWAINE, 2016).

In the Latin American context, studies on the terms in which gender-based violence transcends various dimensions of social life have been increasingly carried out. On the one hand, it is argued that women from all socioeconomic, racial, class, and religious backgrounds suffer gender-based violence, but, on the other hand, it is recognized that women located at the intersection of various systems of oppression are more likely to experience violence in more extreme ways, directly and indirectly (MUÑOZ CABRERA, 2010; SANTOS, 2017). Still from a segmented perspective, studies with Afro-Latin American and/or indigenous women are more likely to focus on the intersections between race and violence (CALDWELL, 2000; PERRY, 2016), while those who work with lesbian women are more likely to focus on the interactions between sexuality and violence (BASTIAN DUARTE, 2012). In turn, the violence of coloniality linked to what Lugones (2007) called 'the coloniality of gender' is at the center of many recent discussions about indirect and structural forms of gender-based violence in Latin America in relation to how racism, sexism and heteronormativity are rooted in the colonial project, permanently promoting various forms of violence against indigenous, black, lesbian and trans women.

It is important to talk about gender-based violences in the plural to ensure that it encompasses its multidimensionality and intersectionality (MUÑOZ CABRERA, 2010). In other words, these processes are experienced intersectionally, with certain women being more likely to suffer violence than others according to their class, generation, and markers of raciality, sexuality and ableism, among others, as notably discussed by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1993) about experiences of African American women with domestic violence. The women most likely to experience disproportionate levels of gender-based violence include women from racialized, disabled, lesbian, bisexual or transgender groups and sex workers (UN WOMEN, 2015), as well as many migrant women (UN, 2019). In addition, the different types of violence also intersect causally, which has been incorporated into notions of a continuum of violence against women (KELLY, 1998). In this spectrum, the structural nature of the violence committed against women in Latin America, especially those who are black, indigenous, poor, lesbian, trans and with disabilities, must be recognized within the broader colonialist engine of power that sustains intersectional gendered violences over time and space (CARNEIRO, 2001 op cit MUÑOZ CABRERA, 2010: 15).

The context of violence in all its forms undermines women's ability to participate fully in city life, both productively, in terms of loss of income due to health problems caused by gender-based violence, and socially, where surviving women can withdraw from friendship and social networks because of shame, stigma or rejection (HEISE et al., 2002). These social costs also affect families and children when caregivers move away from this role, with subsequent negative intergenerational effects among children who witness violence against women (MCILWAINE, 2016). But the element that we highlight in this article refers to the effects on urban life that reproduce insecurities associated with gender inequalities and provide specifically urban forms of violence against women and girls, in turn re-molding gender subjectivities to reproduce further inequalities.

At this thematic and disciplinary intersection, the notion of infrastructure and, especially, the concept of infrastructural violence are particularly relevant. These are terms coined in the context of the recent 'infrastructural turn' in urban studies, a scholarly movement that explores the mediation, support and reproduction of power relationships through urban infrastructures (LARKIN, 2013; MCFARLANE and SILVER, 2017). Amid a growing debate on gender dimensions in the connections between urban and structural violence, the perspective on infrastructure presents a crucial analytical tool for examining the right to the city among women (DATTA and AHMED, 2020; LAURIE and SHAW, 2018). Defined by Rodgers and O'Neill (2012) as processes of marginalization, exclusion and social alienation that become operational in sustaining contemporary cities, 'infrastructural violence' is based on Galtung's (1969) pioneering ideas about 'structural violence' that encompasses various

deprivations, including material, psychological and symbolic oppression, in time and space (FARMER, 2004). Infrastructure is recognized as inherently relational, becoming concrete as it is linked to organized practices (LARKIN, 2013; STARR, 1999). Infrastructural violence can manifest itself as a form of passive exclusion of population segments to basic services and resources, such as housing, basic sanitation, water, electricity (PAIN, 2019; DATTA, 2016). It can also be actively expressed through infrastructures purposely designed for social control and marginalization of specific segments of the population (RODGERS and O'NEILL, 2012). With regard to women, this type of violence can generate overlapping indirect suffering through the multiple reproductive burdens that fall on their bodies when dealing with infrastructural inadequacies, as well as direct forms of physical and sexual aggression (CHANT and MCILWAINE, 2016; also DATTA, 2016). These processes are also related to the concept of 'slow violence' (NIXON, 2011) to refer to the gradual and hidden violence of environmental destruction that varies in time and space and that for women includes insecurities and barriers inherent to the exclusion of infrastructure (DATTA and AHMED, 2020).

However, until recently, these debates underestimated the importance of gender and how women are disproportionately excluded from urban infrastructures, giving rise to more gender-based violence. This is not to say that the relations between gender and infrastructure have not been examined, but that they have rarely been conceived of as infrastructural violence. In fact, feminist studies, and specifically those that target low-income territories in global peripheries, highlight how inaccessible and/or low-quality infrastructures in cities, along with poverty and exclusion, often generate direct forms of violence based on gender against women and girls (CHANT and MCILWAINE, 2016). The notion of 'infrastructural violence' has been increasingly used to identify infrastructural disparities that affect women exclusively or disproportionately, in their roles of social reproduction (CHAPLIN and KALITA, 2017). Here, we develop the idea of 'gendered infrastructural violence' which is associated with the broader feminist contestation against individualized and isolated narratives about direct gender-based violence at different local and temporal scales, these being effectively implicated in broader contexts of structural and state violence (DOMINGUEZ and MENJÍVAR, 2014; JOKELA-PANSINI, 2020; MENJÍVAR and WALSH, 2017; PAIN and STAEHELI, 2014). Structural and infrastructural violence are therefore directly involved in the dynamics of violence against women and girls in the urban context. There are many examples of how women experience gender-based violence while negotiating public spaces in the city with inadequate public lighting, water and sanitation facilities and unsafe public transport systems (LEVY, 2013; SOMMER et al. 2015). These occurrences directly compromise women's right to the city in terms of mobility, freedom and security of subsistence (BEEBEEJAUN, 2017).

In this sense, the current paper provokes a reflection on violence against women and girls as being reproduced in a non-linear way – i.e. as merely between aggressor and victim. Access to urban infrastructure is negotiated and can intensify or ameliorate experiences of gender-based violence, thus moving beyond the individual spheres and private life and intersecting with the public sphere and urban life. We seek to highlight precisely that urban-spatial injustice is also related to gender-based violence within and outside the domestic sphere, especially with regard to gendered infrastructural violence that transcends intimate and individualized experiences. Public and private spheres blur and, breaking with this duality, a new dimension of the right to the city can be delineated. To develop this argument, we present the results of the empirical research implemented transnationally.

3. THE CITY AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A TRANSNATIONAL APPROACH

The research contrasted the experience of violence against women between two so-called 'marginalized' population groups, in different forms and degrees, in two major global cities to examine how gender relations and forms of violence operate as a barrier to the full participation of women in urban life. In contrast to the typical approach of investigating violence in contexts of precariousness or socioeconomic disadvantages, we seek to establish a transnational approach between the global North and the South. Transnationality, in this sense, corresponds to an analytical lens that transcends local, national and international scales. Data on violence often reinforce North-South geopolitical segmentation: comparative indicators[4] often place London as one of the safest cities in the world for women; Rio de Janeiro, on the other hand, is often associated with intense urban violence, including high rates of violence against women. Seeking to destabilize this dualism, the research was carried out between 2016 and 2018 with Brazilian women who live in London as migrants and Brazilian women who live in Rio de Janeiro as residents of the set of favelas of Maré. However, it is important to highlight the caveat that there are considerable variations in precariousness and privileges in both groups and that the associations established here do not seek to homogenize or essentialize the different experiences, but rather to deconstruct the stigmas of social complexity in this global debate.

In London, the research was carried out in the context of a relatively new Brazilian population residing in the city, with the majority arriving since 2000 (MCILWAINE and BUNGE, 2016). Although estimates vary, the 2011 UK census reported 52,000 Brazilians nationwide, with 61% concentrated in London (EVANS et al., 2015). While Brazilians tend to be relatively well-educated, many are involved in manual labor, with up to 1/3 having insecure immigration status. This can lead to high levels of marginalization exacerbated by difficulties in speaking English (MCILWAINE and EVANS, 2018).

Although there are no estimates for the incidence of violence against women among the Brazilian population, in the United Kingdom in general, about 1.6 million women aged between 16 and 74 years old suffered domestic violence in 2017 (ONS, 2019). According to the Femicide Census (LONG and HARVEY, 2020), 1,337 women were killed between 2009 and 2018, of which 16% were foreigners, with another 9% of unknown origin. In London, rates are especially high, with almost 90,000 domestic violence crimes reported between March 2019 and March 2020, according to London City Hall. These numbers are probably still underestimations due to underreporting and the fact that statistics fail to recognize how gender-based violence reflects multiple and simultaneous incidents (WALBY and TOWERS, 2017). Although research on gender-based violence among Latin Americans in the UK is limited, qualitative studies suggest that one in four women experience intimate partner violence (MCILWAINE and CARLISLE 2011). More broadly, 3/4 of Latin Americans identify discrimination in London with women being particularly affected by sexual harassment at work (MCILWAINE et al, 2011).

In terms of research structure, in London, 12 interviews were conducted with organizations that provide assistance to immigrants (EVANS and MCILWAINE, 2018). In addition, a virtual survey was carried out with 175 Brazilian women from different parts of the city, addressing experiences of gender-based violence in the UK and/or Brazil and the different forms of occurrence. Although there were limitations, especially in terms of reaching interviewees who were more educated and computer literate, this approach allowed women to complete the questionnaire anonymously. In fact, those who completed it tended to be relatively young (74% under 50 years old), well educated (72% with university education), employed in technical and managerial positions (53%) and ethnically white (73%). Most were originally from São Paulo (42%), with 10% from Rio de Janeiro and 9% from Minas Gerais and Paraná each. In turn, 69% of women were married or in stable relationships, 15% were separated or divorced and 13% were single, with just over half having children (55%). While this profile reflects higher degrees of privilege than has been reported in other surveys with Brazilian women (EVANS et al., 2015), in-depth interviews allowed the exploration of the experiences of women with more precarious occupational and immigration situations. In total, 25 in-depth interviews were conducted, 20 with surviving women who were supported by the *Latin American Women's Rights Service* (LAWRS), the research partner organization, and five with women who were randomly recruited from Brazilian networks and who had not necessarily experienced violence of gender. Six focus groups were also conducted, five with women and one with men (a total of 16 people), using participatory appraisal methods to explore the nature of violence against women and girls. All interviews and focus groups were conducted in Portuguese at the headquarters of the migrant organization with access to a trained counselor if their support was needed.

In Rio de Janeiro, a similar methodological structure was implemented in Maré, which is located in the North Zone of the city and comprises 16 favelas, configuring one of the largest favelas in Brazil. In 2013, the Census of Maré (Redes da Maré, 2013) estimated a population of almost 140,000 people, of which 51% were women. Maré is generally characterized by high levels of poverty, inequality and public insecurity. Many residents have low (albeit increasing) levels of education and work in informality or self-employment. More than half identify themselves as mixed-race, 1/3 as white and less than 10% as black. Although many local workers are street vendors or domestic workers, there is also a vibrant entrepreneurial culture in Maré with some 2,500 small businesses. However, Maré is dominated by four of Rio de Janeiro's armed groups: the factions *Comando Vermelho*, *Terceiro Comando*, *Amigos dos Amigos* and the *Milícia* (SILVA SOUSA, 2017). As an area of recurring police operations, in 2017 alone there were 41 police operations that resulted in 42 deaths, 41 injured people and the closure of health units and schools for 45 and 35 days respectively (KRENZINGER et al., 2018a). In 2019, there were 39 operations, 45 injured and 49 deaths (see also Redes da Maré, 2019). In terms of violence against women, it is estimated that 35% of women nationally suffered gender-based violence, 80% of which were perpetrated by a current or former partner (GUIMARÃES and PEDROZA, 2015; see also KISS et al., 2012). In Rio de Janeiro in 2016, 396 women were victims of homicide, one woman being murdered every day (KRENZINGER et al., 2018a).

The methodological application in Maré involved the mapping of 14 service providers that deal with violence against women and girls, the application of individual questionnaires with 801 women, along with seven focus groups with older women, women members of local religious organizations, people LGBTQ +, drug users, collective activists (men and women) and field researchers (59 people in total, in all groups), and in-depth interviews with 20 women survivors of violence. Fieldwork was carried out by researchers from Redes da Maré in three areas covering 15 favelas using sequential sampling based on the Census of Maré (Redes da Maré, 2013). The survey showed that women were predominantly young (65% under the age of 44), with the majority (62%) born in Rio de Janeiro, of which 41% were born in Maré. Most women had a low level of education (53% had only primary education); almost half identified as of mixed-race (48%) and 30% declared they were white. In turn, 23% of women were employed, and 21% were unemployed; 1/5 were self-employed, usually in a small company. The rest were identified as domestic workers (19%), retired (12%) or students (2%). More than 1/3 (36%) were single, 45% married or in a stable relationship and 10% separated or divorced, with 80% having children.

The research identified violence against women and girls as multidimensional and multilocalized, taking place in both in the public and private spheres, by various perpetrators and

extended over time. This multidimensionality can be seen as a continuum in which different types of gender-based violence (physical and non-physical) intersect and are causally affected at individual, family, community, municipal, state, and transnational scales (MCILWAINE and EVANS, 2020). The very understanding of what gender-based violence is varies significantly with a tendency to focus on physical aggression in the conjugal context (KRENZINGER et al., 2018).

In London, awareness of the issue proved to be greater and 82% of women reported having experienced it. Those most likely to report their experiences lived in the city for between 10 and 20 years, were in their 40s, educated to postgraduate level, declared themselves 'mixed-race' instead of 'white', were separated or divorced, worked in services and had access to their own income. As for the general types identified, the most frequent was psychological / emotional violence (48%), followed by physical violence (38%) and sexual violence (14%). Unwanted physical contact was the most common specific form of gender-based violence (experienced by 42%), along with physical aggression (36%) and humiliation or discrimination (33%). Most of the perpetrators were known to women (66%); although a third of gender-based violence was committed by strangers, almost 1/4 (23%) was by an intimate partner, with bosses and colleagues in workplaces responsible for 26% and friends and family members for 10%. Gender-based violence was experienced at various times throughout the course of women's lives. For example, Sofia[5], 40, experienced the following episode in London and Brazil: she was arrested, beaten, kicked, raped, insulted, harassed, financially controlled and abused by her husband. Also, away from home, she was sexually abused by a church colleague in London.

In Rio, where awareness emerged as more limited, incidence levels were lower. Although the vast majority of respondents (76%) said that violence against women occurs in Maré, only 29% openly declared that they suffered it. However, when asked about 12 specific forms of violence, this number rose to 57% of the women interviewed, indicating that they had suffered one or more forms of gender-based violence (34% physical, 30% sexual and 45% psychological). In addition, women in the *milícia*-controlled area and with the fewest NGOs had lower levels, suggesting that they were potentially afraid to discuss the issue or would be less aware of it. The group most likely to have experienced gender-based violence were young people between 18 and 29 years old (almost 35%) and women between 30 and 44 years old (34%), mixed-race (45%), who lived their entire lives in Maré, with complete secondary education (37% complete and incomplete primary education accounted for 44%) and single or separated. Intimate partners committed 47% of the violence and 7% by other family members; the rest was perpetrated by co-workers, bosses, friends and strangers. As in London, women experienced various types of violence throughout their lives, including humiliation and psychological violence; suffered physical aggression in the form of punches, kicks and knife attacks; rapes or sexual

abuse; childhood maltreatment; social ostracism; homicide attempts; financial abuse; as well as sexism and racism.

In empirical terms, violence against women and girls manifested itself in multiple spaces and territories in the cities of London and Rio de Janeiro. In London, 30% of all gender-based violence occurred in the domestic domain (22% in the victim's home and 8% in someone else's home), mainly in the form of 'intimate partner violence' (75% of perpetrators), while in Maré, there was an almost balanced division in the incidences of violence in the public (53%) and private (47%) spheres. Regarding physical violence specifically, 66% of the occurrences were in the private sphere. As for sexual violence, 73% of experiences were in the public sphere and 59% of psychological violence were in the public sphere, such as negative comments and verbal aggressions. Often, this type of violence manifested itself as exceptionally severe, usually taking multiple and overlapping forms. However, violence by a current or former intimate partner or family member also emerged as being perpetrated in public domains of the city. In London, Miriam spoke of how her ex-husband followed her everywhere after they separated, continually harassing her on the street and even throwing a brick into her apartment window. In Maré, Victoria remembered how her husband chased her onto the street and tore her dress while attacking her. Other family members were often perpetrators of violence inside and outside the home. In London, Camila talked about how her brother subjected her to constant physical abuse when she was a child in Bahia. Teresa, in Maré, recalled how her brother assaulted her on the street as part of an argument with her father, involving aggression and threat with a firearm.

In terms of other forms of gender-based violence occurring in public spaces more specifically, in London, the workplace emerged as an important site of violence where almost 1/4 occurred (23%). Much of this was sexual harassment, as discussed by Isabel, a hotel maid, who described how a colleague attacked her in an empty room, throwing her on the bed and strangling her while sexually assaulting her, before she managed to escape. Other public places where gender-based violence was perpetrated were cafes and bars (16%), public transport (10%) and public areas (10%). In Maré, local public spaces (18%) and community streets (10%) were the most commonly identified places, with only 5% of cases occurring in the workplace and 1% on public transport. The latter can be explained by the high levels of women running their own businesses or working from home, as well as the low levels of use of public transport within the favela. However, the gender-based violence experienced in public areas of Maré was extremely serious, especially sexual violence, and interconnected with the high levels of widespread urban violence in the territory (see also KRENZINGER et al., 2018b).

While certain spaces within the city are associated with gender-based violence, such as workplaces in London and public spaces in Maré, other shared and more generic risk factors were

revealed in the research. Living and working conditions as a migrant in London are often related to exploitative employment or the negotiation of public transport during anti-social hours. Among favela residents in Rio de Janeiro, the endemic urban violence by the state and armed groups emerged, as will be seen, as a specific 'urban trigger' (MCILWAINE, 2013). In relation to intimate partner violence, pregnancy, spontaneous abortion, incestuous sexual abuse in childhood and substance abuse were also identified as precipitating factors (HEISE and KOTSADAM, 2015). In London, for example, Laura had a Portuguese boyfriend who was addicted to methamphetamine and who attacked her while under the influence of the drug. In Maré, similarly, there was a consensus in one of the focus groups that among drug users, gender-based violence is recurrent, especially in the 'crack scene'. Child sexual abuse is also recognized for affecting the perpetration and experience of violence against women in adulthood (JEWKES et al., 2015). Among the Brazilian women in London, many had migrated to escape such abuses, while others continued to struggle to cope with the consequences. In fact, 8 out of 25 reported having been subjected to some form of incestuous sexual abuse by parents, uncles and cousins in Brazil before migration. In Maré, child abuse revealed itself very strongly. In one serious case, Maria Elisa, spoke of her sexual abuse by a family member when she was six. This person had even burned her private parts so that she would not tell anyone. A few years later, and still traumatized, she fled a small town near Recife to Maré with her cousins to escape the abuse.

Institutional gender-based violence also manifests itself in the public domain in insidious ways. In Maré, this was explicitly related to the complex issue of public (in)security. On the one hand, armed agents, such as the police, were singled out as perpetrators of violence against women and girls. Other actors, such as members of the drug trade, were identified both as perpetrators – in the form of aggression and the exercise of territorial power – but also as agents of 'protection' in the absence of state security forces willing to support women within favelas (see also MOSER and MCILWAINE, 2004; WILDING, 2014). For example, Jennifer told how her husband came into a bar in the favela and hit her in the face, causing her to fall. A group of people involved in the drug trade confronted her husband and expelled him. Although this is a reactive situation, some women actively seek out these actors to help them in the event of a lack of legal support from the police. Lina discussed the extent to which women feel compelled to resort to extrajudicial or para-state ways to deal with gender-based violence. She reported that she sought protection 'from the law' to keep her aggressor away from her, but, knowing that as a resident of a 'poor community' she would not see the law respected, she acknowledges the role of armed groups in resolving conflicts in a violent way, with threats, banishment and even executions.

While the situation of institutional gender-based violence in Maré is clearly endemic, also it was reported in London, albeit in different ways. It usually involved abuse of women at the hands of state officials, from the police to border control agents. For example, Camila remembered how she was verbally abused by an immigration officer at a London airport – after 3 hours of interviews, an officer accompanied her to the elevator to collect her luggage and, inside the elevator, commented on her breasts and asked if he could touch her.

More than international parallels, we highlight that the arena of perpetration of violence against Brazilian women in an urban context is transnational. Indeed, it was found that the experiences of gender-based violence often instigated the migration of women from Brazil (generally from the large cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro) to London, with 77% of women in London saying that they suffered before moving. Motivated by a general desire to improve their lives, many women also discussed how they had fled Brazil to escape violent partners or how they had migrated with the aggressors in the hope that the violence would subside. Cristina from São Paulo, for example, moved to London in 2009 with her husband, who had previously been violent with her, in an attempt to save the marriage, but the violence increased. However, Cristina noted that she received support from British social services, which she considered better than that provided in Brazil. Another dimension of transnational urban gender-based violence in London was human trafficking and forced labor, with several cases of women who came to work having their passports confiscated and/or ended up living in bondage. Sabrina, for example, went to London to work for a Brazilian family as a nanny. Although the family organized the visa and the trip, on arrival they took her passport and made her take care of two children, do all the housework and work for her boss as a cleaning lady and messenger, from early morning until late at night. Her boss then began to harass her sexually and physically, prompting her to flee, first through some Brazilian friends and then with the help of a migrant protection organization. In fact, among those who experienced gender-based violence in Brazil, more than half (52%) experienced it again in London, while others faced it in London for the first time.

4. URBAN INFRASTRUCTURAL DISPARITIES IN LONDON AND RIO DE JANEIRO AS BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S RIGHT TO THE CITY

As a vicious circle, broader forms of insecurity associated with structural, symbolic and infrastructural violence – which are sustained by gender inequality – condition the perpetration of violence against women and girls, which in turn affect the subjectivities, norms and practices that organize urban life and reproduce inequalities. On the one hand, even though unequal power relations have been identified both in Maré and in London as causing gender-based violence, many women

recognized the adaptability of misogyny to the context, where the manifestations violence can occur in more or less explicit ways according to the differences between Brazil and the UK. On the other hand, gender meanings themselves are also spatially transformed, as seen in the way Brazilian women are stereotyped intersectionally in the UK through complex racialization and hypersexualization (see also BESERRA, 2005; DATTA and MCILWAINE, 2014).

To return to the notion of women's right to the city, security is not only the absence of violence, but also involves the promotion of well-being and gender equality through access to livelihoods and active participation in all aspects of urban life, from the circulation around and occupation of public space to decision-making about the resources accessed in the city (WHITZMAN et al., 2014). However, it is crucial that this be assessed at different scales and spaces, from the body to the home, from the community to the city and transnationally, and that the causes are recognized as having deep roots in gendered power relations and structural violence. Indeed, the right to the city for women encompasses the intersections between private and public relations free from gender-based violence that are supported by a series of material conditions, which extend across all of these spaces (DATTA, 2016).

The perspective on gender-based violence adopted in this research implies an understanding of it not only as an individual phenomenon of the use of male force and abuse against women and girls, but as deeply rooted in the unequal structures of power that operate in cities as well as on national and transnational scales. In addition to the private and domestic sphere, the state is therefore fully involved. The breadth, severity and ubiquity of gender-based violence among Brazilian women in London and Maré highlights how this experience dominates the lives of women in ways that are often ignored by society in general, which has significant implications for understanding the equal participation of women in the city (PEAKE, 2017). In order to understand the barriers to the right to the city with gender equality, it is essential to recognize that gender-based violences manifest at different scales, domains and territories. In turn, cities are situated within broader global relations of structural violence that mediate and influence the nature of gender-based violences. It is at this point that we argue that the 'infrastructural violence', defined above, is directly implicated in the dynamics of violence against women and girls that, in the urban context, present severe restrictions on the right to the city among women.

The contexts of the two fieldwork sites, although fundamentally different in many ways, share similarities in that the experiences analyzed are of women who live in marginalized situations and/or peripheral spaces in the city. The Brazilian women interviewed in London – acknowledging that migratory experiences can be marked by various indicators of privileges among this social group – tend

to face great challenges of insecurity in relation to their means of subsistence, the regularization of their immigration situation and their linguistic capacities. In Maré, women face difficulties related to livelihoods, endemic urban violence and structural precariousness. These challenges affect the experiences of women in the city in ways that are exacerbated by gender-based violence. Therefore, both the hostile immigration environment and that of daily violence, as well as their intersection with gender-based violence, are structural factors that produce fears that fundamentally affect the ability of women to move freely through urban space. Fear deeply restricts women's freedom to move around in urban space (WHITZMAN et al., 2014), limiting mobility, creating silences and making it imperative to create strategies to face it, such as changing routes and movement times, and the critical choice of their clothes (MCILWAINE and MOSER, 2007). This forced immobility and limitations on freedom fundamentally undermine women's right to experience the city. The experiences of LGBTQ+ people are also important here, a subject that is often overlooked in these debates. In Maré, Marisa, a trans woman, spoke in territorial terms about her experiences with violence, characterizing her relationship with the space in which she has lived and circulated around for so many years as being very insecure, particularly referring to her childhood as a boy who suffered physical and verbal aggression mainly on the part of men and other boys.

However, with regard to the feminized paradoxes of city life just as urban areas may have less marked patriarchal restrictions than in rural areas, similar flexibilities in gender norms and identities tend to appear when migrants move internationally to cities in the global North (MCILWAINE and CARLISLE, 2011). Although this is not automatically the case (MCILWAINE, 2013), and despite the alarming levels of gender-based violence in London and Maré, some women in both places spoke of reduced tolerance for such violence. Just as Maria Elisa fled a small town near Recife and moved to Maré because of incestuous sexual abuse, some women in London spoke of fleeing Brazil because of gender-based violence, having perceived the UK as more favorable to women who suffer from such violence. In fact, when Brazilian women in London were asked to compare the incidence of gender-based violence in Brazil and the UK, some indicated it to be the same or worse (44%), while 43% felt it was less frequent in the UK.

What seems particularly difficult in the UK is access to rights and reporting mechanisms precisely because they are foreign subjects, although these experiences are not uniform and rather ambiguous. For example, Sofia discussed how in Brazil violence against women seems to be more common and people tend to trivialize it, but in the UK her perception is that it is a serious crime, although for foreigners it is much more difficult to report and seek help. On the other hand, despite many cases of abandonment in London, several women spoke of the support of the police and organizations – once

successfully accessed – that would be absent in Brazil. Carolina, who shared her experience of reporting her partner's violence, said the police acted immediately in the UK, having been given a device to activate the police even more easily. The point here is to emphasize the ambivalences. More markedly negative experiences are outlined below.

These differences are reflected in the levels of reporting and disclosure of gender-based violence in both contexts, where 56% of women had never reported in London (to friends, family or formal channels) compared to 65% in Maré. The main reason for this in London was that they thought nothing would be done about it, along with the lack of information, and in Maré, that they did not think the violence was serious. It seems that although violence against women is certainly widespread everywhere, with higher levels of tolerance in Maré than in London, women perceive variations in tolerance and support, especially if they are migrants.

Urban life, therefore, does not pose a risk of uniform violence to women. While there are specific urban causes behind violence against women and girls, there are also more forms of reaction and support in cities. There are also broader forms of insecurity that affect the perpetration of violence against women, linked to structural violence from a transnational perspective and rooted in gender-based institutional and infrastructural violence (MCILWAINE and EVANS, 2018 and 2020). Some of them are generic, while others relate specifically to life and work in cities. Regarding the Brazilian migrants interviewed in London, one of the most significant is the situation of unsafe immigration, which can marginalize women survivors of violence whose fear of deportation invariably prevents them from seeking help, which creates a form of infrastructural violence. Their situation is further aggravated by the lack of English proficiency and difficulty in accessing statutory support services, such as legal support, due to visa restrictions with the stipulation 'without recourse to public funds' (see also EREZ et al., 2009). As Valentina explained, being away from her country, without speaking the language, many do not work in the jobs they would have in Brazil and, therefore, feel that they do not belong, and as a result, they are on the margins of society.

Immigration status can also be used as a way of manipulating gender inequality in the sense that reporting to border authorities becomes a tool for threat and abuse (MENJIVAR and SALCIDO, 2002). One service provider interviewed reported that if a woman experiencing violence is in the UK without proper documentation, her partner may feel empowered to dominate and assault her without fear of prosecution. Immigrant women may also end up entering abusive relationships, such as in the case of marriage, to obtain immigration documents. Such situations of insecurity also exacerbate gender-based violence in the public sphere, as it can lead to the concentration of migrant women in poorly paid urban jobs, such as cleaning, where they face more exploitative conditions than migrants with

residence rights. As noted by another service provider in London, women who are not documented tend to be more exploited, being much more vulnerable to other forms of discrimination, such as domestic servitude and sexual slavery. Negotiating public spaces in the city can also be dangerous for migrant women for the same reasons. As noted above, harassment in the workplace proved to be common, as well as abuse in public transport. Again, as noted, migrant women often end up working in jobs in the city that place them in particular danger. For example, contract cleaning takes place in the early morning or late at night, requiring travel on night buses, where several women have reported abuse (MCILWAINE, 2015).

While being a migrant in London can produce, under certain conditions, challenges associated with urban marginality that lead to violence against women, in Maré, the main risk factors concerning institutional, structural and infrastructural violence are associated with living in a favela with high levels of urban violence, proliferation of armed groups, widespread use of firearms and the profound neglect of the State (see collection by LEMGRUBER et al., 2006). In fact, the State actively generates violence in Maré through continuous police operations that result in deaths, injuries and the closure of schools and health centers, which, in turn, undermine the rights of women and men to participate in urban life. As a woman from Maré observed, the State – or what she described as the 'genocidal and murderous rulers' – take everything away, even the right to come and go. State engagement is markedly experienced as infrastructural violence in favelas, with measures designed to be violent, such as removals and evictions, police raids or even *milícias* that act within the state apparatus to control and limit access to water, sanitation or other basic services in these locations. In addition, incidents in which public officials sexually harass or intimidate women, girls and transgender people who struggle for basic services have significant ramifications for domestic violence (see also SAWAS et al., 2020). However, the invisibility of processes of infrastructural violence makes it perennial, permissive and unpunished (FERGUSON, 2012). Although this issue is more complex than can be explored here, it is important to note that contexts of urban conflict, where widespread violence is seen as the norm, engender higher levels of gender-based violence due to the specific ways in which hegemonic masculinities are forged (JEWKES et al., 2015).

It is in this sense that infrastructural barriers to women's right to the city emerge. Infrastructural violence, as already mentioned, refers to the lack of access to, or the effective damage from, urban resources which has harmful consequences for marginalized groups, with specific gender dimensions (CHAPLIN and KALITA, 2017; DATTA and AHMED, 2020). In the case of Brazilian migrants, this is mainly reflected in the difficulty of accessing state services or non-governmental organizations. In the case of women from Maré, in daily armed violence, as well as restricted access to urban basic sanitation

services, transportation, paving, lighting, among many others. Infrastructural violence is largely but not entirely passive in the UK, due to omission, and mainly active in Brazil, due to an effective State policy designed in an intentionally violent way. The first refers to damage caused by 'limitations and omissions', while the second involves purposeful development of infrastructures to control social norms and actively marginalize certain groups (RODGERS and O'NEILL, 2012). In the urban context, both in the global North and in the South, in the centers and peripheries of global capital, women's right to the city is conditioned and undermined due to public and private, individual and collective, direct and indirect, structural and infrastructural violences – all of which are gender-based. Dualities are useful from an analytical point of view, but in terms of everyday experiences, these fall apart and are reconfigured around limitations in women's the right to the city in relation to multiple forms of gender-based violence. In view of this, new articulations of the right to the city, from a gender and feminist perspective, are essential.

5. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This paper has explored the role of gender-based violence against women in cities through a feminist lens and from the perspective of Brazilians living in London and those who reside in the largest set of favelas in Rio de Janeiro, Maré. We reinforce the need for academic and political understanding of the right to the city to explicitly recognize women's experiences more fully. After all, the city belongs to women: made of and by women as much as men. We also argue for the importance of categorically taking direct and indirect violence against women and girls into account in such debates, especially in relation to the effect of continually undermining gender equity in urban life.

The research findings in London and Rio de Janeiro show that the endemic and extensive nature of this violence generates a series of harmful outcomes for the health, productivity and well-being of women. In both locations, multidimensional forms of violence against women and girls occurred in public and private domains of the city – with the workplace being especially important in London and the streets and public spaces being especially significant in Maré – and several types emerging on a transnational scale associated with the migration process between Brazil and the UK. Although the causes of gender-based violence against women are rooted in insidious and unequal power relations that have been perpetuated across borders, they intersect with specific forms of urban structural violence. In London, this revolved around specific types of urban cleaning and sex work jobs that are highly exploitative, especially when women had insecure immigration status and low levels of English language competencies. In Maré, the daily violence associated with state security forces and armed

groups has proved to be a driving force for violence against women and girls in the favelas. In both cases, what we have called gendered infrastructural violence also emerges as women face challenges in accessing resources and support in general and when they experience direct gender-based violence.

The results of the research also point to the need to rethink the urban space in the gender-city interface with a focus on gender-based violence against women. The right to the city, a concept forged in the productive encounter between academia and social movements, is enhanced by transcending dualities typically found in urban studies and legal geography. Thus, this concept presents new ways of challenging urban-spatial injustice that affects the lives of women transnationally, both in central areas and in peripheral urban territories.

This discussion re-articulates the interdisciplinary encounter between legal geography and feminist urbanism and points to the need for further research on the relationships between everyday urban violence and gender-based violence, especially regarding the finding that urban violence, in its multiple forms, is inherently gendered, something not always recognized in urban studies (although see WILDING, 2014). In addition, there is considerable scope for exploring these processes in multiscalar ways that can highlight continuities and discontinuities between peripheral urban communities in the so-called global South and among minority groups, such as migrants and/or ethnic-racial minorities who face complex forms of exploitation and deprivation in cities in the global North (AUYERO 2011). This debate is essential to challenge the discourse that violence against women and girls is an individual phenomenon, often triggered by the actions of the victims themselves, when they effectively form a deeply structural phenomenon, rooted in socio-spatial disparities and often made possible by the State – actively or through negligence. In the current context of dismantling social policies verified in the global and Brazilian conjuncture, the biggest challenge seems to be the transformation of understandings of the city and the experiences of women, perceiving the city beyond a habitable space, but a dynamic system, produced and reproduced by women – often against the odds as women negotiate multiple forms of direct and indirect gendered violence.

NOTES

[1] The term 'violence against women and girls' is the term adopted by UN Women to designate a specific form of 'gender-based violence', the latter being a broad category that also encompasses violence against men, boys, transgender people, or non-binary gender identities. From a feminist perspective, the term gender-based violence, used generically, can overshadow the fact that women and girls suffer disproportionately from gender-based violence and, therefore, a specific designation is claimed (Hughes et al, 2016). With this important caveat, we clarify that when using these terms in this article we refer to multiple forms of 'gendered violences' (direct,

indirect, structural, symbolic and infrastructural) that specifically affect women and girls, including in these categories trans women.

[2] Research project developed between 2016 and 2018, coordinated by Cathy McIlwaine (King's College London), Miriam Krenzinger (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), Eliana Sousa Silva (Redes da Maré) and Paul Heritage (People's Palace Project of Queen Mary University of London) – funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Newton Fund (ES/N013247/1). Other research publications are available at: http://transnationalviolenceagainstwomen.org/publications/

[3] Gender-based violence has been recognized in international agendas as an important issue since the 1990s (Moser and McIlwaine, 2014). Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5 explicitly aims to eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual exploitation and other types of exploitation. It also identifies the elimination of gendered violence as a priority. SDG 11 on urbanization recognizes that women are generally more marginalized than men in cities, especially in relation to safe, inclusive and accessible green and public spaces. Likewise, the New Urban Agenda of the UN-Habitat, launched in 2016, echoed a commitment to gender equality in cities, even though the final versions of it have marginalized women and girls as vulnerable and special interest groups (Moser, 2016). However, the importance of addressing women's safety in cities has a long history, dating back to the 1980s in London and the 1990s in relation to women's safety audits, especially but not exclusively linked to the UN-Habitat program Safer Cities (WHITZMAN et al., 2014). See also the declarations associated with the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, specifically the 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women.

[4] See, for example, Goldsmith (2017). In this publication, London is considered the most favorable city for women (women-friendly) and Brazil is precisely mentioned as a country with cities with high rates of violence against women.

[5] The names indicated in this article to illustrate the results of the research are fictitious, preserving the identity of participants.

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