A HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION OF SEXUALITY AND MARKED SPACE – CASE STUDY: URBAN HISTORICAL NEIGHBOURHOOD IN TEHRAN

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Before the 1970s, the adoption of an old global hypothesis (i.e. male/female dichotomy), was a key reason why the approach to gender justice could not adopt in urban planning. This hypothesis argued in particular that women belong to the home and men to the public sphere, while planning is to ensure that social justice is established and therefore the attention should inevitably give to the approach of inclusion. Thus, the main goal of this paper is to discuss the concept of gender justice and present the approach of women's inclusion vs. women's exclusion through history of urban planning. For better understanding of the influences of urban planning models on producing the gendered marked space or a responsive space, neighbourhood scale as the main space of women's presence has chosen in Tehran- Chizar neighbourhood. This study is an applied research of descriptive-analytical nature, in which the in-depth interview was used as the data collection method and the sample size was 30. Women's narrations about their everyday space considered as a measure to analyse markedness, which serves as the basis for identifying binary oppositions that are affected by the old male/female dichotomy. The results showed that the changes in historical neighbourhood during the urban development process in Tehran have failed to respond to gender justice concerns and, compared to previous structure, sometimes have worked more inappropriately in viewpoints of women.

Keywords

urban planning, history, gender justice, women, markedness, binary opposition, historical neighbourhoods, Tehran

INTRODUCTION

One of the most important objectives of urban planning is to provide spatial and social justice. Although, as studies showed, traditional planning has been challenged by women and their supporters, the planning models used since the late 1970s have tried to involve all groups in urban planning. For example, strategic planning in Iran was used as an alternative model that addressed the objectives such as social justice. This paper aims to study the evolution of urban planning and also address the idea of women and gender justice. At first, the importance of justice and gender sensitivity will be discussed in relation to urban planning and development, and then the case study will be examined through the approaches of women's inclusion and exclusion in planning models. This will be done with identifying the binary oppositions that lead to markedness. It should be mentioned that the idea of "binary oppositions" is rooted in the structural linguistic model of Saussure, who describes them as "means by which the units of language have value or meaning and each unit is defined in reciprocal determination with another term that is not present!".

IMPORTANCE OF JUSTICE AND GENDER JUSTICE IN THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The idea of justice is so important that it has been considered as a prerequisite of any action that aims to increase quality of life². Although it is a long-standing concept, the cities include all forms of injustice and discrimination, among which gender justice is less emphasized or considered. Emphasizing on the patriarchal views besides considering a great difference between men and women in urban planning process, have made women to deny their basic rights, despite their important role in various spheres is negligible. It is crystal clear that gender justice is not only a demand to guarantee the basic human rights and social justice, but is an indispensable tool for preserving the environment, sustainable development and human security³.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF GENDER SENSITIVITY IN PLANNING

Gender justice is discussed below as an important issue in the context of the most significant shifts in urban planning models. Therefore, we first examine the effects of the traditional planning model with the approach of gender exclusion and then the importance of gender justice in the strategic planning model.

BEFORE THE 1970S: THE ERA OF TRADITIONAL PLANNING MODEL

Traditional planning actually offered the concept of zoning in the form of the comprehensive plan which led to marginalisation of women⁴. In other words, women were separated from the cities and activity centres within this planning model that produced zones and created the suburbs. Thus, the idea of gender exclusion was intended to separate activities and spaces. For example, in the planning of public transport, the economic role of men has been adopted as a general principle in locating and planning the transport system, regardless of the women's employment, care responsibilities and activities. This model has been adopted in America, Scandinavia, the UK and developing countries⁵. In addition, there are many different issues that, according to theorists, led to gender blindness and hostile attitudes to women in traditional planning:

- "Low presence of women in professional careers, including academic programs, urban development and architecture;
- Adoption of the commonly accepted assumptions that pushed urban planning to the direction that is non-responsive to the women's needs and demands. In other words, urban planning was a widespread show of patriarchy, which was more likely to marginalize women in all areas of life⁶";
- "Communities and cities were considered as a mass of similar individuals with the same basic needs and requirements;
- Planning has been adapted to the pattern of men's life;
- Limited opportunities for women (i.e. limited time) because of the traditional sexual division of labour;
- And lack of knowledge about the different impacts that policies, plans and projects have on women and men's life, and lack of understanding of women's roles and responsibilities⁷."

PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS ARISING FROM THE ADOPTION OF TRADITIONAL PLANNING MODEL

This planning model not only led to the increased anonymity, but also increased the violence, as some studies have shown. In other words, people's alienation with the city is believed to lead to an increase in human hurts and also to an increased risk for groups who are more physically vulnerable, such as women. Thus, since women do not feel the same sense of excitement as men do in the cities that are planned based on male needs; they find the cities as a terrible and strange spaces. For this reason, Elizabeth Wilson (1991) expressed undesirably this fact that many feminists are anti-city⁸. Thus, such an urban planning has led to an intense sense of fear, violence and lack of belonging to the city and alienation with the environment⁹.

AFTER THE 1970S: TRANSITION FROM TRADITIONAL PLANNING

In this section, attention will first be given to the women's inclusion in the city and in particular, the historical trend towards the issue of gender justice in the context of sustainable development will be then presented as a paradigm affecting the strategic planning model. Also the significance of justice in strategic planning is explained because this model has been currently adopted in process of urban development in Iran.

EMERGENCE OF GENDER SENSITIVITY IN URBAN PLANNING

Since the late 1970s and early 1980s, attention has been drawn to the issue of women in architecture, urban development, geography, anthropology and sociology in order to improve women's life quality. This was achieved through organizing the numerous conferences and the publication of several books and periodicals such as the Canadian magazine named: "Women and Environment", Heresies magazine in 1981, and "Social Considerations" magazine (1985). A variety of subjects were included in these publications, including the activities, preferences, needs, and problems of women in the cities.

During this period, the concept of gender has been focused in the most studies on women and the environment. Here at first, the difference between the concepts of gender and sex should be addressed by giving more weight to the first concept than to the second one. In other words, gender is considered as a social structure^{10' 11}. It has been considered that social, cultural and historical structures can make various systems that make gender differences more obvious^{12,13}. Thus, the groups advocating women's rights have addressed the following general issues, through considering the concept of citizenship and civic society in the 1970s:

- Demands for making changes in the urban planning process with an emphasis on women's rights;
- Considering Women's Inclusion due to the creation of institutional structures and emphasizing on gender concept in urban governance¹⁴.

Since the 1970s, security in cities has been demanded by women in Northern Europe. Women's Organization in Frankfurt has called for holding the training workshops to teach and involve citizens to focus on how to "build a city more affectionate with women?" The issues of women and the city have been highlighted in a separate report published by the Association of Equal Opportunities for the European Communities in 1995, the European Charter of Women in the City, and the Agenda of European Projects. European Agenda detailed 12 objectives to improve the idea of active citizenship from the lowest to the highest groups. The main focus was on increasing the participation of women in decision making processes, especially in urban planning and housing. Women's demand for participation and decision making is considered as a measure for evaluating justice and inclusion. Thus, the efforts of feminists and other movements have led to a great attention to women's demands in urban planning, and also make an appropriate terrain for women's participation. These progresses in urban planning have provided more responsive services and transportation for women. The idea of local empowerment and the right to freedom of expression has also been identified as a fundamental principle of collaborative or multicultural planning for less emphasized groups (like women)¹⁵.

EMPHASIS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE STRATEGIC PLANNING MODEL

Over the past two decades, the comprehensive plan has been replaced by the strategic planning model in Iran. The evaluation of the theoretical framework and main objectives of this model shows its profound correlation with the concept of sustainable development and goal of strategic planning is to achieve sustainable development and promote the quality of life for all citizens. Given the importance of sustainable urban development and strategic planning objectives, this section therefore discusses the importance of gender justice in the approach of sustainable urban development.

GENDER JUSTICE AND SENSITIVITY IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: THE APPROACH AND HISTORICAL TRENDS

A brief history of how the concept to gender justice has been addressed in the approach of sustainable development will be discussed in this section, which is provided in the form of a review of women's rights to the environment and development. Some of the most important milestones are listed below^{17, 18}, ¹⁹:

- 1945: The First International Charter on the Equal Rights of Women and Men. The International Association of Women was found during this decade, when the universal declarations of human rights were presented in 1947 and 1948.
- 1975: Although the movement began in the 1940s, it did not draw attention until the 1970s, when the First International Conference on Women was held under the theme of "Justice, Development and Peace" and Non-Governmental Organizations were founded in Mexico City (this decade is considered as a starting point).
- 1985: Holding the Third World Conference on Women, and establishing Non-Governmental Organizations in Nairobi. At this conference, special attention, for example, was paid to the key role of women in protecting and managing the environment, and the role of women and their contribution to sustainable development.

- 1992: International Conference on Environment and Development, which resulted in the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21. Thus, women were considered as a large group that contributes to sustainable development. Chapter 24 of the Agenda was called "The Role of Women and Sustainable Development". Article 20 of the Rio Declaration also states that "women play a vital role in environmental management and development, and their full participation is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development."
- 1995: The Fourth World Conference was held in Beijing, China, followed by the formation of Non-Governmental Organizations in Huairou. Twelve keywords were proposed in the principles of the Beijing Conference to achieve gender justice. Section K of the report was also devoted to the issue of women and the environment.
- 2000: Millennium Conference, which discussed eight primary objectives to be achieved by the participating countries until 2015. The third objective of the Millennium Development Goals was declared to "establish gender justice and empower women".
- 2003: The eleventh chapter of the report of the International Association for Sustainable Development stated that gender justice should be addressed as the main theme in all activities until 2015.

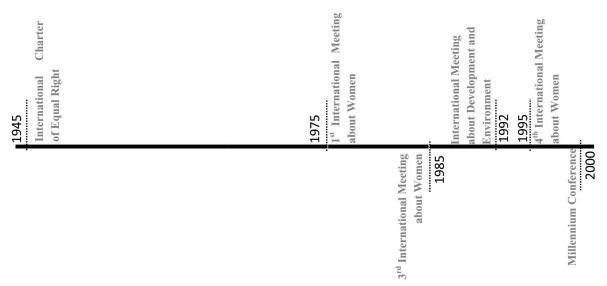


FIGURE 1 Historical milestone regarding women's right

A brief overview of the contents of reports and conferences in the history of the subject presents four basic stages in the understanding and discursive thinking of gender justice in urban sustainable development: in the first stage, which extended until the early 1960s, there were no particular ideas about gender and social differences. The role of women in development was addressed in the second stage where the focus was mainly put on the development and supportive policies, and projects were implemented in favour of women. In the third stage, the created crises require careful attention to the injustice between men and women, and after the holding of the Third International Conference about Women in 1985, a deeper reflection emerged on the issue of gender in international levels. Finally, a thorough understanding of the issue has been obtained in the fourth stage²⁰.

DEVELOPING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Thus, the approaches of women's inclusion and exclusion can generally be identified in urban planning. But without any doubt, urban planning should consider the needs of women with their participation. In whole, gender exclusion in the city has been produced through the adoption and intrusion of the following dichotomies in planning which lead to women's exclusion:

- Private-public dichotomy or home-city dichotomy: The approach of women's exclusion in urban spaces is supported by those who believe that women belong to the home space and the private sphere, while men belong to the public space²¹.
- Male-female dichotomy: A look at the nature of gendered space demonstrates it as a desirable sphere for the
 presence of men rather than women, so the space is marked in terms of its desirability for men's presence.
- Internal-external dichotomy: Gendered spaces have provided the context for the emergence of an important dichotomy: "external spaces" that are more appropriate for the presence of men, as opposed to "safe internal spaces" for women.

The result of accepting these dichotomies (which led to create the gendered marked spaces) produce other dichotomies such as: safe/unsafe, comfortable/uncomfortable, desirable/undesirable, responsive/non-responsive. Accordingly, this paper aims to evaluating the gender justice and to identify the binary oppositions at the neighborhood planning scale so that the indicators leading to the markedness of the city are difined. The reason for choosing a neighbourhood scale is that women have the most behavioral and emotional attachemants to their residence.

CASE STUDY: CHIZAR NEIGHBOURHOOD, TEHRAN, IRAN

As recently mentioned neighbourhood scale is a proper text to measure and evaluate the issue of "women's inclusion in urban planning". The historical neighbourhood of Chizar was chosen among the neighbourhoods in Tehran. It was formed before the Islamic Revolution of Iran in relation to the structure of Tehran and the historic core of Tajrish in the north. This area has had an organic fabric, religious identity (due to several Imamzadehs in the neighbourhood), and religious residents with strong cultural and social norms.

The urban plans implemented during the development of Tehran after the Islamic Revolution (1992 and 2007) have contributed to the social and physical changes in many historical cores and rural settlements – the changes in transportation network, density, as well as the land uses and activities, which have also been experienced by Chizar neighbourhood due to its geographical location and favourable climatic conditions. In addition, the cohesive social structure of this neighbourhood was changed by the wealthy and people from middle class upwards²².

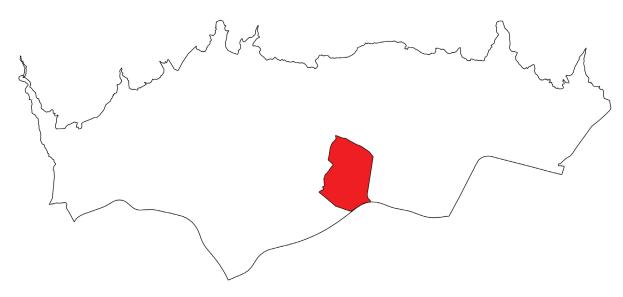


FIGURE 2 From left: location of Tehran Province in Iran, Location of District 1 in City of Tehran, and Location of Chizar Neighbourhood in District 1 of Tehran municipality

HOW TO COLLECT AND ANALYSING DATA

For evaluating the gender justice and to identify the binary oppositions in the case study, in-depth interviews were performed not only in the neighbourhood space, but also as door to door, to benefit from the experience of women who may be less present in the neighbourhood. The sample size based on statistical rules of thumb was 30 women.

Regarding the factors that influence the presence or absence and therefore show gender justice, the women were asked to explain their reasons in a few sentences, which were then rewritten and qualitatively analysed to develop indicators and identify binary oppositions. It should be noted that in some cases, some questions were asked by the researcher during interviews, in order to achieve the relevant reasons. In other words, analysing women's narration about Chizar neighbourhood was done through structural linguistic in order to defining marked concepts.

ANALYSING DATA

The results obtained from the data are presented in these sections.

- Presence in the space (day and night): The results indicate the weak presence of women at night (The results are
 presented in details in below table).
- Accompany in the neighbourhood space: Because of household duties and responsibilities, care duties, and restrictions and norms, women are more compelled to be present in the neighbourhood with families and children²³. In other words, the space has the features which reduce the personal presence of women and thus has been gendered.
- Reasons of women's presence: Activities of interest are generally based on the Gehl (1987)²⁴ classification. As we see, women are present in the space to a large extent for necessary activities and to a small extent for optional and social activities.

THE TIME SPENT IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD SPACE	PERCENTAG	E IN EACH ROW	ACCOMPANY IN THE	SPACE	PERCENTAGE IN EACH ROW
Morning	46.6		Alone		46.6
Noon	10		With Friends		20
Afternoon	60		With wife		16.6
Early evening	13.3		With children		13.3
Late Night	3.3		With family members		33.3
-	-		With parents		10
-	-		With others		3.3
Reason of presence in space		Type of activities		Percentage i	n each row
Daily shopping		Necessary		76.6	
Taking and bringing children	_	Necessary	_	13.3	_
Waiting for friends		Necessary		3	
For a walk	_	Optional	_	13.3	_
Going to the Imamzadeh		Optional		63.3	
Social interaction	_	Social	_	10	_
For spending leisure time		Social		3.3	
For watching others		Social		3.3	

TABLE 1 Presence specifications of participants

INDICATORS	FREQUENCY FROM 30 QUES- TIONNAIRES	PERCENTAGE	BINARY OPPOSITION IN THE MARKED SPACE	
Day security	12	40	Secure/non-secure	
Night security	16	53.3		
Social control in the space	8	26.6		
The incidence of crime in the space	3	10		
Comfort and convenience	14	46.6	Comfortable/uncomfortabe	
Considering the needs of children 11 36.6 n the space		36.6	Responsive/non-responsive	
Addressing the needs of women	17	56.5		
Being part of space	8	26.6	Receptivity/lack of receptivity	
Sense of belonging	6	20		
Disarability for the presence of men	13	21.6	Male/female	
Prohibition of presence in the space	7	23.3	Normative/Non-normative	
Being against social conventions and norms	16	53.3		
Being non-cultural	14	46.6		

TABLE 2 The identified verbal indicators and binary oppositions

BINARY OPPOSITIONS OF GENDERED MARKED SPACE

As it was mentioned in various researches a good and sustainable neighbourhood planning should include these criteria: life quality, various opportunities for different groups, energy efficiency, reinforcing social cohesion, social inclusion and economic prosperity.²⁵ Thus inclusion is defined as one of the main criteria for realising the social dimension of sustainable neighbourhood. Therefore considering all these, here by several sub-criteria are defined which are necessary for women's inclusion in the neighbourhood such as: security, convenience, considering their needs, sense of belonging, participation^{26,27}.

In the following, the relevant indicators were identified from the given responses and women's verbal analysis, and then the binary oppositions of marked space were determined by qualitative and analytical classification based on the conceptual framework and the theoretical bases.

Secure/non-secure: Security is seen as a measure to reduce the presence of women in the neighbourhood so that the reduced presence has been shown to be followed by criteria such as lack of security in the day or night and lack of control by social groups. In other words, the space is gendered marked because of the lack of security. In other words, planning which doesn't consider women's inclusion in the public realm evaluate non-secure from their viewpoint. Regarding this, a 48-year-old married woman said:

.. I go out only for bringing the children to school or shopping ... and prefer to do my shopping before night because I
don't have a good feeling to stay out after that time...

In other words, there are many aspects to consider, such as the feeling of insecurity in the space and the lack of security at night in the neighbourhood and, at the same time, a necessary presence of women.

Comfortable/uncomfortable: The feeling of comfort and convenience is another criterion influencing the neighbourhood appropriateness. Thus, one the feature of gendered space is the lack of comfort for presence of women. For example, one interviewee, a 30-year-old married woman, said:

— .. I don't think neighbourhood space and particularly Chizar Square is a suitable space for presence of women. Better to say, I don't have the feeling of comfort and convenience while staying in the space, because the presence of some men and shopkeepers in the space and their look doesn't give me a good feeling...

A 36-year-old woman who was present in the space with her child stated:

 .. I feel better at home and ... I come here only to take and bring my daughter to school or do home purchase. Home gives me a sense of peace and calm...

Responsive: Another binary opposition in the gendered space can be seen to be the lack of appropriateness of space for women and groups that they care. It is important to note that the responsiveness of space to children's needs is very important for married women. Here is the answer of a 36-year-old woman who was present in the space with her child:

.. One problem is that the neighbourhood lacks equipment in the green spaces... it has no facilities for children...
 drinking fountain and sanitary services are available only in Imamzadeh Ali Akbar which is located in Chizar Square...

Therefore, the environment is found to not be suitable for the presence of women and the groups that their care. Various criteria (such as lack of equipment, including utilities and furniture) reduce the presence of women in the neighbourhood. Regarding the responsiveness of the environment, a 28-year-old single woman stated:

— I don't go to Chizar Square or I don't like be present in the neighbourhood. Many of religious women go to the Imamzadeh for leisure, but many young girls prefer to go out of the neighbourhood because the Imamzadeh is a very religious space, and it is unpleasant to me... the lack of minimum facilities in the space is one of the things that I don't like spending my time in the neighbourhood. There isn't even a bench in the proper location in the square and the presence of men in the space bothers me all the time...

As can be seen, the presence of girls in the space is reduced by the lack of equipment and facilities in the space as well as the lack of responsiveness. This case is selected among other cases to show this fact that the younger and new residents don't have any strong willing for being present in the neighbourhood.

Receptivity of space/lack of space receptivity: There are different phrases that are considered equivalent to this concept: The lack of sense of belonging, the presence of strangers, and the feeling of strangeness. As recently said, inclusion approach in planning makes space more unknown for women and so they feel insecure in the space or they don't have any sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. A 25-year-old girl answered to the question 'whether you feel to be a part of the space?':

— .. Not so much... I think strangers and the people of adjacent neighbourhoods are present in our neighbourhood because of the Imamzadeh... I think my neighbourhood does not belong only to residents... Whenever I pass through the main square, I see a lot of strangers... the presence of others in the space have reduced the feeling of comfort in the space and, in my opinion; it isn't pleasant for young women...

The following is a part of an interview with a 47-year-old woman who had a different impression on the receptivity of the environment. However, it should be noted that the Imamzadeh, located in the southwest corner of the main square, is a space for the presence of women with religious beliefs while according to the researcher's observations, women have little presence in Chizar Square and neighbourhood itself.

 ... When I feel so alone, I go to the Imamzadeh... the Imamzadeh has a very different atmosphere with a variety of religious programs... I have gotten acquainted with a lot of ladies in the Imamzadeh...

Male/female: A male vs. female dichotomy can be seen among the responses. In other words, neighbourhood and the main square, with the exception of the Imamzadeh, is a truly gendered space; and there is no difference between religious and less religious people in this regard and also between old and new residents.

An elderly woman, about 65, who was present in the Imamzadeh and was an old resident of the neighbourhood said:

— .. In the past, there was too much communication between us and our neighbours... women were strongly linked together... the alleys were spaces for the presence of women... but now the communication has reduced after the construction of new apartments... In the past, women had certain gathering places, but now they are usually present only in the Imamzadehs... the presence of women in the alleys has reduced, and only young men and men can be seen in the main square...

Regarding the presence of women in the neighbourhood, due to the existence of a hierarchy of spaces (from semi-public and public) and social norms in Iranian-Islamic cities, women could be present in semi-public and private spaces (at the end of local streets and cul-de-sacs) in the past. However, because of the fabric redevelopment after Revolution, dramatic physical and social changes occurred to the extent that the spatial hierarchy was destroyed in this neighbourhood. It seems that old residents of Chizar have not been able to adapt themselves to these changes, due to strong religious beliefs and the adoption of the views on gender exclusion.

Normative/Non-normative: This dichotomy has been expressed in many sentences by women. For example, some have said that it is not necessary for women to be present in the neighbourhood, while others have stated that, except for shopping or going to the Imamzadeh, they are prohibited by their family or their husband. The analysis of the responses showed that religious and cultural values, along with traditional beliefs prevail among women. In other words, for studying this hypothesis that scio-cultural norms besides planning has a great influence on women's participation, several questions are considered, for example in a door-to-door interview, a middle-aged married woman answered the question 'do you have any restriction from your family for being present in the neighbourhood space?':

— .. No... my husband doesn't say that I shouldn't go out or don't be present in the neighbourhood... but I don't like going out on my own... purchase for daily use is made by my son or my husband and if I have to shop, I go out with my daughter... the main square is too crowded... but I like the space of Imamzadeh... I go out for the Imamzadeh... it is culturally obscene for women to be present in the streets...

An overview of this response shows the strong influence of religious beliefs and the acceptance of the view that the home is a safer place for women. It is also quite evident clear in her answer that the presence of women in external space is absurd and uncultured.

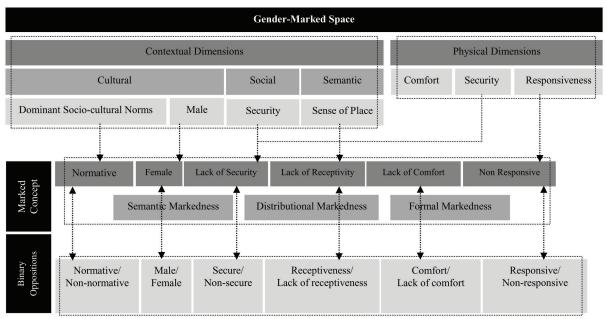


FIGURE 3 Final model of Gendered Marked space

PRIVATE VERSUS PUBLIC THROUGH AN ANALYSIS OF THE UNPRIVILEGED WORKING CLASS HISTORY

CONCLUSION

This paper examined the historical evolution of the concept of gender justice in urban planning. The most important milestones were discussed in the two categories of traditional and strategic planning to determine the importance of considering women's issues in the planning process, and the examples of the binary oppositions created under the influence of the gender exclusion approach vs. inclusion approach are defined. Analysing the viewpoints of women in the historical neighbourhood of Chizar based on the dichotomies of the gendered space has shown that both physical and contextual aspects were perceived undesirable for women during redevelopment process. The diagram below shows the binary oppositions in the neighbourhood scale that have led to markedness of space and have created a gendered area.

In whole, evaluating this neighbourhood as a suitable example of historical Iranian neighbourhoods, shows that the old and historical structure of Iranian neighbourhoods is still acceptable for residents, despite this fact that the gender separation in the space based on the cultural and social norms of Islamic cities can be simply observed (such as: the threshold of home entrance, the end of dead-end streets, the cul-de-sacs and the semi-public spheres). In other words, urban plans at the scale of historical neighbourhood of Tehran (where original Tehrani residents live), regardless of the needs of women and groups that they care, have led to the new structure which not only is inappropriate for the old residents, but also is an undesirable place for the new residents. It is therefore essential to consider the cultural and social norms, the demands and requirements of women on the scale of their everyday life (neighbourhoods), in addition to considering the gender sensitivity in the neighbourhood planning process.

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Figure 2- Centre of Geographical Database of Tehran, Digital Archive, [2006].