

**PLANNING THE EVERYDAY/EVERYNIGHT: A FEMINIST PARTICIPATORY
ACTION RESEARCH WITH WOMEN NIGHTSHIFT WORKERS**

by

Sara Ortiz Escalante

B.A., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2000

M.A., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2009

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULLFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

(PLANNING)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

May 2019

©Sara Ortiz Escalante, 2019

The following individuals certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies for acceptance, the dissertation entitled:

PLANNING THE EVERYDAY/EVERYNIGHT: A FEMINIST PARTICIPATORY ACTION
RESEARCH WITH WOMEN NIGHTSHIFT WORKERS

submitted by SARA ORTIZ ESCALANTE in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

PLANNING

Examining Committee:

LEONORA ANGELES

Supervisor

LEONIE SANDERCOCK

Supervisory Committee Member

PILAR RIAÑO-ALCALÁ

Supervisory Committee Member

SYLVIA FULLER

University Examiner

PENNY GURSTEIN

University Examiner

Additional Supervisory Committee Members:

ZAIDA MUXÍ MARTÍNEZ

Supervisory Committee Member

Abstract

Most research on planning the night focuses on Western city centers' 'night-time economy,' particularly neo-liberal economic revitalization practices related to leisure and alcohol consumption. Although some studies include gender and race analyses, few challenge the underlying male-centered, hetero-patriarchal, and racist night-time cultures. They also overlook the everyday/everynight needs of those people who due to productive, care, and reproductive work use the city after dark on a regular basis, and disregard night-time cycles outside city centers.

This dissertation examines the productive/reproductive continuum of the night economy by studying the everyday/everynight life of women nightshift workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area from an intersectional feminist perspective. Using Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR), I first analyze the role of contemporary urban planning and mobility practices in shaping women night workers' everyday/everynight life. Second, I examine the transformational potential of FPAR to promote feminist urban planning for night use.

The results reveal that women nightshift workers experience restricted public space access and differentiated right to the city, mainly because of fear of sexual violence rooted in hetero-patriarchal and gender, race, and class oppressive structures. Women continue using more sustainable modes of transport at night as they face several issues while commuting by foot or public transportation due to reduced frequency, irregular service, poor multimodal connections, and fear of sexual violence. This FPAR also highlights how women embody gender inequalities at work, at home, and in the city, carrying an unequal burden of domestic and care work, and paying through their health and wellbeing outcomes the gender inequalities in unpaid care work and gender discrimination in their workplaces.

I propose to move from a neoliberal approach of planning the night-time economy to an intersectional feminist approach to planning the everyday/everynight life, and argue that FPAR should be a central method of doing planning research and practice. Engaging the everyday/everynight users of cities and spaces – particularly diverse women – in planning analysis is essential to incorporate grounded knowledge that is often absent in institutional urban planning policies.

Lay summary

Cities are increasingly implementing nightlife economic revitalization through leisure activities. These night policies are often exclusionary and ignore people, especially women, who use the city after dark due to productive and care work. Women restrict their movement in cities at night because of fear of sexual violence. Although women's fear has strong social components, the way cities are planned also impact women's safety. I conducted participatory research with women night workers to analyze the barriers they face in their neighborhood-city-workplace. Women suffer discrimination and sexual harassment at home, in the public space and workplace due to gender, class and migration status. Fear of violence, the design of public spaces, and deficiencies in public transportation limit women's night mobility. Women also highlight health and family consequences. I propose to shift from a night-life planning focused on leisure to a participatory planning approach that responds to everyday/everynight needs and values women's experiences.

Preface

This dissertation is ultimately based on a Feminist Participatory Action Research conducted with 24 co-researchers and in collaboration with five organizations. Chapter 3, 5 and 6 are based on the collective materials produced for this Feminist Participatory Action Research that have been published as a report with collective authorship under the name [*Nocturnas: The everyday life of women nightshift workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area*](#). Barcelona, 2017 (retrieved May 25, 2019). I coordinated the different research activities, reviewed the collective analysis for this report and wrote most parts of the report, which was reviewed and validated by co-researchers and advisory group comprised of women representatives of Col·lectiu Punt 6, Ca la Dona, Fundació Àmbit Prevenció, the Women's Secretariat of CC.OO Union, and Fundació Irídia.

A previous version of chapter 2 has been published in English: Ortiz Escalante, Sara. 2016. "Where is women's right to the night in the New Urban Agenda? The need to include an intersectional gender perspective in planning the night." *TRIA-Territorio della Ricerca su Insediamenti e Ambiente*, 16: 165-180. And Spanish: Ortiz Escalante, Sara. 2017. El lado nocturno de la vida cotidiana: un análisis feminista de la planificación urbana nocturna. *Kultur: revista interdisciplinària sobre la cultura de la ciutat*, 4(7): 55-78. I conducted the literature review and wrote both manuscripts.

The work reported in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 was approved by the UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board (Certificate Number H15-02808)

Figures in Chapter 3, 5 and 6 are used with permission from co-researchers and applicable sources. Figures 3, 14, 17, 18, 19, 43, 44 and 45 are public domain and were retrieved from web pages of government agencies.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	iii
LAY SUMMARY	iv
PREFACE	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xiii
DEDICATION	xv
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Focus of the research	3
1.2 Research questions	9
1.3 Contributions	10
1.4 My positionality during this journey.....	11
1.5 Structure of the dissertation	14
CHAPTER 2. AN INTERSECTIONAL GENDER LENS TO PLANNING THE NIGHT-TIME	18
2.1 Gendered bodies in the night	19
2.2 Planning the night-time	25
2.3 The night in feminist urban planning: fear, safety and mobility	32
2.3.1. Fear and safety in feminist urban planning	32
2.3.2. Feminist analysis of mobility.....	34
2.4 Conclusion: Towards including diverse gendered bodies in planning the night.....	39
CHAPTER 3. FEMINIST PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH: A METHODOLOGY FOR PLANNING THE EVERYDAY/EVERYNIGHT	42
3.1 An overview of the participatory tradition in urban planning	42
3.2 Using PAR from an intersectional feminist perspective	45
3.2.1. The history of PAR and FPAR.....	45
3.2.2. Different ways to develop PAR.....	48
3.3 From an individual dissertation to a collective project: relational ethics of FPAR	50
3.3.1. Home-work: ethical considerations in choosing home to conduct participatory action research	50
3.3.2. Relational ethics of a collective project: fostering accountability, reciprocity and reflexivity	53
3.3.3. Ethics in home-work practice.....	55

3.4	Approaching and organizing home-work.....	57
3.5	Participatory qualitative methods.....	60
3.5.1.	Participatory methods to foster collective ownership.....	61
3.5.2.	Co-researchers demographics.....	67
3.5.3.	Collective ethics and safety protocol.....	71
3.5.4.	Participatory methods to analyze everyday/everynight life.....	74
3.6	Data Analysis.....	87
3.6.1	Between collective and individual data analysis.....	87
CHAPTER 4. BARCELONA AND ITS METROPOLITAN AREA’S NIGHT AND MOBILITY PLANNING.....		92
4.1	Barcelona as a compact and mixed-use metropolitan model.....	92
4.2	Barcelona’s urban planning in the last 100 years.....	96
4.2.1.	Barcelona under the Franco dictatorship.....	98
4.2.2.	From the transition period to the Olympic Games (1977-1992):.....	102
4.2.3.	Period of 2000-2015.....	104
4.2.4.	Barcelona under Mayor Ada Colau (2015 to the present).....	108
4.3	The Barcelona Metropolitan Area (BMA).....	111
4.4	Transportation planning in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area.....	112
4.5	Gender and the night in Barcelona city planning.....	119
4.6	Municipal and regional planning approaches to nightlife and intersectional gender issues.....	124
4.6.1.	L’Hospitalet de Llobregat.....	125
4.6.2.	El Prat de Llobregat.....	126
4.6.3.	Barcelona.....	127
4.6.4.	Barcelona Metropolitan Area Agency.....	128
4.6.5.	Final thoughts.....	130
CHAPTER 5. EVERYDAY/EVERYNIGHT EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN NIGHT WORKERS.....		132
5.1	The intersectional identities of Women Nightshift Workers.....	133
5.1.1.	Their Neighbourhoods.....	136
5.1.2.	Their households.....	138
5.1.3.	Their jobs.....	139
5.2	The decision to work at night: the influence of gender, class and other intersectional categories.....	141
5.2.1.	Reasons to work at night.....	142
5.2.2.	Women’s night work conditions.....	144
5.3	The embodied effects of night work.....	148
5.3.1.	Physical health effects.....	151

5.3.2. Mental health effects	164
5.3.3. Physical and mental health effects of sex work.....	171
5.3.4. The effects of fear of sexual violence.....	176
5.3.5. The contributions of body mapping.....	184
5.4 Night work effects on family and social relations and support	185
5.5 Conclusion.....	188
CHAPTER 6. EVERYDAY/EVERYNIGHT MOBILITIES.....	191
6.1 Women's mobility patterns in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area.....	192
6.1.1. Access to a private motorized vehicle.....	197
6.1.2. Unreliable night public transportation system.....	203
6.1.3. Walking and biking.....	208
6.1.4. Mobility debates.....	209
6.2 Managing everynight fear and safety.....	210
6.2.1. Physical design and social configuration	213
6.3 Conclusion.....	242
CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS: WOMEN PLANNING THE EVERYDAY/EVERYNIGHT	244
7.1 Urban planning influences in women nightshift workers everyday/everynight life	245
7.1.1. Night mobility	246
7.1.2. Urban design and safety perceptions.....	247
7.1.3. Night worker's health and wellbeing	249
7.1.4. Everyday/everynight planning.....	250
7.1.5. Recommendations	252
7.2 Feminist Participatory Action Research as a tool for feminist transformative planning.....	255
7.2.1. Fostering collective ownership.....	257
7.2.2. Describing and analyzing the everyday/everynight life	259
7.2.3. Sharing the experience	259
7.2.4. Working towards action.....	261
7.3 Limitations, challenges and silences	266
REFERENCES.....	270
APPENDIX 1: COLLECTIVE ETHICS AND SAFETY PROTOCOLS.....	299

List of tables

Table 1: Summary of women nightshift workers profile	134
Table 2: Commute times of women nightshift workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area.....	195

List of figures

Figure 1: Phases of the project.....	59
Figure 2: Outreach and recruitment flyer.....	63
Figure 3: Map of the Metropolitan Region and Metropolitan Area of Barcelona.....	68
Figure 4: Places of work and residence of women nightshift workers	69
Figure 5: Examples of everyday/everynight life network.....	77
Figure 6: Example of exploratory commuting routes	79
Figure 7: Pictures of individual maps exercise	80
Figure 8: Collective mobility map	81
Figure 9: Body map elaboration process.....	83
Figure 10: Sharing body map experience	84
Figure 11: Participatory video process.....	87
Figure 12: Workshops on analysis and elaboration of recommendations.....	88
Figure 13: Diagram to conduct analysis related to Research Question 1	90
Figure 14: Land use in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area.....	94
Figure 15: Map of the districts of Barcelona.....	97
Figure 16: Image of Bellvitge's housing estates	101
Figure 17: Image of Sant Ildefons' housing estates.....	101
Figure 18: Map of rail systems: Renfe and FGC	115
Figure 19: Map of Barcelona's new orthogonal bus system.....	119
Figure 20: Txell's everyday network map.....	138
Figure 21: Body map that summarizes the effects of the night on women's bodies.....	150
Figure 22: Ana's body map.....	152
Figure 23: Núria's body map.....	154
Figure 24: Neus' body map.....	155
Figure 25: Susana 's body map	157
Figure 26: Silvia's body map.....	158
Figure 27: Cristina L.'s body map	159
Figure 28: Yoli R.'s body map.....	160
Figure 29: Pilar C.'s body map.....	161
Figure 30: Mayte's body map	163
Figure 31: Conchi's body map	166
Figure 32: Ángeles' body map	169
Figure 33: Pilar B.'s body map.....	170
Figure 34: Alejandra' body map.....	172

Figure 35: Laura E.'s body map.....	174
Figure 36: Pepi's body map.....	175
Figure 37: Cristina M.'s body map	178
Figure 38: Txell's body map.....	181
Figure 39: Detail of the head of Txell's body map.....	182
Figure 40: Detail of the head of Txell's body map.....	183
Figure 41: Mobility routes of women nightshift workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area.....	194
Figure 42: Pictures of Can Parellada and view of Barcelona from the neighbourhood	201
Figure 43: Map of the L9 and L10 projects.....	202
Figure 44: Aerial picture of Zona Franca.....	214
Figure 45: Map of Zona Franca	214
Figure 46: Bus stop in Zona Franca.....	215
Figure 47: Views of surrounding areas of the Hospital of Bellvitge from the main building	216
Figure 48: View of the Hospital of Bellvitge from the metro station at night.....	217
Figure 49: Silvia's everyday network map.....	218
Figure 50: Picture of one empty lot in Poble Nou	219
Figure 53: Pictures of Rafaela's commuting route	222
Figure 52: Pictures of the tunnel that crosses Gran Via.....	223
Figure 53: Pictures of the bridge that connects Santa Eulàlia with Collblanc	225
Figure 54 A, B, C, D: Pictures of routes with obstructed lighting, opaque fences and empty lots....	226
Figure 55: Pictures of the new L9 metro stations	230
Figure 56: Alejandra's everyday life map	237

List of abbreviations

BMA	Barcelona Metropolitan Area (<i>AMB-Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona</i>)
CC.OO.	Workers Commission (<i>Comisiones Obreras</i>)
CiU	Convergende and Union (<i>Convergència i Unió</i>)
CPTED	Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
FGC	Catalan Rail Company (<i>Ferrocarrils de la Generalitat de Catalunya</i>)
FPAR	Feminist Participatory Action Research
LGBTQ2+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Two-Spirit
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PSC	Catalan Socialist Party (<i>Catalan Socialist Party</i>)
RENFE	Spanish Rail Company (<i>Red Nacional de Ferrocarriles Españoles</i>)

Acknowledgments

I want to begin this dissertation with the same message where I conclude: research is never an individual process, it is always a collective project. This is even more evident when conducting Participatory Action Research. Although I am obliged to claim single authorship of my dissertation, I want to thank all those who worked with me to make it possible. First, I want to thank the twenty-four women nightshift workers who have worked with me in this research: Alejandra, Laura E, Pepi, Ángeles, Conchi, Pilar B., Toñi, Cristina L. Ana, Núria, Susana, Neus, Rafaela, Cristina M, Mayte, Laura L., Pilar C., Yoli T., Yoli R., Txell, Silvia, Karen, Zenobia, Lidia. I am thankful for your generosity, commitment and energy. Even though you carry out double and triple shifts in difficult conditions, you engaged in this project without hesitation. Sharing individual and group experiences has been a life changing learning experience. Meeting the co-researchers of this project would have been not possible without the support the advisory group members: Felisa, Mercè, Laura and Carla. Four amazing feminist activists who helped me take care of every part of the project. Thank you for your trust and enthusiasm.

The support of my colleagues and friends from Col·lectiu Punt 6, Ari, Blanca, Roser and Marta, has been also decisive. When I was hesitant about doing the PhD, you always encouraged me. I would have never been able to conduct a FPAR without the knowledge and experiences accumulated through the work we have conducted together in the last decade. I am grateful for working in a feminist cooperative project that allows us to contemplate radical transformations of our cities, but also for the way we work and we take care of each other. Working with you in the collective has given me the flexibility to take time in decisive moments of this dissertation without pressure and with your full support and cheer.

I feel honoured and privileged for having a supportive committee comprised of four inspiring and generous women: Nora Angeles, Leonie Sandercock, Pilar Riaño-Alcalá and Zaida Muxí. I thank you for trusting me when I was so insistent in conducting FPAR, even though you knew the risks of this method for a PhD dissertation. Thank you also for sharing with me your knowledge and expertise on participatory and community based research, for motivating further reflection and analysis, and for your humanity and care throughout the process.

These years have been (re)productive in many ways. In addition to gestating this dissertation, my two daughters Lila and Maia were born during my doctoral program. Someone told me in

the past that having kids while doing your dissertation was the best moment. I would never know if this person was right or not, because I do not know other way to do a dissertation. But definitely my daughters have provided me so much joy, balance and inspiration these years of heavy work, traveling and family loses. They have accompanied me everywhere I went, spent hours at my office in West Mall Annex, adapted to my night outings during *homework* and even attended conferences. I am thankful to my partner Jordi for supporting me in this process and for understanding the ups and downs of doctoral life while raising two kids together. My mom has been very present too and missed in my time in Vancouver. She kept me asking if I would never finish studying. She took care of Lila several nights that I went to conduct *homework*. Sadly, my mom died from a long-term cancer in May 2018 before I finished. I wish I could have spent more time with her, but I am grateful that I was able to accompany her the last months of life and be by her side when dying at home, as she wanted. I am sure she will be very happy and proud to see me completing this chapter in life. Her sense of responsibility and humbleness has impregnated the way of conducting this work.

Doing a PhD also gives you opportunity to meet wonderful people going through the same situation and make friends forever. I feel so lucky to have shared these years at the School of Community and Regional Planning with four wonderful women: Magdalena, Vrushti, Prajna and Lili. We spent together the most hilarious moments at West Mall Annex, shared laughs, tears, dancing floors, lots of chocolate, pregnancies and even births. I special thank you to Magdalena, who has been my inspiration and my peer mentor, but most important who has accompanied me through my two pregnancies and been with us in Maia's home-birth. In the last months of writing, I was also very fortunate to find my writing buddy, Claudia, with whom we have spent hours writing side by side at the UBC Barber Library. You all made me appreciate the importance of the small things, of sharing food, thoughts and laugh.

Finally, I want to thank the women who help me with my (re)productive work. To the women who take care of my daughters in different times of the doctoral journey: Gris, Caro, Aida, Rosario and Maria. And to the interns at Col·lectiu Punt 6 who helped me with transcriptions and maps: Ainara, Mar and Magda.

Research funding acknowledgement: I am thankful for the financial support received from the UBC Public Scholar Initiative, which was essential to make this participatory action research project real.

For my mom Carmen and my daughters Lila and Maia

Chapter 1. introduction

This project means many things to us. Working on a concrete project that gives voice to women, that engages them through participation, and that promotes other women's participation.

This project makes women's problems visible, especially the problems of women who work at night. It is a topic that, unfortunately, is not discussed much in our society.

Through the project people will be aware of what happens, of sexism, of the terror that we experience sometimes when we work at night, of the health issues, because sometimes we get sick.

A high percentage of women choose the night for economic and personal reasons. Women usually work at night to take care of their families, above all of their children, and when they get older, of their parents, in laws, elder people

Changing the rhythm of rest and activities changes your body. The quality and quantity of sleep is not the same. You wake up more often, with the light or noise. Also, digestive issues, because you have more stomach aches, and eat worse.

The issue of public transportation to go to work, it is not well thought out for those who work at night, because the schedules, and the conditions of the bus stops, the metro, and the infrastructures for people walking or cycling, are not well designed, or signalized. At certain hours, there is barely public transportation when you leave work and you have to wait sometimes an hour.

You have fear because there have been attempts of rape to other colleagues. In reality, when we are working the night shift, all women who work at night don't usually take the same route, because someone can be watching us out there.

The day does not end when the sun goes down. There are many people who work at night, and we want our work to be accepted.

I created this composition from excerpts of stories shared by self-identified women¹ nightshift workers who were the co-researchers of this study, in order to show the diversity of issues they face on an everyday/everynight basis. The passage highlights the importance of

¹ I focus on the everyday/everynight life of self-identified women, which includes diverse gender and sexual identities including cisgender, non-binary, queer, and transgender people, therefore, contesting heteronormativity as the dominant paradigm. Hereafter, I will use the term women when referring to self-identified women.

including their experiences and knowledge about the night city when working on urban and regional planning issues, and how the way cities are planned affects their lives.

Using an intersectional feminist lens in planning, this dissertation seeks to make visible the night work that keeps this world running and to reveal the planning barriers women nightshift workers face on a nightly basis, and how women nightshift workers use and access different urban environments at different day and night hours.

Intersectionality has been used by post-colonial and post-structural feminists as a critical feminist proposal to disrupt essentialist conceptions of being a “woman.” The term looks at how structural systems of gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexual identity, disability, origin, and migration status exist within an hierarchy of power, as well as how they intersect with other forms of structural oppression such as racism, homophobia, and classism, among others (Carbin and Edenheim 2013; Collins 1998; Crenshaw 1991; Rodó-de-Zárate 2014). In 1977, the Combahee River Collective, a Black lesbian feminist organisation in Boston, pointed out the futility of privileging a single dimension of people’s experience as if it constituted their entire life. Instead, they spoke of the need of being “actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual and class oppression” and advocated for “the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking” (Brah and Phoenix 2004, 78). In 1985, Maxine Molyneux challenged essentialist feminists and started a debate about the need to analyze how women’s identities are interconnected with other identity features (Molyneux 1985). Two years later, in her ground-breaking book *Borderlands*, Gloria Anzaldúa, (1987) questioned the gender binary and its essentialism when she narrates her story as a queer Chicana who fuses English and Spanish while living in the borderlands, in the South of the United States. Anzaldúa defines herself as “mestiza” to acknowledge the impossibility of identifying herself with the dualism man-women, White-Black, as a person living in the borderlands:

“To survive the Borderlands
you must live *sin fronteras*
be a crossroads.”

Even though the problematization of essentialist feminism started in the 1970s, the conceptualization of the term intersectionality is attributed to Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), who uses it to explain the specific oppression of Black women in the USA labor market (Collins

1990, 1998; Hooks 1989). Crenshaw uses intersectionality to draw attention to the interconnections, interdependence, and “interlocking” of oppressive categories (Crenshaw 1991). Black feminist Patricia Hill Collins (Collins 1990, 1998) expands the debate by using the term intersectionality to highlight the agency that communities have in the construction of their identities and their efforts to advance social justice.

This dissertation uses an intersectional feminist lens to analyze how the multiple and overlapping identities of women nightshift workers condition their everyday/everynight life. As the following pages will show, the use of such an analytical framework sheds light on how the intersections of gender, race, migration status, and class condition women nightshift workers everyday/everynight life, mobility options, access to public spaces, risk of sexual violence, and gender discrimination at home, work, and in the city.²

1.1 Focus of the research

The research conducted for this dissertation examines how urban planning in the cities of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area conditions the everyday/everynight life of women nightshift workers. In particular, this research is interested in those aspects related to mobility, the design of public spaces, the perception of safety, and the network of services and facilities that women nightshift workers navigate at various times of day and night. When the project was initially conceptualized, it sought to analyze the participants’ perceptions of safety and mobility, with the objective to assess how prevailing social gender mandates and the sexualization of women’s bodies in the public space condition women nightshift workers’ mobility options. As a result of the collective work involved in this Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR), the focus of the study expanded to also include how gender mandates influence women’s decisions to work at night and what the impacts of night work are in the development of everyday life activities, in family and social relationships, in women’s health, and in the work environment.

² Even though I carry this through this FPAR, an intersectional gender approach is not always reflected in women’s direct quotes. At the end of the methodological chapter 3, I further explain this analytical challenge.

The research also explores how women nightshift workers can influence planning policies and practices. Specifically, the inspiration to use this methodology is grounded in the notion of “planning from below” (Beard 2002; Friedmann 1979, 1987; Sandercock 2003; Sanyal 2005), an approach that values community-building and development at the grassroots level, and acknowledges the role of “ordinary” people in the planning process as active agents of transformation (Sandercock 1998a). In addition to bringing to the foreground the experiences and expertise of people often excluded from decision-making, planning from below can be gender-transformative if we include people’s gendered practices and intersectional identities, and

“acknowledge and make visible [how] women’s experiences, and activities, needs, and responsibilities associated with domestic and care work [...] respond to the consequences of having a female sexualised body in public space, and the temporal dimension of everyday life, that looks beyond the productive life and responds to the different times when domestic and care work are developed” (Ortiz Escalante and Valdivia 2015, 116).

Having the discussions just introduced as a point of departure, this dissertation is an endeavour to:

1. Examine women’s invisibility in the history of planning and in current planning practice in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area
2. Highlight the relevance of an intersectional feminist perspective in planning, applied in particular to *planning the everyday/everynight life* and to advancing women’s right to the city.
3. Value women’s everyday/everynight life as a source of knowledge that is essential to include in planning processes through the use of participatory methods.
4. Explore Feminist Participatory Action Research as a methodological approach that offers the potential to acknowledge and make visible the urban knowledge and expertise of women – particularly those who work at night – in ways that other urban planning tools do not.

Firstly, this dissertation seeks to expose and explain how the history of planning has omitted the contributions of women, people of color, Indigenous people, LGBTQ2+, and other groups

historically excluded from power structures and decision-making (Fainstein and Servon 2005; Sandercock 1998a). This dissertation especially stresses how women continue experiencing restricted access to the night-time as a consequence of still current hetero-patriarchal, gender, class, and racial oppressive structures. The historical conceptualization of the night as a forbidden and dangerous time and space for women (Hooper 1998; Wilson 1991) is still replicated today. Women continue being socialized to expect fear when using the public space at night. “Don’t walk alone at night” is one of many messages that we get through family, media, or educational institutions about how we should protect ourselves from sexual assault by strangers. As a result, women’s fear increases at night, in public spaces, and in the face of strangers, even though research shows that most forms of violence against women occur in the private space of the home and are perpetrated by a relative or person known to the victim (Generalitat de Catalunya 2017; Valentine 1992; Whitzman 2007). As a consequence, when women transgress this public space imaginary and use the space at night, they are still seen as out of place in many social contexts and blamed when they are sexually harassed or assaulted.

Although the reproduction of women’s fear has strong social and cultural components, there is evidence that physical aspects of how cities are planned also impact how safety is perceived and how women use public spaces. Fear also impacts how women navigate the city and move around at night. Transportation studies in Eurocentric contexts have shown that women have more sustainable, complex and diverse mobility patterns than men during the day (Angeles 2017; Grieco, Pickup, and Whipp 1989; Grieco and Ronald 2012; Hanson 2010; Law 1999; Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016). However, women’s mobility can be paralyzed at night because of fear of violence. After dark, women avoid certain parts of the city, do not use certain modes of transportation, or refrain from going out at all. Planning needs to respond to this inequality to guarantee women’s full right to the city during day and night.

A second rationale for this dissertation is to respond to Sandercock and Forsyth (1992) call for studying “both feminist planning practice and the relationship of feminist activism to planning” (54), because of the existing gap between planning theory and feminist planning practice. Since the 1970s, feminist planners and geographers have offered a wide variety of contributions to planning theory and practice that can be applied to *planning the*

everyday/everynight life and advancing women's right to the city (e.g. Greed 1994; Hayden 1980; Leavitt 2003; Little, Peake, and Richardson 1988; Rahder and Altilia 2004; Sandercock and Forsyth 1992; Sandercock 1998a; Wilson 1991). However, there is a gap between the Anglo-western planning literature over the last decade – where feminisms have not been as present (Fainstein and Servon 2005; Leavitt 2003; Rahder and Altilia 2004) – and what is happening at the practical level and the debates found in the Spanish-speaking planning literature. Jacqueline Leavitt (2003) argues that discussions about gender have been silenced in planning theory and education in the USA, while gender analyses are taking place in planning practice, most of all in community development. Rahder and Altilia (2005) also document the loss of interest in gender analyses in North American planning theory. Through the analysis of journal articles and courses in planning programs, they find that feminism was at its peak in the 1990s, but later these debates have been replaced by a growing concern about diversity in planning. While the inclusion of other forms of oppression in planning theory is positive and highlights intersectional identities, the authors consider that this trend has made women's issues less visible and more marginalized. This declining visibility of feminisms in the Anglo/Western planning literature stands in sharp contrast with the increasing Spanish literature on feminist urban planning (e.g. Arias and Muxí 2018; Falú 2009; Falú 2011; Miralles-Guasch and Martínez Melo 2012; Muxí Martínez et al. 2011), as well as with the increase in feminist planning practices and grassroots movements in different parts of the world. To name a few: Women in Cities International, METRAC and Women Transforming Cities (Canada); Huairou Commission and GROOTS International; Red Mujer y Hábitat de América Latina; CISCOSA (Argentina), Colectiva Ciudad y Género (México); Fundación Guatemala (Guatemala); Fundación Vivienda Popular (Colombia); Col·lectiu Punt 6, Dunak (Spain); and Jagori (India). In light of these realities, this dissertation seeks to highlight that feminisms are still used in many non-Anglo/Western contexts, suggesting that we should question the lack of intersectional feminist perspectives in mainstream planning theory and practice dominated by English-speaking scholars.

The third objective of this dissertation is to focus on women's *everyday/everynight life* to make visible how their diverse gendered realities have not been included in *planning the night* policies. In choosing to examine women's *everyday/everynight life*, the goal is to problematize the continuum of women's double shift in the paid formal and informal work, and in the unpaid reproductive, domestic, care, and community work. The role of planning in relation to the

nocturnal sphere has been to regulate and control what happens at night, and who has the right to the night city (Beer 2011; Chatterton and Hollands 2003; Eldridge and Roberts 2014; Evans 2012; Thomas and Bromley 2000; van Liempt, van Aalst, and Schwanen 2014). But little has been done to enable and facilitate the everyday/everynight life of people who use the urban night on a regular basis. Nightlife seems to be perceived as an exception, even for leisure, in spite of the fact that “going out” is a weekend routine for certain groups of people with the desire, need, and capacity to do so. Also, much of the literature and proposals on planning for the night-time economy (e.g. hiring of a Night Mayor or Night City Manager) has supported the neoliberal model of maximizing the benefits of the night-time economy and addressing the problems that might interfere with this business, such as binge drinking, revisiting liquor permits, or addressing alcohol-related violence or neighbours’ complaints. In this sense, *planning the night* has been mostly a response to neoliberal imperatives while disregarding the needs of ordinary people, especially of working class people’s everyday/everynight life. In other words, urban planning has generally ignored the everynight of those people who, due to productive, care, and reproductive work, use the city after dark on a regular basis. At the same time, *planning the night*, more often than not, lacks a gender and intersectional perspective. Night-time planning interventions have accounted for the gendered bodies of White young adult males, but continue excluding other gendered bodies – the bodies of women, particularly low-income women, women of color, migrant women, as well as transgender people and non-White men.

Critical readers of this dissertation might question why I claim this is a feminist dissertation from an intersectional gender perspective while I only include women, without comparing their experiences to the everyday/everynight life experiences of men night workers. Following a wider debate about feminist studies and gender issues, and acknowledging that not all gender issues concern only women, women’s concerns are gender issues that deserve deeper attention due to gendered, unequal, hierarchical, and asymmetrical experiences of night work that often disadvantage women in the current patriarchal and capitalist society. In that sense, I follow the view that patriarchy is a system of oppression that affects most – if not all – of the world, even though the way in which it is expressed in different societies is contextual and shaped by “differential experiences and negotiation of social relations of gender, 'race', class, and sexuality” (Peake 1993, 428). I see patriarchy as an overarching system of domination but also as a system of conflict, because women have historically

resisted it (Peake 1993). It operates in interconnection with other forms of oppression. As Cabnal argues,

“Patriarchy is the root of all oppressions, all exploitations, all violences and discriminations that the humanity (women, men and non-binary people) and nature live, it is a system historically built over the sexualized body of women” (Cabnal 2010, 16).

Identifying patriarchy as a universal system of oppression does not mean that I am doing an essentialist analysis of women’s nightwork. Quite the contrary, the use of an intersectional feminist lens is critical to understanding the interconnection of patriarchy with other forms of oppression, and to make visible and value the complexity of people’s everyday lives in a specific spatial and historical context. An intersectional feminist perspective analyzes the interconnections between the multiple sources of oppression that women live, while focusing on the experiences of those women who have been largely excluded from feminist analyses (Bastia 2014; Nash 2008; Yuval-Davis 2006). In addition, an intersectional analysis acknowledges that a person may belong to multiple disadvantaged groups or identities, and this complicates their experiences of oppression in different contexts (Bastia 2014). One person, due to their intersectional identity, can belong to both oppressed and privileged groups at the same time. Therefore, an intersectional lens reveals that oppressive and privilege systems can overlap, interact, and articulate with one another.

Therefore, under this framework, the exclusion of men from this dissertation has been intentional because the goal of this research was not to prove that there is a difference between men and women nightshift workers. Instead of doing a comparative gender analysis, the goal of the dissertation is to make visible the barriers women nightshift workers face on a daily basis *for being women*, for being of a certain economic status, for living in certain neighborhoods, working in certain areas, being involved in feminized and intimate care jobs, and for having double-shifts combining paid and unpaid domestic work³. Looking at the everyday/everynight life of women nightshift workers from an intersectional feminist

³ Women in the context of the study continue to be in charge of 70% of the work related to the home and the family, despite their participation in the paid job market (Muxí Martínez, Casanovas, Ciocchetto, Fonseca, and Gutiérrez Valdivia 2011).

perspective reveals the interconnections of gender with other identity characteristics of these workers, in terms of class, race, ethnicity, sexual identity, migration history, or type of household. In other words, the goal has always been to make visible a group of silenced women who have not been included in any planning policy in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona until now.

In addition, by doing research with women nightshift workers, this research accumulates knowledge about issues that can resonate with a wider group of people, for example, regarding mobility. The mobility needs and barriers faced by women nightshift workers can be used to inform mobility policies in a wider sense. As Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo and Marquet (2016, 416) argue, “women’s mobility should continue to be specifically assessed, recognizing that women have accumulated the knowledge needed to develop a model of sustainable mobility patterns for the future” since they use the most socially and environmentally sustainable means of transport.

Finally, the fourth objective of this dissertation is to reveal how women’s experiential knowledge of their neighbourhoods and cities can influence planning policies through their active participation in all the phases of planning. The use of Feminist Participatory Action Research responds to the desire to make women nightshift workers the main players of this research.

1.2 Research questions

This research is guided by two research questions: 1) How do contemporary urban planning practices shape women night workers’ everyday/everynight life as they live, interact, and move within and across their homes, workplaces, and other nodes within the city and the region? 2) How can Feminist Participatory Action Research promote gender-transformative urban planning regarding the night use of the city?

In order to answer the first research question, I examine how the intersectional identities of women nightshift workers condition their use of spaces in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area (BMA) across the continuum of public and private spaces, such as the home, the workplace, and the neighborhood. I also examine how urban planners plan the city for the night-time, looking at whether the impacts of everyday/everynight life are accounted for in municipal and

regional planning policies, specifically policies about mobility, regulation of public space, safety, and the provision of public services and facilities.

Regarding the second research question, I investigate how women's active participation in planning can interrogate and transform the everyday/everynight life of night users of public spaces and work places.

I conduct this research in the context of the city of Barcelona and its metropolitan area. A city with four thousand years of history, which has a world reputation for its urban planning and architectural practices, especially following the 1992 Olympic Games. A city of migrants, with a strong neighborhood movement, influenced by the anarchist and communist past of the city and the region; a city that has historically engaged in promoting local policies to improve the living conditions of residents and neighbourhoods. A city that over the last decades has experienced the impact of neoliberalization, especially in the form of gentrification, touristification, privatization of public services, and an increase of poverty and social inequalities. But it is also a city whose current government – a self-declared feminist government under the leadership of Mayor Ada Colau – has tried to reverse the increasing inequality in the city and to implement progressive social policies from an intersectional gender perspective.

1.3 Contributions

This research fills major gaps in the *planning the night* literature in two ways. First, by focusing on the everyday/everynight life of night-shift working women, rather than merely on the economic or leisure and consumption conceptualizations of night-time planning. And second, by including an intersectional feminist analysis and the everyday/everynight life cycle as a knowledge source, neither of which are present in most night-time economy studies, thus expanding the spectrum of projects and studies within feminist urban planning.

This research also brings light to the night and the nocturnal dimension, not as an exceptional, prohibited, and frontier time-space for women, but as a continuum of the day, exploring the complexity of different life rhythms. It contributes to including diverse gendered bodies in planning the night and making visible the everyday/everynight life of a segment of

night workers often unheard, valuing the diversity of experiences of women nightshift workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area.

Along the same lines, the project contributes to (feminist) planning literature by studying the everyday/everynight life as a continuum and not as a binary. Examining the everyday/everynight life means giving equal relevance in policy-making to the needs associated with paid productive work and unpaid reproductive/domestic/care and community work. In doing so, the study promotes a more equitable gender division of labour, in addition to making visible women's contributions to the domestic and community economy (Bofill 2005; Gilroy and Booth 1999; Healey 1997; Muxí Martínez et al. 2011).

Also, taking feminist contributions such as the analysis of gendered bodies as a spatial scale, looking at how women's bodies feel, perceive, experience, and resist the urban night has enabled a better understanding of the role of fear and safety in the co-researchers' everyday/everynight lives.

In sum, this dissertation's examination of the routines and lived experiences of women nightshift workers, the types of activities they develop, with whom they develop these activities, at what times, and with which transportation modes, will help us understand the following key areas of research: (1) how women's bodies condition mobility and accessibility to nightlife, (2) the contributions of night workers to the paid and unpaid night-time economy, (3) how night workers organize their daily needs, (4) the negotiation of gendered mobility in the private and public space, particularly the role of public transportation, as well as (5) women's forced mobility and immobility caused by the perception of fear and safety. Examining the everyday/everynight life of women working at night will help to make visible women's use and appropriation of the night territory, to reclaim their ownership of the night, and to promote women's action to transform planning policies.

1.4 My positionality during this journey

This research reflects my commitment to feminism, women's rights, and social justice. I have embraced feminism and worked on women's advocacy for the past 20 years through community development, social research, capacity building, and feminist advocacy in different contexts including Spain, El Salvador, Mexico, and the United States. I began to

embrace feminism in the late 1990s while studying for my undergraduate degree in Sociology and as an intern for the Women's Center in Vilafranca del Penedès, my hometown in Spain. There, women of different origins and ages shared their struggles against gender violence. I realized how our society reproduces inequalities and injustices on a daily basis, simply based on the fact of being a woman, and even more when gender intersects with class, race, ethnicity, age, sexuality, disability, and migration status. Since then, my feminist work and activism has focused on advancing gender equity in different areas. Therefore, in this dissertation feminism is not merely used as a perspective (a way of seeing) and an epistemology (a way of knowing), but also as an ontology or way of being in the world (Stanley 1990) which I have embodied through my practice.

My research interest also reflects knowledge, experiences, and questions accumulated through my years-long research collaboration with Elizabeth L. (Betsy) Sweet, and through the work with a feminist planning organization – *Col·lectiu Punt 6* – in Barcelona, Spain. During my Master's Degree Program at the University of Illinois, I started working with Betsy Sweet on gender and race issues in planning. With Betsy we have worked together in peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters, particularly: how planning addresses gender violence, bringing bodies into planning as a scale of analysis as well as including visceral methods such as body-map storytelling on safety audits. *Col·lectiu Punt 6* is a non-profit cooperative of five women planners and architects, who work to include an intersectional feminist perspective in urban planning through participatory methods that place people's everyday life and women's knowledge at the center of planning policies. I have been part of this collective since 2009, when I moved back to Barcelona after finishing my Master's Degree. We have collectively written different publications in a variety of formats over these years and we are one of the few organizations in Spain working on feminist urban planning, a field that has received increased interest in cities such as Barcelona and Madrid in the last three years. Both *Col·lectiu Punt 6* and Betsy Sweet have sparked my interest in doing a PhD. Most members of *Col·lectiu Punt 6* are involved in academic research in addition to planning practice and activism. This academic involvement is a response to our collective goal of increasing feminist presence in urban planning education and research.

Through my work with *Col·lectiu Punt 6* I have engaged with feminist participatory and bottom-up methodologies that place everyday life in the center of planning, and particularly

diverse women's experiences, voices, and knowledges. Based on this experience and previous work in Mexico and El Salvador using popular education, I could not imagine doing a dissertation without a strong participatory and action oriented component. Therefore, Feminist Participatory Action Research seemed the most appropriate methodology to use, since this type of research seeks to recognize local knowledge and people's experience, respecting local practices and research "with" towards action for social transformation and "giving back" (Reid and Frisby 2008; Fine et al. 2003).

My latest work with Betsy Sweet, who is a Native American woman (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2017), as well as my studies at UBC, in the unceded territory of the Musqueam people, have influenced my critique of Eurocentric epistemologies and inspired me to walk towards decolonizing and questioning the way I do research. This is relevant for the context of this study, Spain, a country whose history of invasion, colonization, and oppression of Indigenous communities in Latin America, the Philippines, and Africa has shaped historical and present non-EU migration policies as well as employment patterns for migrant women in Spain (Moss 1997). In particular, working with the members of my committee, Nora Angeles, Leonie Sandercock, and Pilar Riaño-Alcala, all women working on decolonizing and community-based methodologies, as well as Zaida Muxí Martínez, a feminist architect, has deeply influenced and inspired the way this dissertation has evolved and I have learnt tremendously from their academic and activist work and contributions.

In this sense, this dissertation, done in collaboration with Barcelona-based feminist organizations, has been infused by an embodied process of endlessly moving, engaging, and reflecting on the ethical considerations, as further explained in Chapter 3. Ontologically, it is very difficult to distinguish between the language of the women and the language I am using, even though not all women share the activist language when we talk about patriarchal and racial oppressions (for example, as I explain in Chapter 5 when we dealt with one of the co-researches racist comments). One of the main challenges has been moving between **we** and **I**, constantly struggling to write a dissertation that should have collective ownership and voice to honour the participatory action component, but that is forced to be written with **I** and as my individual research product, because of the still existing colonial structures of the university system.

1.5 Structure of the dissertation

Chapter 2 presents the body of literature that serves as the analytical and theoretical framework. The chapter reviews the role of planning in regulating the night, doing a critique of the existing literature on planning the night-economy from an intersectional feminist perspective and highlighting how women, as well as other non-normative bodies and identities, have been excluded from urban planning policies. In the critique, I argue that urban planning has supported a neoliberal and patriarchal model of maximizing the benefits of the night-time economy and only responding to the problems that interfere with this business. Therefore, this approach has displaced the everyday/everynight needs of those people who, due to productive, care and reproductive work, use the city after dark on a regular basis, but do not fall under the category of a White male: women and other non-normative bodies. In order to disrupt this view, I review feminist contributions to urban planning that can be applied to planning the night. My review of these contributions includes three interests: (1) looking at how the concept of everyday/everynight life as a source of knowledge can be applied in this field to make visible the productive-reproductive spheres of night-life beyond the current consumption approach; (2) reviewing feminist urban planning studies on fear, safety, and mobility that connect these elements with women's appropriation of public spaces at night; and (3) advocating for the inclusion of gendered bodies as a spatial scale to enable a better understanding of the role of fear and safety in women's everyday/everynight lives.

Chapter 3 presents the methodological framework used in this dissertation. In this chapter, I first review the literature on feminist participatory action research, its history and evolution, examining the contributions of feminist, decolonizing, and critical race theories to this methodology. I then describe the participatory methods and approach used throughout all parts of the project. I also include an ethical reflection reviewing my positionality, the transition from an individual dissertation to a collective project, and sharing the constant reflexivity process in which I have been involved.

Chapter 4 seeks to present in a nutshell Barcelona and its metropolitan area planning evolution, summarizing its history of compact and mixed-uses cities in general, and specifically focusing on the issues that are relevant to this dissertation. Thus, this chapter provides an overview of how the city and the metropolitan area have addressed, or not, the night-time in planning policies. In particular, it examines how the transportation and mobility

systems were planned in the city and metropolitan area, linking the repercussions of this history to planning the night from an intersectional gender perspective. Finally, I present how Barcelona and some other cities in the metropolitan area are adopting an intersectional gender perspective in urban planning policies, since in 2017 Barcelona adopted a new city bylaw on urban planning from an intersectional gender perspective to be applied in all planning areas, processes, and projects. The information examined in this chapter combines a literature review of history and planning policies, as well as the analysis of interviews conducted with planners of the city of Barcelona, the Barcelona Metropolitan Area Agency, and planners and staff from two major cities of the metropolitan area where co-researchers live and work: L'Hospitalet and El Prat de Llobregat.

Chapters 5 and 6 are the main analytical chapters. Chapter 5 presents women's nightshift workers and includes the analysis of how gender roles impact women's decisions to work at night, how working at night affects family and social relations, women's bio-psychosocial health, and how gender inequalities in the labour market get magnified in the nightshift. Chapter 6 examines the impact of planning policies and practices in women night workers' experiences of the built environment, looking specifically into the challenges women face in terms of night mobility, fear, and safety. Both chapters are built upon the collective materials for dissemination that were produced jointly with the co-researchers, including two of the three participatory videos that came out of the FPAR project. Since the very beginning, we discussed with co-researchers about different ways of disseminating the collective work and the main results. And towards the end of data gathering we decided to publish the main results in a report. This report was titled *Nocturnas: The everyday life of women nightshift workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area*, and has been written in the first-person plural and has collective authorship (Nocturnas 2017)⁴. That report has been published originally in Catalan and Spanish, and later translated into and published in English. During the writing stage, I also sought ways to make this report a collective production. This is an element that other participatory action researchers have tried to implement too (Fine et al. 2003; Reid 2002; Tuck 2009a). In light of the report just described and the collective nature of data gathering, analysis, and writing, the process of writing chapters 5 and 6 has involved constant self-reflection regarding how to do it. I felt that I had to honour the collective essence of the

⁴ https://issuu.com/punt6/docs/nocturnas_eng, retrieved May 25, 2019

published report, and thus maintain the first-person plural that was used in the report and respect the collective work we have initially done. However, after several conversations with my supervisory committee regarding how to balance the participatory formulation of the project with the need to meet doctoral requirements defined by the university, in the end, I decided to expand the collective analysis in order to connect the results with previous research and literature. I want to emphasize how the use of the third person ‘she/they’ makes me feel uncomfortable, because I feel I am not being loyal to the joint analysis developed with the co-researchers who also own this project. Therefore, while acknowledging and honouring that the FPAR has a life of its own – which is the result of the collective work – in these pages, I present my doctoral dissertation for which I have a broader responsibility and of which I am the single author. I did my best to be respectful of the collective findings and to honour the women co-researchers’ contributions. In an effort to break language hierarchies, I have included the quotes in its original language, Catalan and Spanish, and then add the English translation.

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter and discusses the main findings and contributions of this dissertation, as well as recommendations that were collectively developed with the women participants. In this chapter I also examine the potential of using FPAR to promote gender-transformative urban planning, in particular regarding the night use of the city. On the one hand, I examine how this project has influenced local and metropolitan planning policies or planning actors. An important section of this chapter looks at the role of the media, in particular participatory video. I examine how the process of making the participatory video, from the script workshop to its dissemination, has impacted the project. I also look at the impact of this FPAR on women co-researchers and the organizations involved.

The participatory video created with co-researchers – entitled “Nocturnas: Visibilizing women who work at night through a participatory action research project” – is the analog of this introductory chapter, and gathers first-person testimonies of members of the advisory group and women co-researchers.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LvKxqeAJRTY>, retrieved May 25, 2019



NOCTURNAS: Un proyecto de participación, acción y visibilización con mujeres que trabajan de noche

Chapter 2. An intersectional gender lens to planning the night-time

The history of planning has omitted the contributions of women, people of color, Indigenous people, LGBTQ2+ and other groups historically excluded from power structures and decision-making (Fainstein and Servon 2005; Sandercock 1998a). Under the umbrella of planning for the public interest, often seen as a single, universal and standardized interest for a century, planners were oblivious to the diversity of realities in our society, and replicated inequalities, privileging the most powerful (Healey 1997b; Fainstein and Servon 2005), for example, including through the expansion of the ‘American suburban model’ that entailed racial segregation and the consolidation of the patriarchal system sending women back to the private sphere of the home (Hayden 1980; 1986). Under the guise of the public interest, women have been excluded and restricted at night because of how their bodies are socially defined and controlled. The night has been conceptualized as a forbidden and dangerous time and space for women (Hooper 1998; Wilson 1991). Therefore, women transgressing this imaginary forbidden space and using the material public space at night are still unwelcome and blamed in many urban contexts⁵.

Since the 1970s, feminist planners and geographers have provided a wide variety of insights and contributions to planning theory and practice (e.g. Boccia 2016; Hayden 1980; Falú 2009 2016; Greed 1994; Little, Peake, and Richardson 1988; Muxí Martínez et al. 2011; Rahder and Altilia 2004; Sandercock 1998a, 1998b; Sandercock and Forsyth 1992; Wilson 1991) that can be applied to *planning the night* and advance women’s right to the city⁶. The role of planning in relation to the nocturnal sphere has been to regulate and control what happens at night and who has the “right to the night” in the city, ignoring how patriarchal power relations interrelated with race, cultural and gender relations affect the right of women and non-dominant male groups to use and participate in nightlife (Fenster 2005). Little has been done to enable and facilitate the everyday/everynight life of those people who, due to their

⁵ For example, when women are sexually assaulted at night, they continue being blamed by media and social structures for using the public space at night.

⁶ The right to city defined as “the right to appropriate urban space in the sense of the right to use, the right of inhabitants to ‘full and complete use’ of urban space in their everyday lives ...The second component of the right to the city is the right to participation. The rights of inhabitants to take a central role in decision-making surrounding the production of urban space at any scale whether the state, capital, or any other entity which takes part in the production of urban space.” (Fenster 2005, 219)

productive, care and reproductive work, use the city after dark on a regular basis. At the same time, *planning the night* lacks gender analysis and intersectional perspective. It has included the gendered bodies of White young adult males in the promotion of heteronormative, sexist and racist night-time entertainment strategies that focus on alcohol consumption, but continues excluding other gendered bodies: the bodies of women, particularly low-income women, women of color, migrant women, as well as trans people, and non-White men.

This chapter argues for the need to include in planning the study of women's everyday/everynight life with the goal to: (1) make visible how the diverse gendered realities have not been included in *planning the night* policies; (2) give equal attention and relevance to women's contributions in paid formal and informal work, and unpaid reproductive, domestic, care, and community work; and 3) emphasize how women's work at night is essential for keeping the world running during the day⁷. Finally, including an intersectional feminist perspective in planning the urban night can push policy makers to respond to the needs resulting from women's double presence in the paid night-economy and the unpaid domestic and care work. Planning can contribute to transforming unpaid work into a social and collective responsibility instead of a burden that often falls on women's shoulders.

Analyzing how gender and other intersectional identities have been included/excluded in *planning the night* implies examining research on how gendered bodies have been conceptualized in planning and planning at night, how urban planning has approached the nocturnal sphere, and how fear and safety affect women's mobility in the nightlife.

2.1 Gendered bodies in the night

Feminist scholars have documented how gendered, racialized and sexually diverse bodies have been constructed and regulated through planning (Doan 2010; Green and Singleton 2006; Hooper 1998; Sandercock 1998a). Women's bodies in particular have been conceptualized in the public sphere as a threat to the social order, as a source of fear that "undoes the idea of plan" (Sandercock 2003), but also as a vulnerable and objectified body to be dominated (Wesely and Gaarder 2004). This exclusion has been reinforced through

⁷ This is a qualitative statement that sheds light on women's nightshift workers double and triple shift, which remains invisible because they develop their paid job while most people sleep.

historical negative connotations attached to women's bodies in public spaces, and the idealized public-private divide. For example, the term "public woman" has been often associated with a prostitute, a 'not respectable' woman, being a sexual temptation to male self-discipline, to the 'public man', which is perceived as the statesman (Duncan 1996; Hooper 1998; Massolo 2007; Wilson 1991). Thus, planning has been complicit in reproducing the oppressive public-private binary that places women in the private realm associated with the domestic, the emotional, the embodied, the family, and the unpaid and informal work; and men in the public sphere of production, paid employment, rationality, disembodiment, market, state, and power (Duncan 1996; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2010).

In addition to being androcentric, the public-private dichotomy is ethnocentric and oppressive against queer and trans people. It is ethnocentric because this dichotomy becomes even more limited when used in contexts of informal settlements where "home" does not exist because people live in a shack, a very vulnerable structure where doors cannot be locked or windows secured (Meth 2003). It is queer and trans oppressive when the sexual division of space forces people to respond to hegemonic expectations of gender behaviour restricted to the male-female binary (Doan 2010).

The reproduction of this binary and the exclusion of women from the public sphere become more evident when the sun goes down. Women have been restricted at night-time because of how their bodies are defined and controlled in the nocturnal sphere. The context, as well as women's intersectional identities, restrains their night activity. The night has been historically conceptualized as a forbidden and dangerous time-space for women. The expression 'woman of the night,' like 'public woman', is negatively charged and also associated with prostitution, disorder, or being a "loose" woman (Patel 2010). Therefore, many societies still blame and stigmatize women using the space at night as if they did not belong or did not have right to be there.

Including an intersectional feminist perspective in planning can make visible a more fluid relationship between gendered bodies and the city (Doan 2010; Miranne and Young 2000; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2014), by seeing bodies as a spatial scale that connect public-private spaces, as a biographical space, a space of memory of violence, but also a space of resistance (Falú 2009; Vargas 2009). Looking at the body as a space of self-awareness and resistance, as a unique and private space, the first to be appropriated by women, in order to

be able to take ownership of other territories: the home, the neighbourhood, the city, the country (Falú 2009; Vargas 2009).

An intersectional feminist perspective in planning also implies incorporating the everyday/evernight life of women as a source of knowledge, a scale of analysis and a methodology. In the feminist literature on everyday life, specific references to evernight life are made in relation to this concept being used as a methodology (Smith 1990). The other body of feminist literature that has approached the evernight life is sex-related work studies; for example, research on everyday spatial use and knowledge of sex workers (Hubbard 1998; Hubbard and Sanders 2003; Ross 2010, 2013; Schlör 1998). But there is a need to make women more visible in the evernight life beyond the sex workers use of night spaces, and at the same time, studies on the concept of everyday life need to be extended to everyday/evernight life. My objective is to include the night not as an exceptional time, as a deviant, or as a frontier to cross, but as a continuum that explores the complexities of the different rhythms of life (Gallan and Gibson 2011).

Examining the everyday life means giving equal relevance to the needs of the paid productive work and the unpaid reproductive/domestic/care and community work, to promote a more equitable gender division of labour, and in addition, to make visible women's contributions to the domestic and community economy (Bofill 2005; Gilroy and Booth 1999; Healey 1997; Muxí Martínez et al. 2011).

Lefebvre (1971) and de Certeau (1984) are renowned for their contributions to the study of everyday life. Both authors propose using everyday life as a source of knowledge in scientific research. De Certeau advocates for "bringing scientific practices and languages back toward their native land, everyday life" (de Certeau 1984, 6). Lefebvre (1971) proposes 'everyday life' to develop a cultural analysis of space and time of the urban in modern times. However, in this dissertation, I chose to focus my attention on the feminist works on everyday life because Lefebvre and de Certeau's texts are gender blind and they do not acknowledge how everyday life is experienced differently depending on gender and other intersecting identities, therefore obviating the different gender-based constraints encountered on a daily basis. One example is when de Certeau refers to everyday walking as a process of appropriation of space. He sees the "walker" as a person free to select from the different possibilities offered by the spatial order. This vision is androcentric and ethnocentric, because it does not

acknowledge the lack of freedom and limitations many bodies have to appropriate space, for example, low-income women, people of color, non-heteronormative bodies, etc. Their gender blindness is not justified by the time of their texts, because feminist analysis and gender dimensions of everyday life were incorporated in theoretical debates since the 1970s (Lykogianni 2008).

Thus, I use feminist definitions and analysis of everyday life, that acknowledge “engendered sociospatial relations and structures” (Lykogianni 2008, 136). Using everyday life to analyze the role of space and time in the built environment means: 1) giving equal value to all the spheres of life: the productive, reproductive (caring and domestic work), community, and personal; 2) recognizing the social value of the unpaid work and promoting a more equitable gender division between spheres; 3) acknowledging that in our current urban spaces, it is increasingly challenging to develop and organize all these activities in a daily basis, and women carry most of the burden; 4) understanding that this daily organization has material and emotional implications that shape people’s aspirations and expectations; and 5) making visible women’s coping strategies and social supports (Gilroy and Booth 1999; Healey 1997b).

Everyday life has been also developed as a methodology to analyze space (Dyck 2005; Lykogianni 2008) since

“...taking a route through the routine, taken-for-granted activity of everyday life in homes, neighbourhoods and communities can tell us much about its role in supporting social, cultural and economic shifts—as well as helping us see how the ‘local’ is structured by wider processes and relations of power.” (Dyck 2005, 234).

For Dyck (2005), the analysis of the everyday life allows taking the space of the body as a methodological point of departure to theorize about other scales, thus connecting the local to the global. Dyck (2005) focuses on everyday activities of care work, which are often unseen and carried out primarily by women and girls. As an example of this connection between the everyday life, the local and the global, she exposes how women migrate to other countries to work as domestic workers or babysitters, while leaving their children behind under the care of relatives. The study of the everyday life of these women have potential for understanding

the social, political and economic impacts of globalization over space, at the regional, national and international levels.

Miraftab's recent book (2016), which documents the case of migrant workers in a meatpacking plant in Beardstown, IL, also analyzes how the production and social reproduction of migrant labour is interconnected. She develops the concept of 'global restructuring of social production' to articulate how immigrant workers might spatially restructure their life cycle by spending their working life in the USA while the care work for their children and elders is outsourced to communities across the border to be performed by their families and the public organizations in their countries of origin (Miraftab 2016).

At the same time, studying everyday life contributes to make women visible (Davies 2003; Dyck 2005; Gilroy and Booth 1999; Lykogianni 2008), because their presence in all the spheres of life is greater than men, particularly in the reproductive, caring, and domestic spheres. Using everyday life as a paradigm and as a methodology in planning could help make visible this unpaid work developed mostly by women and change the traditional approach to urban life that has reproduced dualisms such as workplace/home and public/private (Lykogianni 2008). In the 1990s, Scandinavian feminists frustrated with managing the burden and complexity of everyday life, proposed a new paradigm, the 'New Everyday Life' that focuses on creating infrastructures for the everyday life that give material and social support to women's daily routines (Gilroy and Booth 1999, 309). The goal of this new paradigm was to spatially and temporally integrate separated elements of everyday life at the neighborhood level, for example, facilities that help share care and domestic tasks. They recommended actions at two levels: first, providing universal care services for dependents, and second, incorporating into the productive and cooperative system those domestic tasks that could be shared. This integration could be done through government initiatives, but also through neighborhood or resident associations, such as Dolores Hayden (1980) proposed in the HOMES project.

Also, using everyday life as a methodology implies using women's knowledge and everyday life experiences in urban planning, and considering women as experts of their communities and neighborhoods, because of the knowledge accumulated through the complexity of carrying out paid work, unpaid domestic, caring responsibilities and community work. Despite the differences between women's experiences, Lykogianni (2008) argues "they have in

common the plurality of their everyday activities and of the ways in which they manage to combine them” (140).

An intersectional feminist perspective in planning also looks at how everyday life is structured by time-space, understood as two inseparable and interdependent variables that reflect how spatial variations of time are a constitutive part of social conceptions of time (May and Thrift 2003). In the European context, and with Italian feminists at the forefront, feminist planners have focused on the analysis of time-space as interdependent variables that are integrated in everyday life (May and Thrift 2003). Karen Davies argues:

When looking at everyday life, we therefore need to analyse more carefully how we negotiate and switch between different temporal orders, how we weave together different temporal patterns, how temporal meaning is constituted through social interaction and how gender as well as discourses of femininity and masculinity are part and parcel of all this (Davies 2003, 137–38).

Feminists have made visible that the way time is planned in urban areas is androcentric (Boccia 2013; Davies 2003; Leccardi 1996; May and Thrift 2003; Paolucci 1996). In our society, the capitalist hierarchy of time and space is directly related to a patriarchal mode of production and consumption that hides and devalues the unpaid work carried out mostly by women, which is essential for our social reproduction. Leccardi (1996) argues that the modern expressions of time that originated in industrial societies gave greater value to paid work, granting this sphere the power to regulate the rest (i.e., domestic, care, community and personal). This conception of time is still reproduced through the capitalist economic system that conceives time as quantifiable, consumable, and an exchangeable commodity (Paolucci 1996). This conception of time has shaped space and converted cities into ‘time machines’: “...the city appears as the temporal power that marks the rhythm of collective and individual times for millions of people” (Paolucci 1996, 270). This notion of time is also grounded in gendered power relations that favor hetero normative male-dominated hierarchies, but ignore the temporal and spatial implications of conducting domestic and care work (Davies 2003). As a consequence, “women weave complicated temporal tapestries” (Davies 2003, 137) because women’s experiences of time are diverse, plural, complex and interdependent due to the simultaneous activities they develop (Davies 2003; Leccardi 1996); and, I would argue, to the intersectional identities and oppressions that condition their social time.

Leccardi (1996) calls for a reformulation of social time to be plural, a-centric and non-hierarchical, in which the public-private dichotomy is challenged because the complexity of simultaneously carrying multiple tasks makes visible the interdependence and circularity between public and private spheres and the impossibility to separate them (Leccardi 1996). I would argue that the reformulation of social time needs to include an intersectional perspective to analyze and respond to how age, race, migration status, sexuality, and other identity variables condition women's time-space in their everyday life. At the same time, I think seeing time in its 24-hour cycle and include everynight can also help reformulate social time. Seeing the everyday/everynight as a continuum will help break hierarchies between day and night and help formulate planning policies to make them more responsive to the diversity of social time, in particular with regard to mobility systems and the design of public spaces.

Italian feminists have promoted changes to time-relevant policies since the 1990s through 'City Time Plans'. The goal has been to "avoid seeing time reconciliation [between life and work] as an individual problem but instead to make it a collective, political and urban planning issue" (Boccia 2013, 69). These City Time Plans look at urban areas as 'Chronotopes'⁸, which implies understanding urban areas as physical places where gendered bodies in different stages of life spend time, taking into account the "microphysics of what we do everyday" (Boccia 2013, 70). City time plans promote urban planning actions both at the micro and macro scale, from development projects in neighborhoods to the planning of new urban centers (Boccia 2013), that are related to changing time conceptions and creating a better equilibrium between paid and unpaid work, and personal, household and community life.

2.2 Planning the night-time

Night is a contested term that has been socially and culturally shaped through history. How night is conceptualized and when night begins and ends also differs across cultures, historical periods, and geographic locations. The spread of public lighting in the 19th century changed the meaning and use of the city after dark, and enabled the increase of night-life above all in

⁸ Chronotope is a term that Michael Bakhtin introduced in literary theory to define how configurations of time and space are represented in language and discourse. In the context of City Time Plans, Teresa Boccia looks at Chronotopes as "places where time is spent, or physical places animated by the presence of female and male inhabitants, or both" (Boccia 2013, 70).

urban areas, expanding the night-time economy (Edensor 2013; Melbin 1987; Schivelbusch 1988). Lighting of all kinds had different uses and impacts according to social status. It was a strategy of the bourgeois for ordering the city: “extensive illumination was thus part of a moral and political reordering of the city” (Otter in Edensor 2013, 6) in contrast with the dark atmosphere of slums that was synonymous with lack of morality and dangerous ethics. Thus, lighting was another mechanism that served planning to control bodies in the city. Police used lighting as a form of control of the less privileged (Schivelbusch 1988).

In Western societies, the night has been associated with fear, chaos, devil, sin, death and the dark side of society (Edensor 2013; Palmer 2000; Schivelbusch 1988); and the day with the creation of the world, God, the “good”, the “safe”. This Euro-centric, Western imaginary has associated the night with those people that transgress the rational ordering of society, with transgressive sexualities, practices, occupations and ideas: for example, prostitutes, revolutionaries, musicians, or drug dealers (Palmer 2000). However, in non-Western cultures, there are also positive perceptions of the night, where people use this time for community rituals, family events, or religious activities (Amid 2013).

Historical accounts of night-time use have also reinforced dualisms between day and night, good and bad, even feminine and masculine (Melbin 1987; Palmer 2000; Schivelbusch 1988). This simplistic dualism between day and night has constructed them as opposite, obviating the diversity of each condition and how artificial lighting has complicated this binary, as well as legitimised conservative social and political agendas that constrain access to the night for certain groups of people (Gibson and Gallan 2011).

In the planning field, most research on the night focuses on the so-called ‘night-time economy’. This research has taken place mostly in Western contexts, particularly in the UK, and to a lesser degree, in the United States, Australia and Europe. These studies are focused on the ‘night-time economy’ of city centers that seek economic revitalization, with an emphasis on entertainment and leisure activities, generally associated with alcohol consumption. The term ‘night-time economy’ was first used by Franco Bianchini from the creative cities organization Comedia Consultancy in the 1990s (Bianchini 1995; van Liempt, van Aalst, and Schwanen 2014). ‘Night-time economy’ initially referred to a multi-industry of night cultural production, in which alcohol and leisure would be a part of night activity. However, most night-time economy policies have concentrated on the deregulation of alcohol

and leisure consumption (van Liempt, van Aalst, and Schwanen 2014), and become neoliberal strategies for “cities re-inventing themselves as consumption sites” (van Liempt, van Aalst, and Schwanen 2014, 6). Indeed, Chatterton and Hollands (2003) illustrate the ‘McDonaldisation’ of many nightlife districts in the UK: big branded names invading the city centers and standardizing the night-time experience. More recently, cities such as Amsterdam, Paris and Zurich have created the figure of a Night Mayor to bridge the gap between day and night planning (O’Sullivan 2016). This figure responds to the view of making 24-hour places of entertainment and consumption. In sum, most research on the night-time economy looks at the consumption side of the 24-hour city in downtown areas, and issues such as violence and insecurity (Beer 2011; Bromley, Tallon, and Thomas 2003; Crawford and Flint 2009; Eldridge and Roberts 2013a; Evans 2012; Thomas and Bromley 2000), but typically pays scant attention to the gendered nature of bodies, relations, and work within the night-time economy.

Some studies have included a gender perspective or a critical race analysis (Eldridge and Roberts 2013; Roberts and Eldridge 2012; Roberts 2006, 2013; Schwanen, van Aalst, Brands, and Timan 2012; Sheard 2011; Talbot 2007; Waitt, Jessop and Gorman-Murray 2011). The studies on gender look at exclusion, inequality or access to the night-time economy, revealing that the dominant mainstream forms of nightlife are male dominated and heterosexual (Chatterton and Hollands 2003; Hubbard and Colosi 2013; Sheard 2011). For example, young women’s access to the night-time economy has been in hegemonic heteronormative masculinity terms, adopting heavy drinking and involvement in violence (Chatterton and Hollands 2003; Waitt, Jessop, and Gorman-Murray 2011), or assessing women’s risk perception of sexual abuse (Sheard 2011). Studies on race and ethnicity in the UK and the Netherlands demonstrate the exclusion of non-White groups in the entertainment nightlife because of discriminatory and racist practices by clubs and door staff, but also because of the mainstream nightlife model that excludes non-White groups that seek a more diverse programming and music, avoid heavy drinking cultures and sexualized environments (Boogaarts 2008; Hadfield 2014; Schwanen et al. 2012).

The hegemonic male centered night culture has been challenged since the 1970s through ‘Take Back the Night’ marches and rallies (Hubbard and Colosi 2013), or more recently through the SlutWalks that originated in Toronto (Roberts 2013). Feminist marches to reclaim

the night continue in many cities around the globe. In the context of this study, in Barcelona the night of March 7th, just before International Women's Day, women march at night every year to take the streets and reclaim the night. The action is not officially sponsored but self-organized by independent feminist groups. But still, much work needs to be done in terms of challenging patriarchal and heterosexist night structures. Chatterton and Hollands (2003) propose to look at the diversity of experiences of young women, for example, looking at how economic and educational statuses influence their participation in the nightlife. Beebeejaun (2017) calls on city leaders to support political initiatives such as SlutWalks and Night Marches to promote gendered rights to public spaces in all the temporal dimensions.

Few studies look at the intersection of gender, race and ethnicity in the night-time economy. Schwanen et al. (2012) look at gender, race and ethnicity inequalities in the access to the night-time economy in the Netherlands. This mixed-methods study finds substantial inequalities and results differ in terms of gender and race and conclude that what can be "beneficial in gender terms can be the opposite from a racial/ethnic perspective" (Schwanen et al. 2012, 2083). For example, they argue that the effects of police presence may stimulate higher women's presence but less non-White inclination to stay. They conclude that a more diverse nightlife entertainment program would enable greater participation of racial/ethnic minorities in the night-time. The authors also advocate for not treating young women as a homogeneous category, or positioning them simply as vulnerable and fearful, and call for more qualitative studies that lead to a better understanding of nightlife exclusion based on gender, race and ethnicity.

Fewer studies are found about the night-time in non-Western contexts (Amid 2013; Hadfield and Hadfield 2014; Patel 2010; Su-Jan, Limin, and Kiang 2012; Tadié and Permanadeli 2014) and for non-leisure activities. Su-Jan et al. (2012) explore the role of informal night-time economy in people's habitual routines in Singapore. The authors argue that night-life opens more opportunities for informal practices and diverse actors to use the public space because it can be an incubator for small businesses run by new immigrants, attract creative industries in search of areas with low-cost rent and a vibrant nightlife, promote diversity and a more inclusive night leisure time, and protect the public space (Su-Jan, Limin, and Kiang 2012). In Iran, Amid (2013) looks at the night-life of a city in relation to religious tourism and weather conditions, with a different approach to the night-time economy, which does not involve

alcohol. Her goal is to show that Middle Eastern countries have an active nightlife as a result of religious practices and climate conditions.

In a recent Special Issue of *Urban Studies* on 'Geographies of the urban night' (van Liempt, van Aalst, and Schwanen 2014), the authors explore four themes related to nightlife: the changing meanings and experiences of the night, the evolution of the night-time economy, the intensification of night-life regulation, and the dynamics in practices of going out. This issue includes a non-Western example of nightlife in Jakarta, Indonesia (Tadié and Permanadeli 2014), as well as some case studies about how gender, sexuality, or ethnicity add to the complexity of nightlife practices and accessibility. For example, Hubbard and Colosi (2013), analyze why sexual entertainment venues such as lap-dancing clubs in England have become a target of feminist debates about the gender inequalities inherent in the night city, and explore the paradox of "women making claims to the city at night often deploy particular myths of women's vulnerability" (Hubbard and Colosi 2013, 3). The special issue closes with a commentary by Phil Hadfield (2014) who analyzes how contemporary forms of night-time economy still reproduce four mechanisms of exclusion: planning regulation and urban design, police governance, the type of activities and consumption associated with the night-time, and the social exclusion of certain groups based on gender, ethnicity or sexuality. This recent special issue contributes to the planning field by including non-Western examples and gender and ethnicity analysis, but still has a narrow focus of the night-time economy. It is mainly focused on going-out practices and drinking, and does not include everyday/everynight life practices, beyond leisure and consumption. Thus, current research on the night-economy is still missing the analysis of the interaction between the productive and reproductive sphere.

Few studies look at the production side of the night-time economy (Buchanan and Koch-Schulte 2000; Macquarie 2017; Patel 2010), despite the reality that production also takes place during the night. Women have always been part of the nightlife as workers regardless of historical attempts to exclude them based on discourses of protection and preservation of their family role, that have created barriers to accessing night jobs (Lowson et al. 2013; Melbin 1987; Patel 2010).

Research on gendered experiences of night work is mostly found in other fields of study such as sociology or labor studies. This research has focused more on the physiological than the

social consequences of women's night work, and the few examples of research looking at social aspects are mostly quantitative (Lowson et al. 2013). The social research about night and shift work with a gender lens looks at the effects of women's night work in household relationships, revealing the unequal burden women carry with when they choose to work at night to respond to care and domestic responsibilities during the day (Garey 1995; Lowson et al. 2013; Melbin 1987). In recent years, planning-related studies on the production side of the night-economy from a gender perspective have started to be developed (Buchanan and Koch-Schulte 2000; Patel 2010). The mainstream literature on call centre workers often ignore the gender and temporal dimension as they often are silent on the nature of day time or night time work. There are only a few like Patel (2000) and Buchanan and Koch-Schulte (2000) that recognize women night workers in the call centre industry.

Rena Patel (2010) analyzes safety issues with women working the night-shift in call-centers in India. In this research, bodies are used as a scale of analysis to understand how space and place are gendered and influence women's mobility. Patel (2010) explains how women working at night in call-centers challenge the traditional notion that woman's "place" at night is in the home. Patel makes visible that the notion of 'women of the night' continues to be associated with "loose, bold and mysterious women", hence, the night-shift is still called "the hooker shift". Her study also highlights that women working the night-shift are changing the meaning of women's use of the night, because of their presence in the public sphere, and also their access to economic independence. But still, women face many barriers that control and regulate their mobility and safety; they are still subjected to strict surveillance by family members.

Buchanan and Koch-Schulte (2000) conducted a case study of the emerging call centre industry in Canada; although they do not address directly the relation between urban planning and nightwork, they conduct a gender analysis and highlight the feminization and precarity of this type of job, which is also conducted at night.

In general, research on planning the night overlooks night-time cycles outside of the downtown, without looking at other parts of the city or other types of night-time activities. Fewer studies are found about the people that use the night-time for non-leisure activities or in non-Western contexts (Amid 2013; Patel 2010). Thus, planning the night has focused on a small part of the night-life: the consumptionist side of the night-time economy related to

leisure and alcohol consumption in downtown areas of Western cities. In general, accounts of night-life have romanticized night users as a special group of the population, without acknowledging that the night is also a space of work, care and reproduction, a space of everyday/everynight life, without any glamour for those constrained to work the night shift.

In sum, there is a need to include in *planning the night* policies concerning the productive and reproductive side of the night economy from an intersectional feminist perspective that moves beyond downtowns to other neighbourhoods, working centers, towns, and homes; breaks with the male centered and hetero-patriarchal night culture; makes visible night workers everyday/everynight needs; and analyzes how planning can contribute to improve their quality of life and right to the city.

In addition, the emphasis on the night-time economy has excluded everyday life activities (Amid 2013; Williams 2008), as well as the balance between paid and unpaid work. There are some references in the 'planning the night' literature that advocate to include the night within everyday life studies. Williams (2008) calls to reinterpret everyday and everynight activities in terms of spatial practices using Lefebvre's 'rhythm analysis': "night does not interrupt diurnal rhythms, but modifies them and specially slows them down" (Lefebvre 1996 in Williams 2008, 516). Gibson and Gallan (2011) propose to include day and night in the study of everyday life, and not see the night as exceptional time, as deviant, as a frontier to cross, but as a continuum that explores the complexities of the different rhythms of life. They argue that meshing day and night, seeing them as inseparable, will improve studies of everyday life. Roberts and Eldridge (2012) also consider that day-time activities are now interjecting more firmly into the night, proposing that "The task for planners and other built-environment professionals, is to respond to both the night's extraordinary properties and its everyday requirements in an appropriate measure" (209). Su-Jan et al. (2012) use the term everyday (night) life in their study of the role of informal night-time economy in people's habitual routines in Singapore. Amid (2013) argues that nightlife "can become more inclusive by providing everyday mundane activities in the night-time city" (33). Overall, these are some invitations to look at the everydayness of the night, to which I will try to respond through this dissertation.

Thus, I propose moving from planning the night-time economy to planning the everyday/everynight life in order to make visible how women's night work is essential for the

development of day-time socioeconomic life. Women's night work help cities function during the day, and we need to push planning to respond to the needs of these night workers and improve their everyday/everynight life.

By looking at the everyday/everynight life, research can fill gaps in the literature such as the role of transportation in the diversification and accessibility to nightlife, the contributions of night workers to night-time economy, or how night workers organize their everyday/everynight life (Eldridge and Roberts 2013; Roberts and Eldridge 2012).

2.3 The night in feminist urban planning: fear, safety and mobility

2.3.1. Fear and safety in feminist urban planning

Feminist planning research makes reference to the night-time in relation to issues of fear, safety and mobility. These studies look at how women's perceptions of fear increase at night (Dammert 2007; Falú 2009; Koskela 1999; Loukaitou-Sideris 2006; Pain 2001; Valentine 1989) or discuss how fear and safety restrict women's mobility (Atkins 1989; Carter 2005; Ganjavi, Lebrasseur, and Whissell 2000; Whitzman 2002; Whitzman et al. 2013). More recently, this research has been criticized for not including the fear experiences and safety needs of LGBTQ2+ communities within the impact of non-binary gender, white supremacy and economic injustice (Robertson 2016).

Fear and safety have been deeply studied in planning. "Planning and urban management discourses are, and always have been, saturated with fear. The history of planning could be rewritten as the attempt to manage fear in the city" (Sandercock 2002, 203). At the same time, research has demonstrated how fear and safety restrict women's mobility, particularly at night (Pain 1991, 1997; Koskela 1999; Loukaitou-Sideris 2005) as well as LGBTQ2+ use of public spaces (Robertson 2016).

In planning, many theories and interventions have focused on how to control and prevent crime through the design of the physical environment, such as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) or Safer Cities programs. However, these initiatives respond mostly to crime committed by strangers in the public space against private property. Feminists and LGBTQ2+ researchers have criticized them for being gender blind, focusing only on the physical aspect of designing out fear and not including a social analysis of how

safety is perceived differently by gender and other intersecting identities (Koskela and Pain 2000; Pain 2001; Roberton 2016; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2010).

Feminist planning research focuses on safety and perception of fear instead of crime, because crime refers mainly to violent acts recognized in legislation, which vary depending on the context. In contrast, fear and safety are broader concepts that take a more complex approach to understanding the impact of violence in people's lives. They consider not only the public space and activities committed by strangers, but also recognise the continuum between the private and public sphere. Indeed, looking at fear and safety allows the inclusion of sexual harassment on the street, "a form of non-criminal street violence that has a remarkable impact on women's access to urban space" (Koskela and Tani 2005).

Fear can be defined as embodied emotional and practical responses of people and communities to violence concerns (Koskela 2010; Pain 2001). Fear is based on gendered power relations in spaces (Dammert 2007; Epstein 1998; Koskela 1999, 2010) and reproduced in everyday life practices (Gordon et al. 1980; Koskela 2010; Sandberg and Rönnblom 2014; Valentine 1989). Research in sociology, evolutionary and developmental psychology, and educational studies have documented how fear is reproduced in the socialization process through the replication of stereotyped gender roles that define women as vulnerable, and men as strong and aggressive. This social production of fear unfolds through formal and informal channels, from warnings received at home, to news in the media, daily conversations, or police crime prevention advice (Dammert 2007; Koskela 2010; Maccoby 1992; Mackie 1987; Stockard 1999; Valentine 1992).

There are gender differences in reporting violence and fear (Dammert 2007; Koskela 2010; Pain 1997). The vast majority of violence against women happens in the private space and is committed by people known to their victims (Pain 1997; Stanko 1988; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2010; Valentine 1989, 1992). LGBTQ2+ individuals also negotiate fear, safety and violence in public space, due to their gender presentation and race. The sexual and intimate nature of this violence contributes to the lack of police or media reporting, because women and LGBTQ2+ are afraid of reprisal and because the violence is related intimately with their sexualized bodies (Falú 2011; Koskela 2010; Roberton 2016; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2015). Thus, experiences and manifestations of fear are gendered and reported differently. Women tend to fear sexual violence and rape, the type of violence that attacks their intimate

body (Falú 2011; Pain 1991; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2015). In addition, women and LGBTQ2+ individuals are more likely to adapt and restrict their everyday life because of violence than cisgender men (Pain 1991; Robertson 2016; Stanko and Hobdell 1993).

The work initiated in Montreal and Toronto on women's safety in the 1990s and later adapted and developed in other regions and cities around the world has focused on how fear impacts women's right to the city and how urban planning elements can condition women's perception of safety. In the field of "planning safe cities" from a feminist perspective, a key work developed in the city of Montreal, coordinated by Anne Michaud and the Conseil of Montrealaises and published in the 2002 *Guide d'aménagement pour un environnement sécuritaire* (Michaud 2007), was done through extensive women's participatory work and examination of neighborhoods and public spaces through exploratory walks. This work gathered a lot of information about the elements that contribute to women's perception of safety, and defined what is known as the six principles for a safe environment for women: (1) Know where you are and where you are going; (2) See and be seen; (3) Hear and be heard; (4) Be able to escape and get help; (5) Live in a clean and welcoming environment; (6) Act collectively. These principles and the urban safety audit and exploratory walks have been adapted to suit different contexts and continue being applied in practice in different parts and cities of the world⁹.

2.3.2. Feminist analysis of mobility

Studies on women's mobility patterns in the North American and European contexts have shown that women have more sustainable, complex and diverse mobility patterns than men during the day (Angeles 2017; Grieco, Pickup, and Whipp 1989; Grieco and Ronald 2012; Hanson 2010; Hanson and Hanson 1980, 1981; Hanson and Johnston 1985; Law 1999; Miralles-Guasch and Martínez Melo 2012; Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016). Even though the gender component of sustainable transportation has been extensively documented, it is still not considered in climate change debates around transportation (Angeles 2017). However, women's mobility can be paralyzed at night

⁹ The Latin American Women and Habitat Network, which has been working on safe city projects since the nineties, Jagori in India and Col·lectiu Punt 6 in Spain.

because of fear of violence. After dark, women avoid certain parts of the city, do not use certain modes of transportation, or refrain from going out at all (Atkins 1989; Carter 2005; Ganjavi, Lebrasseur, and Whissell 2000; Koskela 1999; Laub 2007; Loukaitou-Sideris 2005, 2006; Lynch and Atkins 1988; Morey 2007; Pain 1991, 1997; Whitzman 2002; Whitzman et al. 2013).

Atkins (1989) in the late 1980s did a review of security surveys in the UK and concluded that there existed “evidence of widespread and serious nature of women’s fears about travelling, particularly at night” (176), and most women avoided going out at night alone. Studies on walking at night in people’s neighborhoods in the US and Canada (Ganjavi, Lebrasseur, and Whissell 2000; Loukaitou-Sideris 2005; Whitzman et al. 2013) illustrate that few women as opposed to men report feeling safe walking after dark; they show differences by age, income and housing tenancy: elders, females not full time employed, residing in rental accommodation, living in the city manifest higher fear (Ganjavi, Lebrasseur, and Whissell 2000). Fear and the conceptualization of dangerous places also produce a more restricted neighborhood play area for girls (Law 1999). Clifton and Livi's (2005) study shows that although women walk more and farther than men in their everyday lives, women avoid walking alone and prefer to walk accompanied by friends or relatives. In this study, the authors argue that safety perceptions did not have any impact on men’s walking behavior. However, studies in US cities show that fear influences men of colour, especially young Latino or black men’s use of the public space. The difference often comes on the type of violence that is feared: women usually fear sexual violence, while men fear physical violence related to being beaten or robbed and not necessarily entailing sexual violence (with the exception of non-cisgender men). In Los Angeles, Latino migrant young men refrain from using certain public spaces because of fear of assault from gang members or white supremacy groups (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2017). A study conducted with young black men and women to analyze perceptions of fear in the use of a park in Philadelphia reveals how young men fear violence, mostly related to beating. However, their desire to respond to hegemonic masculinity models that value strength and fearlessness make them more likely to take risks than young women, who directly avoid using the park because of fear of being raped (Brownlow 2005).

Feminist researchers have adopted the term “mobility” to push the boundaries of traditional transportation planning by examining the full suite of interacting and complex activities that involve the household, community and larger society, instead of viewing transportation as an individual choice of unidirectional trips from home to work that prioritize commute to paid work (Hanson 2010; Law 1999; Miralles-Guasch 2010).

In the 1970s, transportation researchers started including gender as a variable in their analyses, yet these studies mostly took a male perspective of transportation, focusing on the journey-to-work patterns and privileging the productive sphere of paid work (Atkins 1989; Dobbs 2007; Hanson 2010; Law 1999; Miralles-Guasch and Martínez Melo 2012; Whitzman et al. 2013). Transportation was conceptualized as an individual issue of how one person gets from point A to B, thinking most of the time of linear trips from home to work (Law 1999). Most of these studies on gender and transportation were quantitative analyses of travel patterns such as trip distance, purpose, or mode of transportation. Despite its limitations, this research contributes to making visible the spatial separation of production and reproduction and the public-private dichotomy (Law 1999), documenting different travel patterns of women and men and also how fear of crime has affected the use of transportation. But these studies overshadowed other types of mobilities such as non-work trips or those trips that are never made (Atkins 1989; Law 1999), which have overrepresentation of women (Miralles-Guasch and Martínez Melo 2012). In sum, these studies included sex as a variable, but did not include a complete intersectional gender analysis. Many transportation systems have been planned based on the journey-to-work vision, which has complicated women’s mobility, as well as other sectors of the population such as children, youth and the elderly, because they have excluded the care work and the reproductive sphere (Angeles 2017; Atkins 1989; Dobbs 2007; Miralles-Guasch and Martínez Melo 2012).

In the context of this dissertation, it is essential to cite recent quantitative research published by Carmen Miralles and her team in the region of Catalonia that looks at mobility from a gender perspective and beyond the journey-to-work. Her research (Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016) uses data from the Catalan Everyday Life Mobility Survey (EMQ 2006) and analyses gender mobility patterns in both rural and urban areas. It is the first research done in Catalonia that crosses different variables to confirm that “Despite the different territorial realities, gender explains mobility patterns much better than other variables

such as age or geographical factors ... The reasons for gender differences go much deeper, are more structural.” (13)

The study has three contributions to previous quantitative mobility studies. First, all the trips are included in the analysis to examine the complexity of how gender shapes mobility, especially in areas where walking and public transport trips are as frequent as the use of private vehicles. Looking at all trips data show that the average number of daily trips by women is higher than that of men in all age groups, due to the multiple tasks women are responsible for in the domestic and employment sphere. Women have more diverse travel patterns due to double shifts at work and home and optimize travel times, taking shorter trips with greater proximity; and despite this complexity their mobility is more sustainable, moving by foot or public transport. The authors (Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016) argue that research should go beyond examining the individual trips and towards how patterns and practices change everyday activities.

Second, the authors conclude that differences of modal choice between women and men have deep cultural and social factors. In general, women move mostly by foot or public transportation, even in middle age when childcare and household responsibilities require higher level of commitment and travel while men's higher use of private transport is not related to the need to travel further or the lack of access to public transportation, but to gender roles. Data also show that men still have greater access to a car or hold a driver's license in higher percentage than women. This is also seen in studies (Angeles 2017) that analyse women's exclusion from labour and participation due to the lack of access to a private vehicle.

Finally, Miralles-Guasch et al. (2016) argue that the emphasis of transport systems on the car contributes to “social exclusion by limiting accessibility for certain population groups” in particular women, even though their practices are the most sustainable. Walking and public transport should be valued in transportation policies not only as more sustainable, but also as more democratic because of more universal use. They argue that

... if the target of public policy is to promote trips made with less polluting means of transport using less energy, and providing better accessibility (walking, cycling and public transport) – ... then women's mobility should continue to be specifically assessed, recognizing that women have

accumulated the knowledge needed to develop a model of sustainable mobility patterns for the future. (15)

The authors also encourage complementing these studies with qualitative methodology in order to expand analyses on user's perceptions and hidden reasons of mobility patterns. In fact, these types of studies could be expanded by looking at social exclusion intersecting gender with class and income, since these are major factors in shaping who works at night and what mode of transportation they use.

In fact, qualitative studies on mobility from a gender perspective have paid more attention to the social and cultural construction of mobility (Hanson 2010). Feminist research on daily mobility includes a needs-base analysis (Atkins 1989), considers mobility as a lived experience, and acknowledges the diversity and complexity of trips people make in all spheres of everyday life, (e.g. two most significant features of women's travel are trip-chaining and multi-tasking) because they combine different activities from paid work, to care and domestic work, as well as community work (Greed 2008; Hanson 2010; Hjorthol 2008; Law 1999; Miralles-Guasch 2010; Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016). These trips are shorter and more complex, usually carried out in a polygonal spatial pattern, and mostly by foot or on public transportation (Lynch and Atkins 1988; Miralles-Guasch 2010).

Feminist planners and geographers identify further research that would help better understand gendered mobilities. Law (1999) argues for including the corporeality of the body to acknowledge that bodies are gender constructed and condition mobility choices. Levy (2013) proposes to further explore how negotiation in the private sphere of the home affects gendered travel, accessibility and mobility in the public space. Another line of research is how women's mobilities become restricted by neoliberal policies that have commodified public transport (Levy 2013; Miralles-Guasch 2010). In many cities, private companies control collective modes of transportation, which makes access more expensive and limits the mobility of women with less economic power (Lynch and Atkins 1988). Also, in many contexts women still have less access to private cars, and fewer driver's licenses (Angeles 2017; Lynch and Atkins 1988; Miralles-Guasch and Martínez Melo 2012; Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016). Finally, more research is needed about how fear impacts women's forced immobility (e.g., women who are isolated in their homes) and forced mobility, (e.g.

women in low-income communities who travel long trips to access water and sanitation infrastructure) thus, facing the threat of harassment and violence (Miralles-Guasch and Martínez Melo 2012; Whitzman et al. 2013). In Catalonia, a 2006 study on daily mobility showed that six percent of the population stated not leaving their homes, and women of all ages were represented in higher percentages than men within this group (Miralles-Guasch and Martínez Melo 2012).

I would add that all these conditions – how women’s bodies condition mobility, the negotiation of mobility in the private space, the commodification of public transportation, as well as women’s forced mobility and immobility – need to be studied from an intersectional and an everyday/evernight lens, because these issues become even more complex when negotiating, accessing and planning mobility at night.

To conclude, what stands out from the gender mobility literature is the contrast that during the day women move more and in more complex and sustainable ways than men, but at night, this mobility becomes restricted or even paralyzed because of fear and insecurity.

2.4 Conclusion: Towards including diverse gendered bodies in planning the night

While the role of planning has been to regulate and control what happens at night and who has the right to the night city, little has been done to enable and facilitate the everyday/evernight life of people who use the urban night on a regular basis. Nightlife seems to be perceived as an exception, even for leisure, in spite of the fact that going out is a weekend routine for certain groups of people. Planning has also supported the neoliberal model of maximizing the benefits of the night-time economy and addressing the problems that might interfere with this business, such as binge drinking, alcohol-related violence or neighbours’ complaints. In this sense, *planning the night* responds to neoliberal policies and disregards the needs of everyday/evernight life. Thus, in general, it has ignored the evernight of those people who, due to productive, care and reproductive work, use the city after dark on a regular basis. At the same time, *planning the night* lacks a gender and intersectional perspective.

This dissertation aims to include diverse gendered bodies in planning the night, and expand the debate of planning the night beyond the night-time economy of leisure and consumption, and make visible women's contributions to the different night-time economies, and in other parts of urban areas beyond city centers. Taking feminist contributions such as the analysis of gendered bodies as a spatial scale, looking at how gendered bodies feel, perceive, experience and resist the urban night will enable a better understanding of the role of fear and safety in women's everyday/evernight lives, as well as the use of the everyday/evernight life as a source of knowledge and methodology can help make visible the experiences of women working at night.

Planning the night policies need to include bodies as a spatial scale to question, de-emphasize, and critique the public-private divide; understand how perceptions of fear are experienced and felt by women; and include women as subjects of change and transformation in all the phases of planning from diagnosis to evaluation. The use of bodies as a space can help also emphasize the continuum between private and public spaces, and highlight the embodied gender experiences of the home, community, neighborhood, or city (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2015). In addition, the feminist questioning and deconstruction of the public-private divide can be applied to the day-night dichotomy, which is also constructed by and helps perpetuate patriarchal conceptions of women's place in society, and what it is associated to "public women" and "night women". Focusing on the study of everyday/evernight life as a continuum and time-space can help make visible the mundane and routine activities of the night, and challenge the imaginary of the night as a time-space of exception and transgression. Also, *planning the night* policies have to respond to how fear, safety and risk affect women working the night shift, by including an intersectional analysis that breaks with essentialist accounts of women's and men's fear. Finally, *planning the night* policies have the obligation to respond to the paradox of women's mobility: notably that, while in general terms, women have a more sustainable, complex and diverse mobility than men during the day, their travel can be paralyzed at night because of fear of violence. There is extensive research that illustrates this paradox, yet urban planning policies have not paid much attention to this issue.

In addition, women's everyday/evernight life experiences need to be incorporated in *planning the night* policies as a source of knowledge and methodology. Women's

experiences need to be heard and included in planning to learn how everyday/everynight life works in all its spheres (productive, reproductive, community and personal). The inclusion of women's everyday/everynight life will help plan better communities with the goal to make the unpaid, domestic and care work a social and collective responsibility. This is something we need to respond to as a society, as a local community, as a municipal government, as a region or as a state, and not something that a person, a family, or a household has to deal with without external support. This would help value domestic and care tasks and remove the overwhelming burden of this responsibility from women's shoulders.

To conclude, examining women's routines at day and night, the types of activities they develop, with whom they develop these activities, at what times, and with which transportation mode will help understand: (1) the role of mobility in the accessibility to nightlife, (2) the contributions of night workers to the paid and unpaid night-time economy, (3) the negotiation of mobility in the private space, and (4) the role of public transportation in women's forced mobility and immobility. In sum, examining the life of women at night can help make visible women's use and appropriation of the night territory and reclaim their ownership of the night.

Chapter 3. Feminist Participatory Action Research: a methodology for planning the everyday/evernight

In this chapter, I discuss the use of Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) by first providing an overview of community participation in urban planning, and later focusing on feminist participatory action research as a methodology, reviewing its history and evolution, and examining feminist contributions to this type of research. After this literature review, I open an ethical reflection about using FPAR as a methodology in relation to conducting “home-work”, which I define as the action of conducting research in your home country using a methodology and epistemology that requires personal reflection (homework) regarding the ethics involved. I then explain how I approached and organized the research process, detailing outreach strategies and co-researchers’ engagement, the participatory methods we have used, as well as how data analysis was handled.

3.1 An overview of the participatory tradition in urban planning

In the planning field, there is an extended tradition of collaborative, community engagement and participatory planning research (Bonet i Martí 2012, 2014; Borja 2007; Caldeira and Holston 2015; Douglas and Friedmann 1998; Healey 1997b; Innes and Booher 1999; Ortiz Escalante and Valdivia 2015; Sandercock and Attili 2010a; Verdaguer Viana-Cárdenas and Velázquez Valoria 2012). In the Anglo-Saxon world, the field is particularly rooted in collaborative planning, which fosters engagement and participation with different stakeholders involved in planning processes, from municipal planners to community members. Healey argues that collaborative planning has been recognized as a more efficient approach (reducing regulatory transaction costs in the longer term) in a multi-stakeholder society because it is more politically legitimate and 'adds value' to the on-going flow of place-making actions, through building shared knowledge and understanding, generating opportunities for creative synergy, and developing the capacity among stakeholders to work together locally to solve common problems (Healey 1997b). However, collaborative planning is not always intended to work towards action that is committed to break hierarchies between local and neighborhood knowledge versus technical training, with few exceptions such as the work of Leonie Sandercock using film as a tool of community engagement and dialogue (Sandercock and Attili 2010a; Sandercock, Moraes, and Frantz 2017). In addition, there has been a growing post-colonial and feminist critique, pointing out that not all voices are being

heard (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Hickey and Mohan 2004; Listerborn 2008; Mosse 1994; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2010; Shah 1998).

In Latin America and the Spanish context, participatory planning as a subfield has increased its presence in recent decades (Caldeira and Holston 2015; Fernández 2014; Hernandez-Araque 2016; Lopes DeSouza 2006; Mongil Juárez 2012; Ortiz Escalante and Valdivia 2015; Verdaguer Viana-Cárdenas and Velázquez Valoria 2012;). In the case of Spain, the increasing use of participatory planning started with the transition to democracy in the late 1970s. In this context, participatory planning can be defined as the incorporation of civil society (individual citizens or organizations) as stakeholders in the decision-making processes to develop public policies in any of the planning phases: assessment, design, implementation and evaluation (Bonet i Martí 2012). In the 1970s, the main actors were neighborhood movements organized to stop large urban operations in major cities such as Barcelona and Madrid (Bonet i Martí 2012). In the early 1980s, this bottom-up participation was institutionalized through regulations of participatory processes (Bonet i Martí 2012; Mongil Juárez 2012) and in the 2000s through laws that mandated using public participation in different parts of the urban planning process (Law 2/2002 of Urbanism of the Generalitat de Catalunya, reformed by the Law 10/2004 and Legislative Decree 1/2005 to approve a revised text that introduces explicitly for the first time citizen participation in urban planning processes). This has contributed to an increasing production of research in this area that analyzes participatory processes, approaches and methods of participatory planning, as well as the challenges and deficiencies of its implementation (Bonet i Martí 2012, 2014; Borja 2007; Mongil Juárez 2012; Verdaguer Viana-Cárdenas and Velázquez Valoria 2012). Among them are feminist architects, urban planners and geographers who have analyzed participatory planning from an intersectional feminist lens (Casanovas et al. 2013; Garcia-Ramon, Ortiz, and Prats 2004; Muxí and Ciocoleto 2009; Ortiz Escalante and Valdivia 2015; Pérez-Rincón and Tello i Robira 2012; Rodó-de-Zárate 2014).

There is a long history of community engagement, neighborhood organizing and anarchist movements in Spain, and in particular, in the city of Barcelona. This history has had a main role in the transformation of the city and its urban planning. The influence of these movements in Barcelona's urban planning is unique and does not compare easily with other cities. However, in Spain, binding participatory planning has been a top-down strategy, where local

and regional institutions have led these initiatives and decided what type and level of participation to implement (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2017).

Despite the increasing use of participatory planning, the use of participatory action research as a specific methodology in urban planning practice is almost non-existent in Spain. It has been mostly used in university settings as a research methodology. In the North American academy, we find examples of the use of participatory action research as service learning in the work of Ken Reardon in East Saint Louis (Reardon 1998), as well as the use of feminist participatory action research by Leonora Angeles (Angeles 2011) and Penny Gurstein from the University of British Columbia (Angeles and Gurstein 2000). Definitely, the use of PAR is not as widespread as collaborative and participatory planning, despite their common elements.

Within geography, Rachel Pain (2004) reviews PAR conducted in the field, and gathers concrete examples of feminist geographers' use of PAR on women's labour, needs and rights, such as "McIntyre's (2003) study of the lives and communities of working-class women in Belfast, Pratt's (1999) collaborative research with migrant communities of women in Canada, and Vera Chouinard (personal communication, 2004) on women's struggles for employment rights in Canada" (654-5).

Working with *Col·lectiu Punt 6*, I have engaged with feminist participatory and bottom-up methodologies that place everyday life in the center of planning, and particularly diverse women's experiences, voices and knowledge. We consider them as experts of their neighborhoods; therefore, the best way to analyze their everyday/everynight life is undoubtedly through their active participation and involvement. FPAR is the methodology that allows and values this approach. Based on the experience with *Col·lectiu Punt 6* and previous work in Mexico and El Salvador using popular education, I could not imagine undertaking a dissertation without a strong participatory and action oriented component. Therefore, Feminist Participatory Action Research seemed the most appropriate methodology to use, since this type of research goes beyond describing reality and seeks action and social transformation through community knowledge and expertise (Fine et al. 2003; Maguire 1987; Reid and Frisby 2008; Tuck 2009b).

Through this dissertation, I hope to help increase the use of participatory action research in urban planning. In this particular case, using this methodology has enabled the creation of rich qualitative data at different scales (neighborhood, city and metropolitan area) of fields that often use quantitative data (mobility and transportation, safety); centered on the everyday/everynight life of women; and taking women as experts of their neighbourhoods.

3.2 Using PAR from an intersectional feminist perspective

This project uses feminist participatory action research to facilitate the participation of women who work at night in the urban planning policies related to the use of public space and mobility. Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) has helped to develop a critical understanding of women's diverse voices and experiences, placing at the center what often has been at the margins of knowledge (Creese and Frisby 2011), while working towards action that could transform the life of self-identified women (Reid et al. 2006).

3.2.1. The history of PAR and FPAR

Authors place the origin of PAR in Latin America in the 1960s, a period when social scientists challenged how research was conducted, and engaged in collaborative processes of research, education and action with oppressed and marginalized groups (Maguire 1987, McIntyre 2003). Different perspectives influenced PAR practitioners including Freire's theory of *conscientization*, Fals Borda's 'science of the proletariat', Gramsci's identification of workers as organic intellectuals, and Fanon's analysis of colonialism and post-colonialism (Fals-Borda and Anisur 1991, Fricke 1983, McIntyre 2003, Rahman 2008, Wicks et al 2008). Some authors, though, especially emphasize the contributions from Paulo Freire's *The pedagogy of the oppressed* of using action research for *conscientization* and liberation as a process of self-awareness raising through collective self-inquiry and reflection (Gatenby and Humphries 2000, McIntyre 2003, Reid 2004).

Participatory Action Research promotes the democratization of research, returning to ordinary people the power to participate in knowledge creation and the power to utilize this knowledge, by combining **investigation** of problems with participants, **education** for the researcher and participants and **action** for radical change (Maguire 1987). Thus, it aims to transform community and societal structures by bringing together theory, method, and

practice as people work collaboratively towards practical results and new forms of knowledge. PAR also challenges invisible power mechanisms enacted in everyday relationships, organizational and economic structures, and cultural and institutional practices (Frisby et al. 2009; McIntyre 2003; Reid et al. 2006). In the process of PAR people reflect on particular aspects of their lives to engage in individual and collective action that leads to community empowerment (Reid 2004).

One of the main goals of PAR is to challenge through experience asymmetrical relationships (Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991) and the hierarchy between researchers and the research subjects, working towards more horizontal relationships that acknowledge and question the power differentials (Creese and Frisby 2011). Therefore, participants are co-researchers and can be involved in all stages of the analysis of their reality, from identifying the problem, designing the methods, defining research questions, gathering and analyzing data, and disseminating results (Reid et al. 2006). Methods of data collection and analysis are grounded in the context of the community. Co-researchers increase their power and control over the research through a dialectical process of collective action and reflection (Reid 2004).

However, participatory structures have their own underlying relations of power and we need to be aware of this, being more nuanced about addressing power differentials. Rachel Pain (2004) reviews critical approaches to power in participatory action research projects cautioning about the counteracting effects in communities. This is especially true when supposedly empowerment strategies reinforce paternalistic relationship between researchers and co-researchers, or when participatory processes are used to give an impression of change but they end up containing dissent (Pugh and Potter 2003) or when researchers take for granted that participants will want to have the same power and responsibilities as researchers.

Feminist theories have contributed to the field of PAR, giving a central role to women and gender issues, and introducing feminist methods that take everyday life and women's experiences as a source of knowledge (Fine et al. 2003; McIntyre 2003). FPAR acknowledges that knowledge is "historically situated, socially embodied, and mediated through multiple and shifting relations of power and privilege" (Creese and Frisby 2011, 3). PAR and feminist research share common values, particularly those that emphasize emancipation, participation and collaboration, people's experiences and knowledge, and the

intent to work towards social, structural and personal transformation as well as political action (Farrow, Moss, and Shaw 1995; Gatenby and Humphries 2000; Maguire 2001). Since the 1980s feminists have criticized PAR for not including feminist analysis and principles (Angeles 2011; Gatenby and Humphries 2000; Maguire 1987; Reid 2004). While Freire's *conscientization* was against the domination of the oppressed, his tools ignored men's domination over women. And the same happened with other PAR researchers such as Fals-Borda. Thus, PAR cannot be seen as emancipatory without the recognition of its androcentric bias, ignoring and marginalizing diverse feminist thinking (Gatenby and Humphries 2000; Maguire 2001; Reid 2004). As Maguire (2001: 60) questions: "Without a grounding in feminisms, what would action research liberate us from and transform ourselves and communities into?"

In the 1980s, Maguire (1987: 105-106) proposed nine elements to consider when conducting Feminist Participatory Research: 1) build on a critique of the positivist and androcentric underpinnings of dominant social science research; 2) gender as a central place in the agenda; 3) feminism that recognizes and celebrates diversity as a central place in the theoretical debates; 4) explicit and equitable attention to gender issues in each of the five phases of participatory research projects; 5) explicit attention to how women and men, as a group, benefit from the participatory project; 6) attention to gender language use; 7) composition and issues of research team and equally including gender, class, race and culture; 8) gender as a factor in project evaluation; 9) track all participatory research projects with gender in mind.

Feminist principles of PAR have received criticism for focusing mostly on patriarchy and not analyzing enough intersectionality and how "The complexity of social relations...is infused with race, class, and gender" (Chávez et al. 2008, 93).

In the late 2000s, Reid and Frisby (2008) proposed six dimensions that can guide FPAR and moved beyond the gender analysis towards including an intersectional perspective: 1) Centering gender and women's daily divergent experiences while challenging patriarchy and other power relations; 2) Accounting for intersectionality, to understand the multiple forms of oppression, domination, and exploitation; 3) Honoring voice and difference through participatory research processes that involve participants in all the stages of research, from design to analysis and action implementation; 4) Exploring new forms of representation

through the use of diverse tools from dialogic interviews to participatory workshops, the use of photography and film, or co-writing practices; 5) Reflexivity about power relations and their effects in the research project, intended and unintended consequences of the research, and accountability; 6) Honoring many forms of action, or inaction, the benefits and risks of these actions, and the link of these actions to larger social change agendas.

An important PAR project that includes an intersectional feminist and decolonizing approach is Michelle Fine and her co-researchers work with women in prison enrolled in a college program. Their PAR project incorporates five turns: research that works toward working with, influenced by Brinton Lykes' PAR projects; the influence of critical race theories to recognize local knowledge; respecting local practices, such as Maori indigenous theories do; stretching toward a grounded "feminist objectivity", and giving back (Fine et al. 2003)

In this participatory action research dissertation, the inclusion of an intersectional feminist perspective has allowed us to value the diverse voices and experiences of women nightshift workers in all phases of the project. It does this by bringing new voices into the academy (Pain 2004), exploring a variety of participatory tools, questioning the power relationships and the dilemmas of representation and interpretation, and promoting reciprocity among all co-researchers, as well as including polyvocal research accounts (Maguire 2001).

In contrast with other research projects that entail a passive role of participants and rarely provide follow-up, we have worked towards achieving collective appropriation of the project, building horizontal relationships to guarantee transparency, communication and continuity in all phases. The use of the FPAR methodology has allowed women nightshift workers to participate actively in the data collection, analysis, and assessment, revealing the dynamics of multiple locations to grasp social relations (Maguire 2001; Smith 1992). FPAR has also enabled women nightshift workers to propose actions to improve everyday life, with the goal to push for an urban planning that responds to the night use of cities from a feminist perspective.

3.2.2. Different ways to develop PAR

There are different ways to approach, initiate (insiders-outsiders) and develop a FPAR project (Angeles and Jeeris-Warder 2000; Angeles 2011; Fine et al. 2003; Lykes and Crosby 2014; Maguire 1987). According to Patricia Maguire "...ideally Participatory Research is initiated at

the request of a community. Realistically, Participatory Research projects are more likely to be initiated by outside researchers” (Maguire 1987). Some researchers question the approach of the outsider who enters the community with a predetermined question based on theoretical reading about their personal issue of interest, since transferring control from research to participants can be difficult to reach (Lykes and Crosby 2014). In contrast, they support undertaking FPAR with community organizations that already have begun to develop their own research agenda and seek collaborators from universities or NGOs. In *The Action Research Dissertation* manual, Herr and Anderson (2012) review different types of PAR used in dissertations: “(a) a doctoral student seeks out a group or agency with whom to do participatory research...; (b) a practitioner in an organization, who is also a doctoral student, initiates or joins a participatory research project with outside researchers and/or other insiders; or (c) a doctoral student joins a participatory action research project and participates as an outsider, usually under the supervision of a faculty member.” (89)

This research project has been conducted in coordination with a non-profit organization, *Col·lectiu Punt 6*, which has already conducted research, as well as developed participatory projects with other feminist and grassroots organizations in Barcelona. However, the research topic has been defined based on findings *Col·lectiu Punt 6* has made after years of working with women’s groups and conducting research on urban planning from a feminist perspective in Barcelona and the Catalan region. These findings reveal that the night has not been explored enough from the urban planning field, and women still encounter barriers to participate in the nightlife. But, this research did not emerge from a community request, and in this case, there was no explicit demand from women nightshift workers. On the other hand, the issues of safety and mobility are frequently raised as barriers of their everynight life in the meetings held with the groups and organizations during the two years before data gathering started. This PAR is unique in that it does not work with an existing community. The commonality of the co-researchers is that they are all women nightshift workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area. But they live in 12 different cities, work in 9 different locations and represent 6 different works/occupations, as is later explained. In sum, they do not belong to a particular organized community.

Thus, the particularities of this research project can be a contribution to the PAR literature, since it explores the potential of using PAR with groups that do not necessarily identify with

a specific community. In chapter 7, I further discuss the strengths and limitations of FPAR where the participants do not belong to one single community or identify with a community, examining how this project has led to the self-identification and creation of a community in the course of the research.

3.3 From an individual dissertation to a collective project: relational ethics of FPAR

Conducting FPAR requires a constant reflection on the ethical considerations involved in research. In this section, I deal with what is involved in conducting participatory action research in the context of my home country and region, and I discuss the selection of the term home-work instead of fieldwork. Later I review the pillars that have been central in my self-reflexivity process, also discussing Research Ethics Boards' limitations when implementing PAR methods. I finish this section by explaining how I tried to bring this reflection to practice while doing home-work.

3.3.1. Home-work: ethical considerations in choosing home to conduct participatory action research

In this dissertation, I use the term *home-work* instead of the term *fieldwork*, to describe the data gathering phase of the research; and to the process of critical reflexivity and situational ethics in the FPAR process.

I have adopted *home-work* instead of *fieldwork*, to emphasize that I have gone back home to conduct a PAR project. When I decided that I wanted to do PAR, it was unquestionable for me that I should choose my home land as territory of study. With this, I do not mean that all participatory action researchers should conduct work only in familiar communities and territories. But in my personal case, I would not have felt comfortable doing PAR in a place where I do not have a deep knowledge and attachment, and it would have been unbearable to do it in the context of a dissertation that I wanted to finish in no more than five years. This decision is also directly related to my transnational life during the last six years: moving to Vancouver from Barcelona, leaving behind my (recently then) widowed and sick mom, my family and best friends, an activist job that I love, and a culture and community that I miss every single day. Thus, choosing to conduct home-work, was not only for research interests,

but for my personal wellbeing: knowing every time that I arrived to Vancouver that I would go back home soon¹⁰.

Doing PAR at home was doable because it is where I had the networks, the knowledge, the experience of working on feminist planning for many years, and where I can do research in my *home* tongues: Spanish and Catalan. Thus, through this dissertation I use the term home-work when I am referring to the time spent collecting data in the research site, because the word fieldwork made me feel uncomfortable because of the distance and separation that often has attached to that term.

On the other hand, I use the term home-work in terms of self-reflexivity and analysis of privileges, power relations and positionalities. Being aware of the extended body of research related to homework as the development of domestic and care everyday life activities (usually unpaid and still carry out mostly by women), home-work as a process of self-reflexivity is also linked to the idea of taking care of the research process. Rachel Pain (2004) documents that there is not a long tradition of reflexivity of PR and how “the relationship between having an activist stand and self-reflexivity is a troubled one” (658). This is why critical reflexivity is essential, to be transparent about the role of the researcher and questioning the depth of empowerment in the process (Pain 2004). There are some scholars who have used the word “home-work” in the context of self-reflexivity while conducting research (Spivak 1990; Sundberg 2014). Juanita Sundberg (2014) discusses how

“Gayatri Spivak uses the term homework to describe the activity involved in identifying the coordinates of one’s location ... homework entails a self-reflexive analysis of one’s own epistemological and ontological assumptions; in other words, examining how these have been naturalized in and through geopolitical and institutional power relations/practices.” (10).

Sundberg (2014) refers to homework in the exercise of decolonizing research and refers to homework as a key practice in unlearning privilege. Also, Dada Docot (2017) analyses the research dilemmas of incorporating home in anthropological research; in her research of

¹⁰ I acknowledge the privilege I have had of traveling home very often, when there are many migrants that can never return or can only travel unfrequently.

migration in their home community, she discusses how she decided to change the methodology while conducting fieldwork and not screening a film that documented the migration process through her mom's history. She argues that conducting research at home can have 'negative productions' that should not be seen as negative, but as productive because "they open doors for rethinking self-reflexivity, empathy, and our ethical commitments" (Docot 2017, 307).

In a similar way, an ethical reflection has accompanied this FPAR project, which is inseparable from a self-reflection of my identity as a feminist and an action researcher. I learnt from other feminist researchers and practitioners to incorporate reflexivity to the process of research, disclose my positionality, identities, feelings in order to "locating [myself] in the research process" (Maguire 2001). For instance, my work with Elizabeth L. Sweet, a Native American woman, on body and community mapping under the framework of *territorio cuerpo-tierra* developed by Indigenous women in Latin America (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2017), as well as my studies at UBC, in the unceded territory of the Musqueam people, with the support of a committee of three women with experience and expertise on decolonizing research, has helped me to question Eurocentric epistemologies, and work towards decolonizing¹¹ and questioning the way we do research. This is also of special relevance in the context of this research where I work with migrant women from countries that were colonized and dispossessed by Spain and where feminist organizations and networks are increasingly debating about and incorporating 'decolonial feminism' in their practices.

¹¹ Decolonizing involves "unlearning privilege" (Spivak 1990) and in planning it "is about historicising the ideological formations of planning, its silences and formative productions, its practices, expressions and rationalities. In other words, it is to persistently critique the structures we inhabit." (Porter 2010, 156). Decolonizing also involves breaking with "the ontological violence authorized by Eurocentric epistemologies both in scholarship and everyday life... Decolonizing also involves fostering 'multi-epistemic literacy,' a term proposed by Sami scholar Rauna Kuokkanen to indicate learning and dialogue between epistemic worlds. Dialogue 'between a diversity of epistemic/ethical/political approaches,' or epistemic worlds, works to enact a 'pluriversal world': a world in which many worlds fit." (Sundberg 2014).

3.3.2. Relational ethics of a collective project: fostering accountability, reciprocity and reflexivity

“Almost all researchers using PAR express doubts about the “purity” of their projects, but it is important to remember that all research has limitations. Honesty is the best policy in such cases, but it is also necessary to explain why these limitations are not fatal to the study. In fact, this reflexivity about one's role in the research is a key characteristic of all forms of action research.” (Herr and Anderson 2012)

As a feminist and participatory action researcher, I paid close attention to the power imbalances that can exist in a FPAR project, as well as my privileges, and walk through the inherent contradictions (Fine and Torre 2006; Tuck 2009b). Aware of my power and privileged situation as a female researcher from a Southern-European country and with higher education, I accompany the dissertation with a process of critical reflexivity that can help make this project into a caring one that looks for harm-less research (Tuck 2009b).

Three pillars have been at the center of this self-reflexivity process: Relational Ethics, Collective Research, and Accountability.

Relational Ethics: I find problematic the current methods that academia uses to evaluate ethics in the North American context. Getting approval from Research Ethics Boards often seems more related to learning which ‘language’ to use to get ethics approval, rather than a real discussion and reflection on ethics. I think it is problematic that research ethics codes do not always acknowledge that research is context-based, because North American codes do not apply in many contexts, even within their communities. One example is getting informed consent; depending on the context, written consent may not be appropriate to secure, and we need to consider other possibilities: collective consent, oral consent, among others (Buckle, Corbin Dwyer, and Jackson 2010; Maiter et al. 2008). Reid et al. (2011) and Ponik and Jategaonkar (2012) differentiate between condescending ethics and relational ethics. Condescending ethics position academic researchers as guardians of participants’ wellbeing and safety, and maintain the top-down power relationship between researcher-subject. In a relational ethics model, co-researchers decide whether and how their participation is safe and appropriate within their living context, discuss the boundaries, and explore the risks and

benefits of their participation (Ponic and Jategaonkar 2012; Reid et al. 2011). Relational ethics are based on the principles of mutual respect, embodied knowledge, engaged interaction and connectedness between researchers and participants, acknowledging the different perspectives of the research context that is embedded in systems of power (Ponic and Jategaonkar 2012). In this relational ethics model, taking care of the research process means that researchers should be critically aware and reflexive of power imbalances, and find ways to minimize these differences (Ponic and Jategaonkar 2012). In this case, creating ethics and protocols with the community can help build rapport and accountability with co-researchers. Pranee Liamputtong (2010) suggests giving “more emphasis on trust building, reciprocity and rapport than the mechanistic process of securing informed consent” (50). Taking a relational ethics approach in this FPAR has helped to foster reciprocity and reflexivity through the co-creation of collective ethics and safety protocols with women co-researchers, as a project’s output, that reflect women nightshift workers’ realities and concerns.

Collective Research: In order to break unbalanced and oppressive power relations in my research, I have worked towards “Collective Research”, understood as ‘Research with’ that involves to learn from, speak with, listen to, as well as a change of language and behavior (Tuck 2009a). Co-researchers have decided what role to play in this collaboration: whether an active role, defining research questions, methods, and analysis; or a less active role, where co-researchers do not want to be part of all stages of the research project. I found looking at this process as a collective research as a more ethical form of respecting participants’ autonomy and free and informed consent. In this sense, we have invested time in building trust and fostering horizontal communication, to guarantee that women appropriate this research project and self-identify as co-researchers, acknowledging and being aware that without their active participation and time commitment this project would have not taken place.

Accountability: Bagele Chilisa (2011) proposes that research has to respond to four Rs: “accountable Responsibility, Respect, Reciprocity, and Rights and regulations of the researched” (7). I would add reflexivity, positionality, transparency, and relationality. These principles were at the core of this project and negotiated and discussed with co-researchers. Reflexivity and relationality respond to the interactions with co-researchers, where discussing

my position and co-researchers' position required problematizing my power and privileged position in the research process. A self-critical reflection included the different aspects that connect me with co-researchers, as well as the factors that emphasize our differences (Liamputtong 2010): me having been born and raised in a migrant low-income working class family of six, being a feminist activist and researcher, and being a privileged white, married heterosexual woman with graduate education, with higher power in the research process, and speaking all the languages needed for this project.

3.3.3. Ethics in home-work practice

During the whole process of data gathering, analysis and dissemination, I have constantly tried to practice reflexivity in each step: thinking of the consequences of the different actions and steps, for example, in moments where as a research coordinator I had to make decisions where women co-researchers did not want to be involved. In these cases, I have always reached out to the advisory group or my colleagues at *Col·lectiu Punt 6*, as well as my research supervisors. The intention was to reflect on the different options and check which one was more positive for the project and co-researchers. At the same time, I have been accountable with co-researchers in all the phases of the project, explaining the sources of funding, how they were distributed, sharing plans of research dissemination beyond the ones agreed upon as a group (e.g. international conference presentations), exposing always the different options available regarding data gathering methods, analysis and also dissemination; asking for additional options, deciding which option responded better to the needs of the group, or was more appropriate for what we wanted to share.

Certainly, I have experienced difficulties in breaking researcher and co-researchers power dynamics, realizing that even when using FPAR the power differentials between researchers and participants are impossible to break. In particular, I felt these power differentials in the aspects related to knowledge accumulated through formal education, but also, being always seen by the women co-researchers as the coordinator and the *soul* of the project. However, I have been constantly reflexive about this circumstance (Ponic and Jategaonkar 2012) and checking constantly my positionality and role coordinating, facilitating, mediating in conflict situations, making sometimes unilateral decisions (and feeling uncomfortable about it), and adapting and being flexible to the situation and moment. An example of flexibility was when facilitating data gathering activities with sex workers; in different occasions, we changed

agendas because the group needed to address and share personal issues and these became the priority due to the trust relationship we have built.

The whole process of reflexivity, relationality, accountability and transparency led to the creation of a strong trust relationship with advisory group members and with co-researchers. I have developed friendship with members of the advisory board, and closer trust with some co-researchers. Ibáñez-Carrasco and Riaño-Alcalá (2011) argue that building trust and friendship is necessary for a project and to move forward; they talk about friendship as a method as rigorous, reliable and more delicate than others.

In my reflexivity part of homework, I have always struggled and felt uncomfortable in the process of translating, in both directions from Spanish to English and vice versa. Several authors have analyzed the use of language in the research process (Anzaldúa 1987; Chilisa 2011; Finnegan 1992; Liamputtong 2010; Riaño-Alcalá 2000). Chilisa (2012) points out that language can be a colonizing instrument, “Language has an important role in knowledge construction, however research knowledge continues to be produced, communicated, and disseminated in dominant languages” (57). I would add that there is also a hierarchy between colonial languages: English has been imposed over any other colonial language. If something is not written in English, it is not valued in mainstream academia¹². Liamputtong (2010) also discusses the challenges of language translation when conducting cross-cultural research, and suggests that translation becomes “a democratic, reciprocal, non-hierarchical, and cooperative process” (148). Riaño-Alcalá cites Finnegan (1992) to stress “the challenges faced in transcription and translations because of the lack of equivalence between a spoken and performed language and a written one” (Riaño-Alcalá 2000). During the dissertation, I have been reflecting about how to break the language hierarchy, between English (the language in which I have to write the dissertation) and Catalan and Spanish (the two languages used in home-work). The translation/interpretation has been challenging, because I have tried to respect as much as possible *the poetics and meanings* (Riaño-Alcalá 2000) of the home-work languages and avoid interpretation that does not respect the contextual

¹² It is also essential to problematize Spanish language imposition also as colonial language over the territories where many migrants in Spain come from (indigenous and local languages in Latin America and other colonized countries such as the Philippines or regions such as Ceuta and Melilla in Morocco) and over Catalan, above all during the dictatorship.

stories. Throughout the dissertation, I kept the original languages (Catalan and Spanish) and add the translation. As other researchers have done (Riaño-Alcalá 2000) I asked bi-lingual friends and colleagues to review the translation, trying to maintain the essence of the original meaning.

3.4 Approaching and organizing home-work

In this section, I share how I contacted the ‘community’ of co-researchers and how I developed the participation structures (Dick 2000 in Like et al. 2005). Previous to starting home-work in November 2015, I used some trips back home to explore the possibilities of conducting this FPAR.

Everything started in the summer of 2014. During the first two years of my PhD, I met with different organizations and groups to explore their willingness to engage in the research. Using the networks of *Col·lectiu Punt 6*, I reached out to different organizations to explain the idea of conducting my dissertation research with women nightshift workers, searching for organizations or groups that provided services or knew of women who work at night. Meeting with these organizations helped me focus the research topic and study area through a dialogical process. I was able to discuss the overall research idea, and learn that the topic is already an issue identified and discussed by women nightshift workers.

One of the first persons with whom I spoke was Felisa Pradas Plou from the Catalan network of feminist organizations *Ca la Dona*. I have known her for years without knowing she was a nightshift worker at Bellvitge Hospital. It was a great coincidence and also an event that would influence greatly this project. Felisa rapidly explained to me how useful this project could be for the hospital’s female workers, especially for the group of women janitors, nightshift workers who face more mobility and safety challenges because of their 10pm to 5am shift – time when public transportation diminishes considerably and perceptions of fear increase – while the nightshift of medical staff is 8pm to 8am. Felisa also explained that some women janitorial staff have documented incidents of sexual assault and complained about the lack of transportation, particularly when their shifts end.

The contacts with organizations continued on a second trip to Barcelona in December 2014. At that time, I was able to meet the director of the Women’s Secretariat of CC.OO.

(*Comisiones Obreras*)¹³ union who has collaborated with *Col·lectiu Punt 6* in different projects related to women's safety issues. She got excited and agreed to support the project because of the need to know and make visible the labor conditions of this group of workers. I met as well with Carla Alsina from Iridia and discussed the possibility to include sex workers in the project and she recommended that I contact Mercè Meroño from *Àmbit Prevenció*, a foundation providing support and advocacy services to sex workers in Barcelona and its region since 1993. Working to promote sex workers' rights and dignify their lives, it has a nocturnal program that serves nightshift sex workers in the Barcelona district of Les Corts, where the city's major university campus and the Barça soccer field are located. A social worker and a nurse visit twice-a-week workers in the streets to provide support and health services. The foundation also conducts research with sex workers. With Mercè, we connected 'at first sight'. She showed her skepticism on 'parachute researchers' that wanted to study sex workers. But once I explained to her the methodology, she rapidly engaged with the idea and the project. She committed to be part of the project's advisory group, and helped contact nightshift sex workers who might engage as co-researchers.

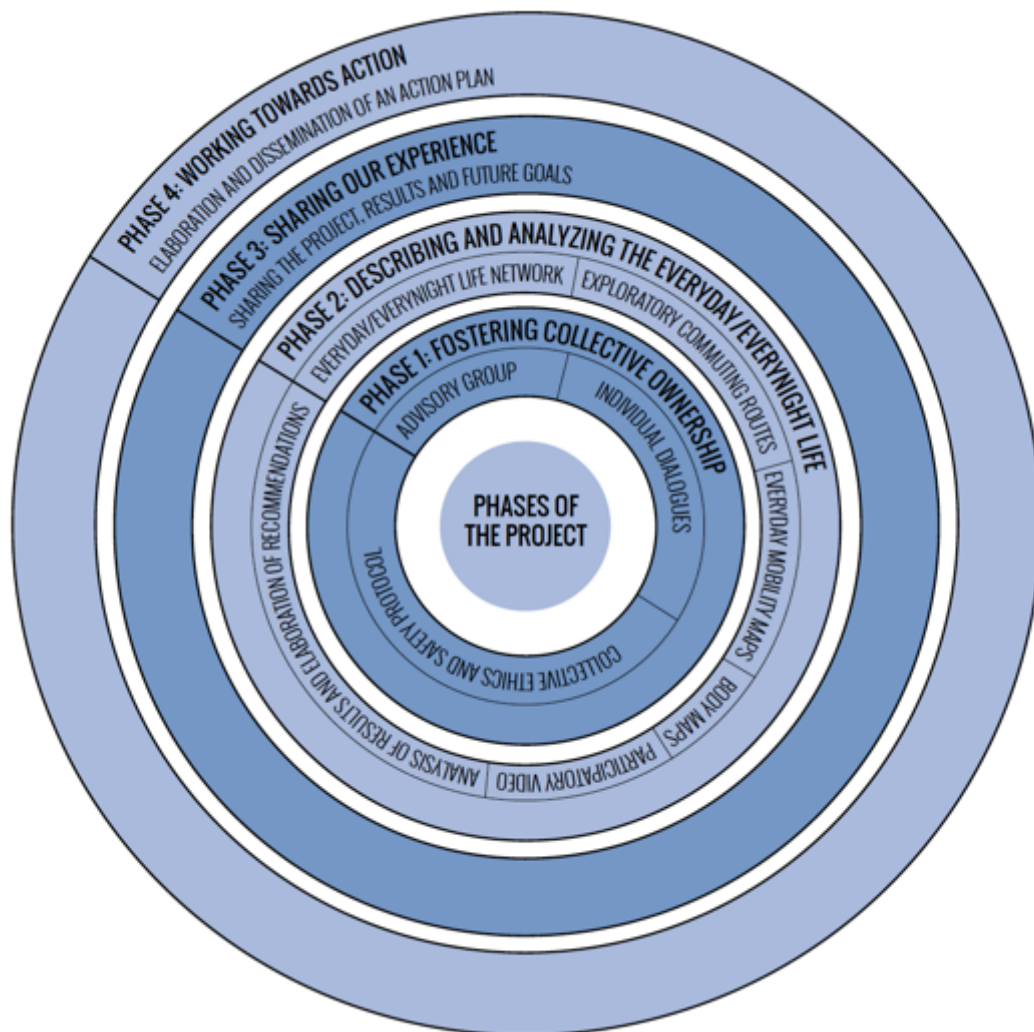
In this trip, Felisa also introduced me to a nightshift worker doing cleaning services at Bellvitge Hospital with whom we shared the ideas of the project. This nightshift worker, who later would become a co-researcher, engaged with the project idea and shared some concerns and challenges she and her co-workers have encountered.

After defending my doctoral comprehensive exams in the summer of 2015, I returned to Barcelona and began work on my research prospectus in conversation with all these organizations and groups, sharing the ideas of using participatory action research and qualitative participatory methods. All this preliminary home-work was essential to define the research methods and make sure they were adapted to the target population. These trips also facilitated that I could start conducting home-work at the end of November 2015.

¹³ The *CC.OO. Union* is a confederation of different unions that was created in the 1960s, - still under the Franco dictatorship – mostly with members of the Spanish communist and socialist parties. This union has territorial representation in Catalonia and a women's secretariat in each of the regions. It is currently largest labor union in the country with approximately a million workers affiliated.

Even though I started with the organization of the project in 2014, the main activities of the research project were developed in 4 phases from November 2015 to April 2017. Below I describe the different phases of this PAR. Although I enumerate them sequentially, they do not occur always in a linear way: phase 1 has been ongoing through the process and phase 3 and 4 have been developed simultaneously.

Figure 1: Phases of the Project



Source: Nocturnas 2017

Phase 1 - Fostering collective ownership: In this first phase, there were three elements that were essential to foster collective ownership: the creation and work of an advisory group, the individual dialogues with potential co-researchers/women nightshift workers, and the elaboration of collective ethics and safety protocol with co-researchers.

Phase 2 - Describing and analyzing the everyday/everynight life: In this phase, we conducted data collection and analysis. We used a set of participatory tools that *Col·lectiu Punt 6* has developed over the years (Casanovas et al. 2013; Valdivia et al. 2016), adapting them to the nocturnal aspect. These tools consider women as experts of their environments and communities, due to their presence in all the spheres of everyday life. Through the use of these tools we have made visible the everyday/everynight life experiences in relation to how women live and perceive public space, the transportation and mobility networks, and their everyday network at the body, neighborhood, city and metropolitan scales.

Phase 3 - Sharing our experience: The third phase of the project focused on sharing publicly the experience and knowledge accumulated with a larger audience. In the previous phases, we decided to make participatory videos to collectivize the results, as well as a report on the project results relevant to institutions and agents involved in public policies related to planning the night-time, and to organizations interested in this type of work, as well as to women's relatives.

Phase 4 - Working towards action: The fourth phase, initiated simultaneously with phase 3 and still ongoing, focuses on defining the "action" resulting from this action-research project, in a working plan format that we can present to institutions and organizations involved in urban planning, night work and feminism. This work plan begins once we have initiated the development of the awareness process and dissemination of results.

Phase 4 is still ongoing. All phases contributed to fostering collective ownership, but in the following section, I explain how the use of participatory qualitative methods enabled this collective ownership.

3.5 Participatory qualitative methods

Qualitative and participatory methods are the most used in PAR (Angeles and Jeeris-Warder 2000; Kindon 2003; Maguire 1987; Pain 2004). Through participatory methods we were able

to analyze the everyday/everynight life of women nightshift workers in a multiscale way and collect qualitative data on fields of planning that tend to be predominantly quantitative: mobility/transportation and safety. Often planning decisions are based on quantitative data on transportation and crime. But this project has collected rich qualitative data on these fields at different scales (street, neighborhood, city, region), proving that it is possible to incorporate qualitative and participatory methods in planning policies. As Pain points out, PAR “enables the drawing of multiple connections between issues and processes at different scales” (Pain 2004, 653).

3.5.1. Participatory methods to foster collective ownership

As previously mentioned, in phase 1 of the project, three activities have helped to foster collective ownership: an advisory group, individual dialogues, and the elaboration of collective ethics and safety protocol.

Advisory group

The advisory group had representation from various organizations and groups that provide services to women who work at night or have knowledge of their reality. The advisory group is composed of 6 women representing:

1. **Col·lectiu Punt 6**, which has coordinated all phases of the project, facilitating all the activities of data gathering, analysis and recommendations, and provided advice especially in the aspects related to urban planning. Col·lectiu Punt 6 was represented by me, in my role of project coordinator but also as PhD student, and by my colleague Marta Fonseca, who is an architect and supported me in the development of activities.
2. The program *Àmbit Dona* (Woman Scope) of the **Àmbit Prevenció Foundation** that offers services to sex workers and has a specific night program. *Àmbit Prevenció* is a referent organization in the city and the region due to their harm-reduction, rights and needs based approach. Through the *Àmbit Dona* program we were able to contact women sex workers of different areas of the BMA. Mercè Meroño, the director of the program *Àmbit Dona* participated in all the meetings, and helped outreach nightshift sex workers.
3. The **CC.OO. Union’s Women’s Secretariat** for the counties of Barcelonès and Baix Llobregat, whose work focuses on gender equality in the labor market. The CC.OO.

Union's Women's Secretariat has advocated for country wide women's rights and gender equity policies in the labour market since 1978. Through the women's secretariat we were able to contact workers at the airport, at companies in the Barcelona industrial park "Zona Franca" and in different municipalities of Baix Llobregat. Laura Lozano Pintor, a member of the women's secretariat represented the union in the meetings. But Laura Dieguez Ferrer, from the secretariat of mobility for the same labor union, also provided contacts for women working in Zona Franca.


4. **Ca la Dona**, the network of feminist organizations, whose representative in the advisory group was Felisa Pradas Plou, who at this time was recently a retired nightshift worker of Bellvitge Hospital, and acted as the direct liaison with women nightshift workers at the hospital.
5. The Gender Area of **Irídia** – Center for the Defense of Human Rights, represented by Carla Alsina Muro who provided advice in different aspects of the project for her previous professional experience and her activism with sex workers.

These organizations have a history of engagement with larger feminist and social movements in the Catalan region. I do believe that the way these women and organizations apply their feminist principles was key; our feminist views coincide in how we understand fostering networks of support within the local feminist movement. By no means do I want to give the impression that the feminist movement in Barcelona and Catalonia is homogeneous. But I do want to highlight that working with organizations that understand, support and respect each other's values, as well as acknowledge and honor each other's experiences and work on the basis of feminist principles, were the basis for making this participatory action research work and creating a strong collaboration. And this was just the start from converting an individual dissertation into a collective and collaborative project.

The work of the advisory group was essential to contacting women who work at night, reviewing, accompanying, supporting, validating the development of the different project activities, and disseminating its results. The knowledge and experience of the different organizations was essential to ensuring that the methodology and tools respond to the vulnerabilities and needs of women nightshift workers, and creating relationships between the women and participating organizations that could lead to developing other projects together in the future.

As an advisory group, we met four times during the development of the project. The first three meetings focused on reviewing the proposal and defining strategies to contact co-researchers. These meetings took place in December 2015, January 2016 and May 2016. We decided that the available funds for co-researchers' compensation would allow us to invite a maximum of 25 women, and agreed to compensate 12 euros per hour of participation, based on other group members' experience in previous research projects. Participation in all the planned activities would equal 15 hours. To start contacting women, we designed a flyer with a project summary, my email, and phone number to allow women to contact me directly (see Figure 2). Members of the advisory group used this flyer to conduct in person or email recruitment.

Figure 2: Outreach and recruitment flyer

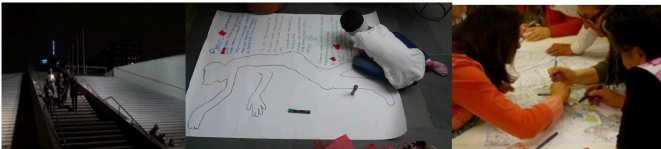


a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

The University of British Columbia
School of Community & Regional Planning
#433- 6333 Memorial Road
Vancouver, BC, V6T 1Z2
Phone 604 822 3276

Proyecto de investigación-acción participativa con mujeres que trabajan de noche

¿Eres una mujer que trabajas de noche?
¿Hay elementos del **espacio urbano y de la movilidad** que afectan **tus actividades cotidianas nocturnas**? ¿Te gustaría **participar activamente** en un proyecto que **documente y visibilice** las características que determinan **tu vida cotidiana nocturna**?



Si respondes que sí, **nos gustaría contar contigo en este trabajo.**

¿Cómo puedes participar?

Puedes participar de **10 a 15 horas**. Los días y horas de las actividades, individuales y grupales se fijarán dependiendo de las disponibilidades de las mujeres interesadas. El proyecto tiene la duración de un año. Se cubrirán **gastos de desplazamiento** y se **compensará económicamente** tu participación.

Diálogo individual 1 hora	Talleres grupales 8 horas	1 Recorrido 1 hora	Diálogos colectivos 5 horas	TOTAL 15 horas 180€ + transporte
Diálogo individual 1 hora	Talleres grupales 8 horas	1 Recorrido 1 hora	TOTAL 10 horas 120€ + transporte	

Este es un proyecto de investigación-acción participativa que forma parte de la tesis doctoral de Sara Ortiz Escalante de la Escuela de Planificación Comunitaria y Regional de la Universidad de British Columbia, en colaboración con organizaciones que trabajan en el Área Metropolitana de Barcelona: Col·lectiu Punt 6, Àmbit Prevenció, Secretaria de la Dona de CC.OO del Baix Llobregat.

Different strategies were used in the recruitment of co-researchers. For example, Felisa visited the hospital on different occasions at the start of the nightshift to disseminate the project and the call for co-researchers. This was very effective and Felisa collected the contact information of women who were interested and who I later contacted. But also, a few of them saw the flyer that she had posted in different places of the hospital and contacted me via email.

Laura from the Women's Secretariat of the CC.OO Union used word of mouth, as well as email lists of the labor union to send the flyer and encourage participation. Word of mouth and direct contacts were the most effective strategies of recruitment.

In the case of sex workers, we tried different strategies to include women from different areas in the city. One strategy was to accompany a social worker and a nurse that do site visits two nights a week using the van of the organization in one of the areas of sex work in the city, next to the Camp Nou (Barcelona soccer team stadium) and the University Campus. During these site visits, Àmbit Dona workers provide condoms, offer the possibility of getting STD exams, and provide psycho-socio-health support. I was able to accompany them on three nights. Although some sex workers initially agreed on being contacted to participate in an individual dialogue, they decided not to get involved for the lack of time and having to deal with other personal issues. Finally, the three sex workers who participated as co-researchers were frequent users of the Àmbit Dona office in El Raval neighborhood (in Barcelona city center) but work in different locations: Raval, Camp Nou and in an 'apartment' in Sabadell. I included sex workers because they are a group of nightshift workers more invisible and stigmatized than the other groups. Women sex workers have a very rich knowledge of the public space that often is ignored in planning policies and practices. Wahab (2003) discusses "how many feminist theories have alienated sex workers from participation in knowledge creation about their lives" (626), and for me, this has been a contradiction within feminist research and practice. In order to face this contradiction, their participation has been essential, taking a non-judgmental approach to their decision of doing sex work. And working with them has been eye opening. Doing FPAR involved crossing and blurring personal/professional lines and lives (Pain 2004), and working with the group of sex workers is where these lines were easier to trespass.

As an advisory group, we also signed a memorandum of understanding between the organizations. In a fourth meeting in December 2016 we shared with the whole group how the activities in the data collection phase went, and organized phase 3 and 4, of sharing the results with a broader audience, and developing an action plan to continue working. In addition to the meetings, we communicated regularly by e-mail, to communicate any advance or news related to the project. The advisory group also participated in December 2016 recording of the participatory videos, and reviewed the report results and participated in its public presentation in March 2017. After the presentation of results, we were not able to meet the whole group again, but we continue conversations about future activities and how to give continuity to the action plan.

Individual dialogues

After the advisory group's first meeting, we started contacting women and invited them to participate in individual dialogues. The individual dialogue as a method aims to create more collaborative relationships with co-researchers, and has the potential to reduce the power differences of people involved. Other feminist researchers have used dialogue as a method, for example, with Black women to assess knowledge claims because of dialogue's deep roots in African-based traditions (Collins 1990; Hooks 1989); or in participatory research with sex workers (Wahab 2003), because of its capacity to break with unidirectionality and focus on mutuality and reciprocity.

Dialogue is an open exchange of information that helps build relationship between the researcher and potential co-researchers and create a climate of trust, free of prejudice.

“The self-disclosure on behalf of the researcher that occurs within the context of dialogue significantly differentiates this method of data collection from other qualitative interviewing techniques. Not only were the participants “gazing back” (Harding 1996) at me [the researcher] but so was the academic institution” (Wahab 2003, 636).

Using this method was key for me because the goal was not only knowing about the co-researchers but also them knowing about me and the academic institution, as a strategy to break barriers and power differentials between researcher and co-researchers.

Once all the women agreed to be contacted, I called them up to set the time and place to meet. In these individual meetings, I shared my personal, professional, and academic history: introduced myself, my affiliation with UBC and *Col·lectiu Punt 6*, the different project phases, as well as the organizations participating in the project. We also talked about their previous research experiences; most women have not participated before in a research project; only some nurses had previous experience, but not in a participatory project. We discussed all the information related to the research, and the different project phases. I explained the philosophy and methodology and we discussed the different levels of participation, activities, availabilities, needs, opportunities and expectations of each woman. We also discussed the different job sectors involved in the research and how comfortable they would feel to work together as a group, or whether they preferred working in separate groups. With the exception of sex workers, women were open to working in one group. Sex workers were afraid of being judged and stigmatized and preferred to work in a separate group. Due to their varied schedules and time availabilities, women worked in four separate groups, as I later explain.

In the individual dialogues, we also reviewed the consent form: the ethical protocol and other project considerations, freedom to refuse participating in the project from the beginning or at any time during its development, risk and benefits of participating in the project, compensation for the hours dedicated, co-authorship or confidentiality in the project materials, dissemination of results, among other issues. At the end of the dialogue, we recorded the verbal consent to participate in the project. The individual dialogues lasted approximately an hour and were conducted in a place conveniently close to every woman. The dialogues were also useful for starting sharing experiences related to night work, data that has also been incorporated in the analysis.

These individual dialogues served to contact 24 women who participated in phases 2, 3 and 4 of the project: data gathering and analysis, elaboration of proposed actions, consensus about dissemination strategy to share the experience, and how to continue working. All the women involved in the individual dialogues accepted to participate and were engaged in at least one activity. Nineteen of 24 were co-researchers in the different project phases. Five of 24 participated in the initial activities, and although they were not able to continue participating, they kept in touch via phone or WhatsApp and were informed of all the project activities.

3.5.2. Co-researchers demographics

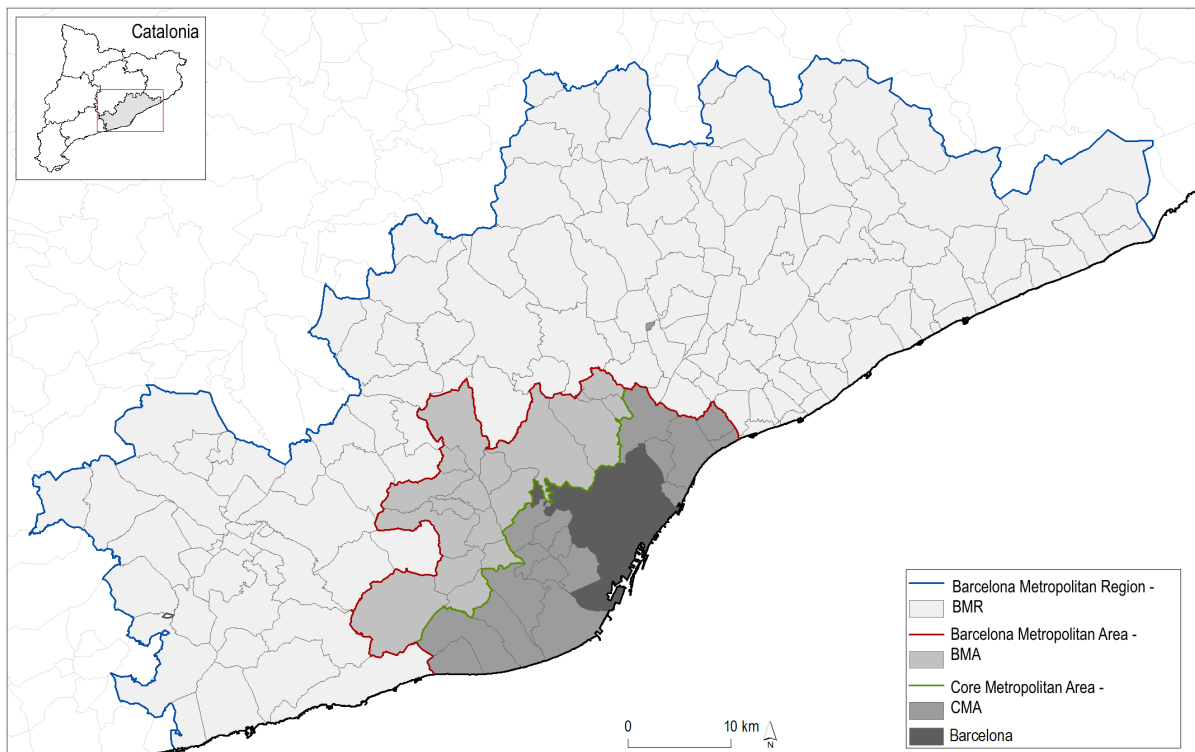
The co-researchers worked in 4 separate groups due to women's availabilities, and to ensure that activities took place in a close and familiar setting to reduce travel time. Two groups met in Barcelona and two groups in other cities in the county of Baix Llobregat (L'Hospitalet and Cornellà). One of the groups was composed of three sex workers and met at lunch time at the Àmbit Prevenció office located in the central neighborhood of Raval in Barcelona. A group of six women working and/or living in Barcelona gathered in the afternoon at *Ca la Dona*, the house of the Catalan Feminist Network, in the central neighborhood of Gòtic in Barcelona. A third group of 10 cleaning and health workers of Bellvitge Hospital met before starting the shift in a meeting room at the hospital, located in the city of L'Hospitalet. And the fourth group of five women living in different cities of the Baix Llobregat county, and working in elder care, cleaning at the airport, a nurse and a police officer met in a community center in the city of Cornellà early in the evening (Figure 3 and 4).

Women work in 9 different locations (see Figure 4) and represent 6 different occupations.

- ✧ Bellvitge Hospital: the neighborhood of Bellvitge in the city of L'Hospitalet gives that name to this major hospital that provides service to the West part of the BMA and the province; this area is connected to Barcelona through a metro line, but with limited public transportation towards the rest of the Llobregat Delta. Hospital co-researchers represented cleaners, nurses and nurse's assistants.
- ✧ The Barcelona Airport, located in the city of El Prat de Llobregat. Two cleaners of one of the airport's terminal were co-researchers.
- ✧ Zona Franca: a large industrial zone next to the Barcelona port, with a high concentration of second and third sector industry. Street cleaners of Barcelona meet at the cleaning facility located in this area to get on the cleaning trucks before getting distributed through the city. Two co-researchers represented this area.
- ✧ Poble Nou: it was one of the industrial neighborhoods of Barcelona, and there are still single-use parts of the neighborhood with warehouses and buildings that house small workshops or offices. The neighborhood changes completely from day to night, being an important nightlife area of the city. Two co-researchers work on the Center for Social Emergencies of Barcelona, located in this area.

- ★ Two municipalities of Baix Llobregat county: with a co-researcher working in an elder care facility in Cornellà, and a police officer of Sant Feliu. (See Figure 4).
- ★ Sex work zones: one working on the neighborhood of Raval in the center of the city, one in the area of Camp Nou in the outskirts of Barcelona (the two areas of Barcelona where sex work is concentrated) and one working in an apartment in the city of Sabadell (See Figure 4).

Figure 3: Map of the Metropolitan Region and Metropolitan Area of Barcelona



Source: IERMB (Research Institute of the Barcelona Metropolitan Region) <https://iermb.uab.cat/mapaamb/>

Figure 4: Places of work and residence of women nightshift workers



Source: Prepared by the author with the support of Mar Castarlenas and Magda Isart

The 24 women nightshift workers were between 25 and 60 years old, and work in different sectors and places: cleaning and medical staff at the Bellvitge Hospital, cleaning at the airport, street cleaning in Barcelona, elder care in different cities of the Baix Llobregat county, Local Police, social emergencies service in Barcelona, and sex work in Barcelona and other areas of the BMA. As we see, all women work in the “care” industry or domestic work-like occupations.

The group members have diverse places of residence, migration experiences, household composition and years working at night. They live in 12 different municipalities of the BMA, with a high representation of the area of the Llobregat Delta in the county of Baix Llobregat (southeast of Barcelona): Barcelona, L'Hospitalet, Castelldefels, Cornellà, El Prat, Sant Boi de Llobregat, Sant Feliu, Molins de Rei, Paltejà, Sant Joan Despi, Rubi, Santa Coloma de Gramenet. They have been working on night shifts between 1 and 20 years. Thirteen of 24 are heads of household: they either live alone, live with dependent parents, or are single mothers.

Only 4 of 24 co-researchers live in the city of Barcelona. The rest live in peripheral neighborhoods of the city, in “the invisible cities” according to historian Marc Andreu (2016) these neighborhoods are highly stigmatized and often marginalized because of lack of political and media attention. The development and construction of many of these neighborhoods have a long history of migration. In the 1960s, these neighborhoods were created with the arrival of waves of migrants from other parts of Spain, mostly from Andalusia and Extremadura, fleeing extreme poverty and hunger to work in a region with increasing job opportunities. Early migrants lived in shacks and housing developments were slowly built during the Franco dictatorship, characterized by their low quality, lack of investment, and urbanization of the streets and neighborhoods. It was community organizing and neighbors’ struggles that helped increase services, facilities and life conditions in these neighborhoods (Andreu 2016; Bonet i Martí 2012; Muxí and Magro 2009). It was only after some years in post-Franco democracy that local governments started to invest in these areas to dignify these neighborhoods and their public spaces and services (Bonet i Martí 2012). With the economic and housing boom of the late 1990s and early 2000s, the social configuration of these neighborhoods started to change (Muxí and Ciocchetto 2009). Original dwellers started to get older, their children have already moved out to other areas, and those original dwellers

with the opportunity and possibilities also moved to other neighborhoods with better housing conditions. Thus, these neighborhoods started to house the new wave of migrants, mostly from outside the European Union, the majority from Latin America, Maghreb and Sub-Saharan Africa (Muxí and Ciocchetto 2009). Despite the low quality of many of the housing units, these neighborhoods have been more affordable than the city of Barcelona, and their proximity to the city attracts many people who cannot afford the prices of the capital: mostly migrant and working-class families.

As I later analyze in Chapter 5, the co-researchers group link their class, income, household composition, migration history and work-life conditions with these historical elements that determine who decides to become a nightshift worker.

3.5.3. Collective ethics and safety protocol

Before data gathering started, in the first group activity, each group collectively discussed the ethical considerations we need to include in the project. A collective ethics and safety protocol helps build relationships between co-researchers including myself, and guide the research process (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2017). The goal to collectively define these protocols was to minimize the risks facing co-researchers, observe free and informed consent, but also acknowledge the role they wanted to take depending on each individual situation. “Negotiating ethics as part of participatory research processes enables greater reflexivity by all involved (Kindon and Latham, 2002).” (Pain 2004, 658).

A collective ethics and safety protocol minimizes participants’ risks and is based in free and informed consent; but also, acknowledges people’s agency to decide what elements make them safe and how they want to deal with confidentiality issues (Ponic and Jategaonkar 2012; Reid et al. 2011). For example, Ethics Boards usually assume that participants’ identity should always be protected, while in Collective Ethics and Safety Protocols co-researchers decide whether they want to protect their identity or whether they want to appear as co-researchers and co-authors of possible actions and outcomes (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood, and Eikeland 2006; Guillemin and Guillam 2004; Ponic and Jategaonkar 2012).

Compliance with the core principles of Research Ethics Boards (REB) requires informed consent from research participants, providing assessment of risk and benefits, and proof of how to deal with fairness in the inclusion and exclusion of subjects. However, the way that

REBs request to comply with these principles becomes a challenge for PAR projects, because “research participants are unable to be actively involved in decisions that have a direct impact on their participation in and the actions that emerge from research” (Reid et al. 2011, 189). Thus, research ethics codes based in Western epistemologies privilege a particular colonial research regime and emphasize individuals and individualized property at the expense of the communities (Chilisa 2011; Tuck 2009a; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Action researcher Brydon-Miller (2008) argues that, “The very nature of action research itself is founded in this deep and abiding respect for persons as active agents of change” (202). PAR principles are grounded in ethical principles of a constant process of collective action and reflection; participation in democratic processes and the improvement of human lives; the search for reciprocity, shared ownership and equal representation in decision-making challenging invisible power mechanisms and questioning the researcher-researched division; honouring different voices; and a respect for the knowledge and experiences that people bring to the research process (Brydon-Miller 2008; Fine and Torre 2006; Gatenby and Humphries 2000; Reid 2004; Reid and Frisby 2008; Tuck 2009b). These ethical principles are not often recognized by traditional Ethics Boards.

After sharing the grounds of collective ethics, in the first group activity, each group developed their collective ethics and safety protocol. In order to draft this protocol, we posed the following questions to be discussed as a group:

1. Do we want to keep our identities confidential or do we want to be co-authors of the Project, and therefore, our names will appear in the project materials?
2. Do we give individual and collective consent to participate in the project? Do we give permission to voice recording, video recording or appearing in pictures?
3. What is the role we want to have in the facilitation of the process and data analysis?
4. How could we break power relations between the research coordinator and co-researchers? How could we share responsibilities in this project? In what aspects do we want to share responsibilities?
5. How do we want to manage the property and dissemination of project development and results?
6. How can we create a climate respectful of the diversity of opinions and experience and foster trust among us?

7. How could we guarantee, as a group, the safety and wellbeing of women who are part of the project?
8. Are there other topics that the group would like to include in the project?

These questions were first answered individually and afterwards, women discussed and agreed on the elements to include in the protocol. Even though every group created its own protocol (see Appendix 1 for further detail), there were many commonalities between the different protocols, such as:

1. Collective authorship of the project.
2. Voice recording and taking pictures of the activities, to use these materials in the dissemination of results, respecting the confidentiality of those women who did not want to appear. (Sex workers were the only group that did not want pictures to be taken).
3. Level of participation of co-researchers, where some manifested in which activities and phase of the project they wanted to participate, with the flexibility to resume participation at the moment that each one wanted and considered necessary.
4. Materials that could be used to disseminate the project: participatory video, report with results, conferences, among others. At the beginning, sex workers did not want to be part of the videos, but when the possibility was discussed in phase 3 of sharing results they decided to participate without being identified.
5. Audience, to whom to send the results.
6. Elements to create a trustful and respectful climate among co-researchers and in relation to the diversity of the groups.
7. Elements to build horizontal relationships and to foster collective ownership of the project.
8. Elements to guarantee the wellbeing and safety of all women in the group.
9. Other topics that women wanted to include in the project's initial definition: reconciliation of personal, family and working life; the impact of night work on the quality of life and sleep, as well as the impact on social and family relationships; and the search for strategies to support each other at the personal level and in the job environment. The chapters of this dissertation that analyze the results reflect that these additional topics were included in the activities.

Some of these points were reviewed in the following phases of the project, such as how to disseminate results, the audience, or the follow-up activities. Thus, the elaboration of the

protocol was a point of departure, but was reviewed when necessary throughout the research process.

3.5.4. Participatory methods to analyze everyday/everynight life

Using the following participatory tools, we collected and analyzed information in Phase 2 about the everyday life of women nightshift workers, based in their experiences and *herstories*. These tools use the study of the everyday life as a methodology (Smith 1990), which means using women's knowledge and life experiences in urban planning, and considering women as experts of their communities and neighbourhoods, because of the knowledge accumulated through the complexity of carrying out paid work, unpaid domestic responsibilities and community work (Dyck 2005; Gilroy and Booth 1999; Lykogianni 2008). "Feminist scholarship has long prioritized women's everyday experiences (Hartsock 1974) ... Even though there is no unitary women's experience, feminist-grounded action research embraces experience as a source of legitimate knowledge" (Maguire 2001, 64). In this research project, we have analyzed the everynight as part of the everyday life, therefore, regarding *everyday/everynight* as inseparable and interconnected.

Col·lectiu Punt 6 has used these methods for more than a decade, adapting them to different contexts and projects. Since 2005, Punt 6 has been increasing its urban knowledge with the shared experiences of more than 1,000 women participating in hundreds of workshops, developed through the "Tools of Participation" with the Catalan Institute of Women and within the participatory diagnostic processes and design of proposals to improve the environments of their neighbourhoods. A first compilation of these methods was published in the guide "Women Working. Urban Assessment Guide from a Gender Perspective" (Casanovas et al. 2013) with the motivation to return to women the accumulated collective knowledge, to encourage autonomy and ownership in the betterment of their neighbourhoods, in a manner that can be expanded to the rest of society. I have adapted methods for this research that Punt 6 has also used to conduct safety audits from a gender perspective and published in "*Entornos Habitables. Auditoría de Seguridad Urbana con perspectiva de género en la vivienda y su entorno*" (Livable Environments. Urban Safety Audit from a gender perspective applied to housing and its surrounding) (Valdivia et al. 2016).

I adapted these methods to this research project on the night work. Punt 6 has built a methodology inspired by previous work conducted by other feminist urban planners, researchers and practitioners in other contexts (e.g. Lidewij Tummers, *Red Mujer y Hábitat de América Latina*) and that other participatory action researchers have used in a similar way in other projects (Angeles and Jeeris-Warder 2000; Kindon 2003; Pain 1997; Riaño-Alcalá 2000; Sandercock and Attili 2010a; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2014).

The tools have been used to describe the everyday life of women nightshift workers and to elaborate recommendations to improve the everyday/everynight life of night workers. These methods were used in Phase 2 of the project implementation.

In this phase, we conducted 5 group activities and one individual activity. The group activities were: *Network of everyday/everynight life*, *Everyday mobility maps*, *Body maps*, *Participatory Analysis of results and Elaboration of actions proposed*. These group activities were developed in the form of workshops. Workshops are tools that due to their collective format “can make the participants’ knowledge, histories and viewpoints visible... The workshop embraces praxis as a method (knowledge starts from the experience of participants), which encourages critical thinking directed towards social action” (Riaño-Alcalá 2008, 273).

The individual activity was accompanying women in their commute, to document the commuting route between home and work. Most women chose to be accompanied in the route from work to home, which included a diversity of shifts that finished between 5 and 8 in the morning. All these activities were developed with each of the four working groups. Therefore, in total, I conducted 20 group activities and 21 exploratory commuting routes. The activities took place between May and December 2016. It was key to have individual and group activities, because different knowledge was obtained. Individual activities were helpful in fostering trusting relationships and deeper knowledge about individual issues and struggles. Group activities always started doing a reflection at the individual level, and later shared at the group activity level. This transition from individual to collective reflection was essential to understanding personal situations and how these related to the group reflections.

Everyday/everynight life network

Women were guided to describe and analyze the different activities in their everyday life, in which spaces they develop these activities, the time invested, with whom and how they move

to develop these activities. This exercise serves to analyze and value the spaces where everyday life develops, how the perception of safety influences the development of these activities and the use of certain spaces. The activity lasts two hours and is divided in two parts, individual work and group work.

The activity starts with each woman making a list of the activities they develop in a typical day in their everyday life. The information of the activities is classified in 5 columns: hours invested, tasks developed, people with whom they conduct these activities, type of transportation used to move and the spaces where these activities take place. The list of activities shows all the tasks that are developed inside and outside the home to cover the personal needs and the needs of other people: accompanying children to school, going to work, doing grocery shopping, taking care of elder people, doing administrative errands, etc. (Figure 5). After listing the activities, each woman assessed the favorable and unfavorable aspect of their neighborhoods and the built environment where they develop each of the activities, identifying those urban planning elements that condition their mobility, their use of public facilities and public spaces, the community network and participation, how housing location influences the use of the city. In this analysis, we always focused the attention on how working at night conditions the development of everyday life.

Figure 5: Examples of Everyday/everynight life network

CADENA DE ITINERARIOS COTIDIANOS

NOMBRE: [REDACTED] EDAD: 41

¿DÓNDE VIVES? (Ciudad y Barrio) EN SANT FELI DE LLOBREGAT (BARRIO LA SALUD)

¿EN QUÉ TIPO DE VIVIENDA VIVES? (piso, casa aislada, adosada, etc.): PISO

¿CON QUIÉN VIVES? CON MIS PADRES Y MI HIJO DE 4 AÑOS

¿A QUÉ HORA?	¿QUÉ TAREAS/ACTIVIDADES?	¿CON QUIÉN? Hija, hijo, con pareja, amistades, sola, otras personas dependientes, etc.	¿CÓMO VAS? A pie, en coche, en moto, en bici, transporte público,...	¿DÓNDE? Calle, plaza, parque, equipamiento o lugar donde realizamos la tarea/actividad
22:30 H	ENTRAR AL TRABAJO CAMBIAREMOS Y ESTAR EN LA SALA DE BRIEFING A LAS 22:00H.	SOLA	A PIE	P.L. SANT FELI DE LLOBREGAT.
06:20 H	SALIR DE TRABAJO PARA CASA	SOLA	A PIE	CASA
08:00 H	MANTENEMOS DESPIERTA PARA LLEVAR A MI HIJO A LA PAPA DEL AUTOMÓVIL	CON MI HIJO	A PIE	CREANSON, SANT FELI DE LLOBREGAT
09:00 H	HACER GESTIONES COMO: BANCO, COMPRAR MEDICINA...	SOLA	A PIE O EN COCHE	VARIOS
SWAPS 10:30 11:00 H	DORMIR HABEMOS LAS 14:00 O 15:00H	SOLA		CASA
14:00 a 15:00	LEVANTAREMOS PREPARAR CENA, Lavar, LIMPIAR CASA, PAPA...	SOLA		CASA
16:45 17:15	IR A BUSCAR A MI HIJO DE QUE LLEVAR AL PAPA A KUNG FU	SOLA CON MI HIJO UNA AMIGA Y SU HIJO	COCHE COCHE	ESCUELA GIMNASIO
18:30 A 20:30	PAPA HACER A BAFAR AL PAPA PREPARAR CENA Y PONERLO A DORMIR	CON MI HIJO	A PIE COCHE	CASA

CADENA DE ITINERARIOS COTIDIANOS

NOMBRE: [REDACTED]

¿DÓNDE VIVES? en Sant Joan Despí

¿EN QUÉ TIPO DE VIVIENDA VIVES? (piso, casa aislada, adosada, etc.): piso

¿CON QUIÉN VIVES? con mis tres hijos

¿A QUÉ HORA?	¿QUÉ TAREAS/ACTIVIDADES?	¿CON QUIÉN? Hija, hijo, con pareja, amistades, sola, otras personas dependientes, etc.	¿CÓMO VAS? A pie, en coche, en moto, en bici, transporte público,...	¿DÓNDE? Calle, plaza, parque, equipamiento o lugar donde realizamos la tarea/actividad
10:00 11:30 12:00 13:00	ayudar padres limpiar casa ayudar padres comprar	sola sola sola	a pie a pie a pie coche	en barrio en casa en barrio al barrio
14:00 16:00 17:00	Hacer comida ayudar padres comprar	sola sola sola	a pie a pie coche	en casa en barrio Supermercado
19:00	dejar cena hecha	sola	a pie	en casa
21:00	salir al Trabajo	sola	coche	Hospital
22:00 05:00 05:30	Trabajo salida trabajo arribada a casa			

The chain of activities of two women night-shift workers, documenting the time and type of activities, with whom they develop these activities, in which mode of transportation and the location of the activity.

Following this personal reflection, women share in groups their individual assessments. Each woman explains to the rest of the group her everyday life network and her assessment. Then, collectively women made a list prioritizing the favorable and unfavorable urban planning and design aspects that condition their use of their neighborhoods and the city. After that, each group shared with the other groups the information gathered and elaborated a list of common favorable and unfavorable aspects and discussed possible actions that could improve their everyday life.

Exploratory Commuting routes

The exploratory routes consist in accompanying each woman in their commuting route to or from work. These routes through women's everyday environments allow us to analyze the elements that increase or diminish women's perception of safety in relation to mobility, everyday network, design of public space, relation between housing and its environment and between the work area and its surroundings. The route can start from work to home or vice versa. Through the route, each woman explained those aspects that she wanted to highlight in relation to any of the issues analyzed: mobility, perception of safety, everyday life in her neighborhood, the surroundings of the work area, etc.

Each route was recorded with a GoPro camera that women wear as a vest, or in their helmets and cars, depending of the type of mobility used. The objective was to gather images that reflect in first person what and how they see, walk, and live. In addition to these images, footage was recorded with another camera and we took pictures of different parts of the route.

The routes were done mostly when leaving work, between 5 and 8 in the morning, although some were conducted on the way to work, between 9 and 11 pm. With some women who change shifts, we did the route between 5 and 8 in the morning. Exploring these routes was crucial to understand the clear connection between the everyday and the everynight since women workers might shift from dayshifts to nightshifts as required by their jobs or management. The routes were conducted between May and July; therefore, the images recorded show the experience of a particular season where it gets darker later and dawns earlier (Figure 6). But women always emphasized in the routes and in the group activities how winter darkness increases the perception of fear. These routes provide an essential and ethnographic knowledge that connects the neighborhood scale with the city and metropolitan

scales, because, although most women live in a short geographical distance, the type of transport used circulated by different municipalities and through the different scales of urban planning.

Figure 6: Example of exploratory commuting routes



The photograph on the left shows walking path from Zenobia's workplace to the parking lot. She walks between walls that hinder visibility. Photograph on the right shows Txell's bike parking in the corner of her home.

Dialogue was used also in the analysis and validation of the exploratory commuting routes. I realized how important it was to have an individual moment with them, at that moment of home-work after we have shared some time in group. We, the women and I, were able to share more about our everyday lives in these dialogues.

Everyday mobility maps

The everyday mobility maps consist in, first, illustrating individually the everyday/everynight network of each woman and, second, drawing in a collective map the commuting routes of each woman. At the end, we have one map per woman with her everyday network and a collective map with the night mobility in the BMA.

The activity is divided in two parts, first an individual exercise and second, group work. Each woman started placing on a map her neighborhood and surroundings, her home and drew her everyday network, made of public spaces and spaces of relations, facilities and services, retail stores, public transportation stops, and streets that connect these elements and that are used to cover everyday life needs. Then, each woman marked on the individual map, with two colors, the neighborhood spaces where she feels safe and comfortable (positives in green color) and those that feel unsafe, unpleasant, she does not use or she avoids (negatives in red color) (Figure 7). After this individual analysis, each woman presented her

map and explained the positive and negative elements. We collectively made a list of the common elements from all women's contributions.

Figure 7: Pictures of individual maps exercise



Women nightshift workers. Clockwise: Baix Llobregat group, Bellvitge's hospital group and Barcelona group.

In the second part of the workshop, in a large map of the BMA (Figure 8), each woman drew her commuting route, indicated what type of transportation she uses, the route and the total travel time. This collective map illustrates the night trips of the 24 women who work at night and makes visible the diversity of journeys, types of transportation and temporalities, problematizing how geographically close some of women work in relation to their homes, but how far in time they live, due to deficiencies in transportation frequencies and connections.

[illegible]

Body maps

81

relation to the night work, connecting body experiences of the intimate and private space with the public space and the urban environment where we live.

Through body maps, we analyzed how the environment and the public space impact our women's bodies and, in particular, how the perceptions of fear and safety are bodily lived and felt. In a real-size map of the body, women represented how they experience the spaces they use on a daily basis, using paint, drawings and objects that can be glued in the body silhouette, or the surrounding or interior of the body. A testimony of each woman accompanies the body map.

The activity has two parts, one of individual work and a second of group work. First, with the help of another woman in the group, each woman drew her real-size body silhouette on a large piece of paper in the position she wants (Figure 9). Then, each woman worked on her body silhouette and represents the response to the following questions:

- How does night work affect me?
- How and where do I live and perceive fear in my body?
- How and where do I feel strength in my body?
- How does the urban form affect my body?

Figure 9: Body map elaboration process



Women nightshift workers of the Barcelona group working on their body maps

After finishing the body maps (Figure 10), each woman explained how they felt doing this activity and how they answered and represented on the map the 4 questions. Each individual presentation served to collectively reflect on the different impacts that night work has in their bodies, in relation to the maladjustments that night work produces, and how they experience the spaces they travel through, their experiences of fear and safety, and how they face them.

Figure 10: Sharing body map experience



Women nightshift workers from Bellvitge Hospital explaining their body maps

In this type of activity, we talk about the intimate and personal sphere and different situations and issues may arise and trigger emotions and memories among participants. For this reason, this activity was conducted after there was enough trust and respect among all women who are part of the project.

Participatory video

The participatory video is a storytelling tool where participants have an active role both in script writing, choosing what are their concerning topics, and what elements of the story they want to highlight, and in the review of the final video (Kindon 2003; Sandercock and Attili 2010a). It expands the horizons of qualitative and quantitative research (Sandercock and Attili 2010a). Participatory video has been taken up in the last 20 years by community development practitioners (Hume-Cook et al. 2007) and

“it crucially differs from documentary film-making in that participants create videos according to their own rather than others’ priorities. As such, PV offers participants an opportunity to de-stabilise the usual passive engagement with the dominant cultural form of film and become more actively involved in this media.” (Waite and Conn 2011, 116)

It is a tool used in participatory action research projects as another way to conduct research, analyze the data collected, disseminate results to a broader audience, and represent the city in multidimensional and polyphonic ways (Sandercock and Attili 2010a).

The participatory video can reach a broader audience than other dissemination materials, because it is more accessible and easier to understand both for public policy institutions and the public in general. Therefore, it has the potential of being an empowerment tool for women, but also as a dialogue tool for grassroots groups, social organizations and the public administration.

In the first group activities of the project, women chose the participatory video as the tool to disseminate results. For this reason, we defined the following activities to record material (Figure 11), write a script and produce the final videos:

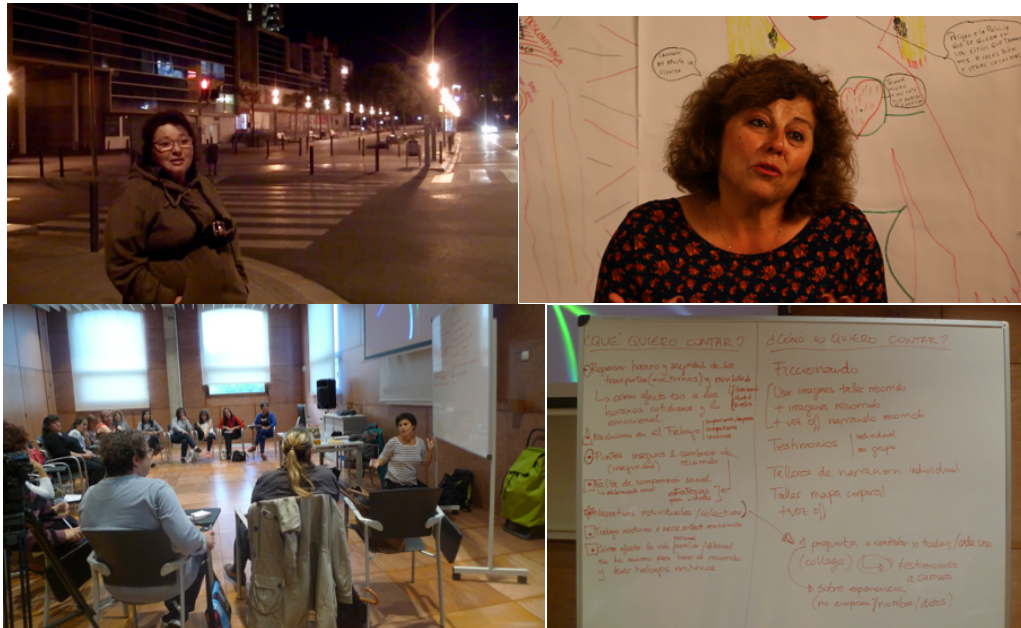
1. Video recording of the activities of description of the everyday/everynight life: All activities of description of the everyday/everynight life of phase 2 were recorded, both group activities and the commuting routes. We obtained many hours of audiovisual material to use in the final videos.
2. Script workshop: In the analysis part of phase 2, we attended a script workshop, facilitated by the Cooperativa de Tècniques¹⁴, a feminist cooperative that works in the production of images, sound and performances, training and research. In this workshop for the first time, the four groups of women got together. This workshop helped to share the topics discussed in each of the activities. It was also the first collective analysis of the gathered information. The methodology was simple, but fostered a rich debate. The facilitator asked two questions to women co-researchers: what stories they wanted to share and how they wanted to explain them. These questions triggered an intense and active debate, where women from different groups discussed what topics were essential to highlight in the videos. Through this debate, the women defined the categories that we later used to classify the qualitative data for its analysis. In addition to defining the topics of the videos, women also discussed how they wanted to explain their stories. Women collectively decided to use the images of the exploratory routes and workshops that we

¹⁴ <http://cooptechniques.net/>, retrieved May 25, 2019

have previously recorded, and include individual testimonies, for those women that wanted to emphasize their personal stories. To record these testimonies, they proposed that all women would respond to the same question that would focus on women's personal experience, but the name of the company or workplace would not appear. In the end, twelve of the 24 women recorded their individual testimony. It was impressive to watch the recording of their testimonies, and seeing that all of them did the recording in one shot, without the need for new recordings.

3. Video recording of individual testimonies: After the script workshop, the women who wanted to record their individual experience, participated in a video recording in a movie set where each of them shared their individual testimony responding to the following question: How does working at night influence your daily life? This question was the connecting thread to allow each of them to center on issues they wanted to highlight at the individual level. In addition to recording the individual testimonies of nightshift workers, the testimonies of three members of the advisory group were also recorded.
4. Follow-up of video editing: Once all the material was prepared to start editing, the Cooperativa de Tècniques helped create 3 videos, while in continuous contact with the project coordinator, who transmitted choices and adaptations to the rest of women co-researchers.
5. Review and completion of videos: Once we had the rough cuts of the videos, we reviewed them to give our comments and opinions to include or modify in the final version of the videos. The topics of the videos are:
 - The mobility and transportation network, commuting routes, as well as the perception of fear, risks and safety strategies, etc. (mixing individual testimonies with commuting routes images)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vp3EZiQufsA> retrieved May 25, 2019
 - The impact of night work on the social and family relationships and on all aspects of health (mixing individual testimonies and workshops images)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JC2oJY2OERc> retrieved May 25, 2019
 - Making visible women's night work through participatory action research (interviews of advisory group members)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LvKxqeAJRTY> retrieved May 25, 2019

Figure 11: Participatory Video Process



Clockwise: Video shot of Conchi's commuting route, shot of Angeles' individual testimony for participatory video, picture of the script workshop and picture showing the results of the script workshop.

3.6 Data Analysis

3.6.1 Between collective and individual data analysis

After data collection activities, where we analyzed the everyday/everynight life, I went back to Vancouver in September 2016 before continuing with the rest of participatory activities. At this moment, I took the time to transcribe all the individual and group activities, and review the materials created in each activity: everyday life networks, individual and collective mobility maps and body maps. In the middle of this process, in October 2016, I did a short trip to Barcelona to participate in the script workshop and started working on the participatory video. Even though this activity was thought to define the stories we wanted to share through the participatory videos, it was a key step in the analysis process. In fact, the collective analysis started in the script workshop. One of the parts of this workshop was to explain to the facilitator what we had done through the project and to prioritize the issues women wanted to highlight in the video. This question led to an agitated debate and discussion. It was in this moment that I realized that women were defining the categories of analysis, by highlighting the themes that the video must include.

At the end, the script writing workshop became one of the data analysis activities, since the definition of categories that happened without my previous awareness, served to categorize the transcribed information before the two subsequent participatory workshops of analysis and recommendation. In sum, the script writing workshop was key to identifying and defining the number of videos and topics, as well as to setting the categories of analysis.

Analysis and elaboration of recommendations

The workshops on analysis and elaboration of recommendations served to collectively do a participatory review, validate, and analyze the gathered information, for later proposing recommendations to improve the everyday life of women who work at night (Figure 12). These workshops served to compile and summarize the work done and to have a first assessment of the situation.

Figure 12: Workshops on Analysis and elaboration of recommendations



Left, picture of analysis workshop with Baix Llobregat's group. Right, picture of analysis workshop with Bellvitge Hospital's group

Prior to the workshop, the collected and transcribed information of the different activities describing the everyday life (individual dialogues, everyday/everynight life network, mobility maps, body maps and commuting routes) was categorized. I chose pieces of transcripts from each activity that reflected both the diversity and commonality of experiences.

Once data was categorized, each group read the transcriptions per category and analyzed the elements that condition this reality. We also analyzed whether the information chosen was representative of all the work of describing and gathering information or whether we

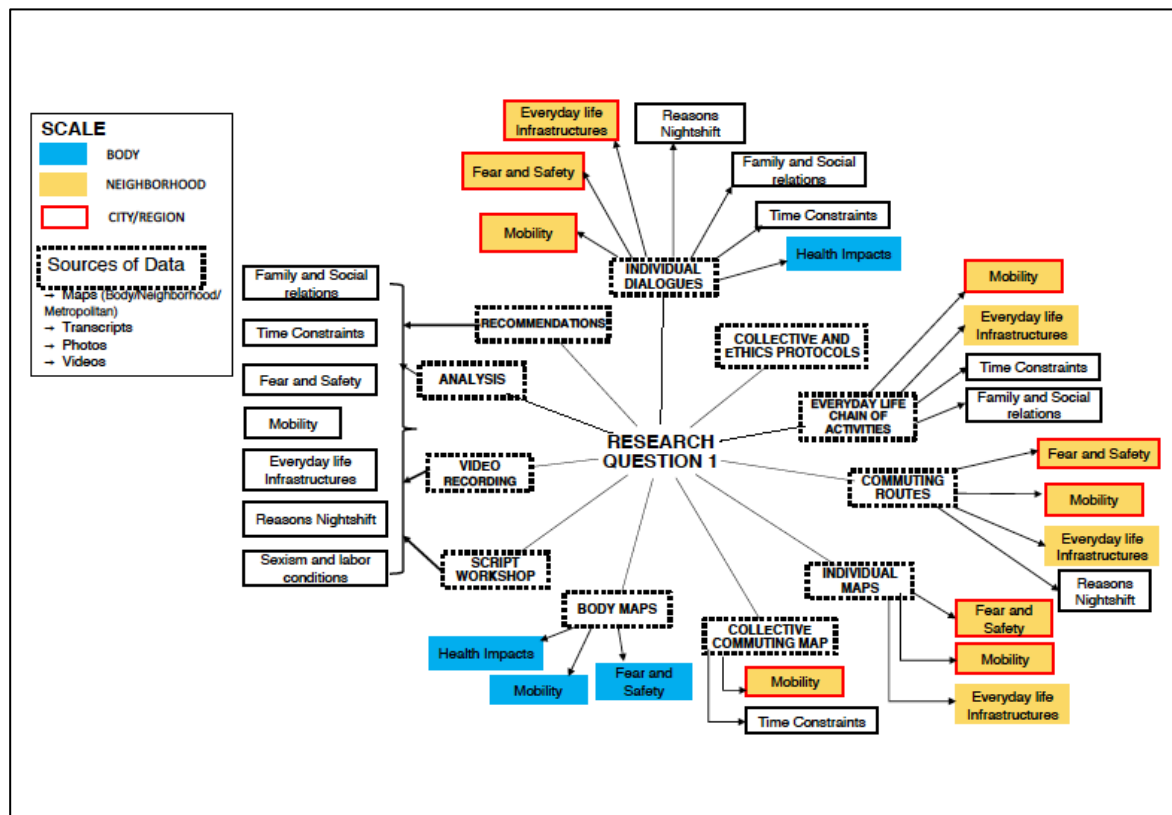
needed to complete any aspect. The group analysis per category was essential to enriching the analysis of all participants.

After doing the first collective analysis, we elaborated recommendations that would help improve the everyday life of women nightshift workers. We already had collected some recommendations in the previous activities. Thus, this workshop served to recover these recommendations and propose new ones, and prioritize them. Each recommendation was presented as an action to be developed by corresponding institutions, organizations, and agents to whom we wanted to send the results and the recommendations. We also discussed strategies to disseminate the results and send them to the different agents involved, with the objective of initiating a dialogue with institutions that can include these recommendations in the urban planning and mobility policies.

Doing a participatory analysis of the information gathered was a concern for me, in the sense that as part of the FPAR, it was essential that women co-researchers did part of the analysis to make sure it corresponded to their interpretation. But, as in the other activities of the research, the women co-researchers decided whether they wanted to take a more active role or not. In this workshop, fewer women participated, and when previously asked whether they wanted to have a more active role analyzing, many of them preferred me to do it. Despite this concern, the script workshop and the analysis and recommendations workshop stimulated co-researchers to think about the utility of collected data and raise awareness about the key findings and their central role (Herr and Anderson 2012)

To continue with data analysis, I made an outline that reflects all the activities developed and what type of data was obtained through each of them, and signaling the information given at three different scales: body, neighborhood/city, metropolitan area (Figure 13).

Figure 13: Diagram to conduct analysis related to Research Question 1



This diagram helped me organize all the collected data and reflect through the color scheme that we collected data at four different scales: the body the neighborhood, the city and the metropolitan area. I classified all the information we have gathered by tool or technique: sources of data. Sources of data have different forms: maps (body, neighborhood, metropolitan area), transcripts of dialogues and group activities, photos and videos. This is one layer of complexity since I ended up having many types of information and each piece complements the others. I also look at what type of information each source of data provided regarding the scale (Body, Neighborhood, City/Region), since this is a way to visualize that urban planning affects women nightshift workers in the continuum body-home-community-neighborhood-city-metropolitan area. Doing this exercise for this dissertation can contribute to breaking the false public-private divide between spaces. The sources of data and the scale are marked in the diagram through the shape, line and color.

Once this first classification was completed, I related each source of data with 8 main categories of analysis: Fear and Safety, Mobility, Everyday life infrastructures, Time constraints, Family and Social Relations, Reasons to choose nightshift, Health impacts,

Sexism and labor conditions. This allowed me to understand per each source of data, what categories of analysis were covered, which tools contain more information and at which scales.

This schematization of results and the exercise of linking each source of data/tool with category of analysis, helped me with the process of ordering, classifying and analyzing all data, in a research process with a large amount of data gathered in different ways. This process has been essential in order to ensure that no piece of information is overlooked.

After the process of analysis, I continued with the process of writing. There were two writing phases. First the writing of the collective report, an activity that I began but was reviewed and completed by co-researchers. Second, the writing of the analytical chapters of this dissertation. Chapter 5 and 6 build on the collective analysis and report, yet I expanded on this work initially conducted with co-researchers. The way Chapter 5 and 6 have been written also follow the home-community-neighborhood-city-metropolitan continuum. Thus, Chapter 5 contains the analysis of the everyday/everynight life of women nightshift workers through body and community mapping. While Chapter 6 examines their everyday/everynight mobility challenges at the scales of the neighborhood, the city and the metropolitan area.

In the writing process, moving from the FPAR collective analysis to my individual academic analysis has been challenging. I felt conflicted writing about the collective project without women's co-researchers involvement. In Chapters 5 and 6 I have expanded upon the intersectional analysis that was not always captured in the collective report and women's quotes. But I acknowledge my insecurities when doing this analysis without their involvement.

Chapter 4. Barcelona and its metropolitan area's night and mobility planning¹⁵

This chapter addresses the question, how does Barcelona and its metropolitan area plan the night-time and mobility networks? It contextualizes the geographical area and the recent urban planning history of the metropolitan city used as a case study in this participatory action research. In the first part of the chapter, I briefly define the location and structure of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area. Later, I summarise the planning history of the city of Barcelona in the last century to understand the origin of the Metropolitan Area and the policies that have influenced the development of the city and the metropolis. Next, the chapter analyses three elements of urban planning policies and their histories that are key for the current research: the mobility and transportation policy history, the history of including an intersectional gender perspective in legislation and planning policies, and finally how cities in the metropolitan area and the BMA Authority as a whole are addressing nightlife and intersectional gender issues through their urban planning departments. This chapter incorporates contextual information about the BMA that I captured from interviews with urban planners of various cities in the BMA who agreed to share with me the urban planning policies that their institutions were implementing. These interviews conducted between December 2016 and March 2017 focused on exploring how urban planners were implementing gender inclusive planning legislation and whether they include the night-time in their policies, actions and practice. These interviews were not part of the FPAR project, but were conducted to broaden the analysis for this dissertation.

4.1 Barcelona as a compact and mixed-use metropolitan model

The Barcelona Metropolitan Area (BMA) is located in North-East Spain, along the Mediterranean Sea and only occupies 2% of the total Catalan territory. Barcelona is the capital city of the Catalan historic nation, which today is formally an autonomous region of

¹⁵ My approach to the history of Barcelona and its region is written from a political point of view shaped by my intersectional identities. I am a feminist urban planner, working member of an urban planning cooperative that is part of the local solidarity and feminist economy, and the granddaughter of an Andalusian anarchist and an Extremadura communist raised in a working-class migrant family, and the first in the family to have a university degree. This political point of view is reflected in my criticism of neoliberal policies implemented in the city of Barcelona and the region.

the Spanish Constitutional Monarchy. For Spanish standards, Catalunya¹⁶ is a highly urbanized region within Spain, occupying an area of 30,000 km², with 7.5 million inhabitants and a thousand municipalities, and only a few areas in the Pyrenees mountains (in the North) and along the Ebro river (in the South) that are not well-connected (Borja 2010). The recent history of Catalonia and Spain is also a history of migrations: internal migrations during the dictatorship, and foreign immigration starting in the 1980s (initially mostly from the Maghreb) with its peak in 2005, when Spain became the second country of the 30 OECD members in reception of documented migrants¹⁷. Currently 14 percent of the population is made up of foreign migrants, mostly from Latin America (35%) and the EU (20%).

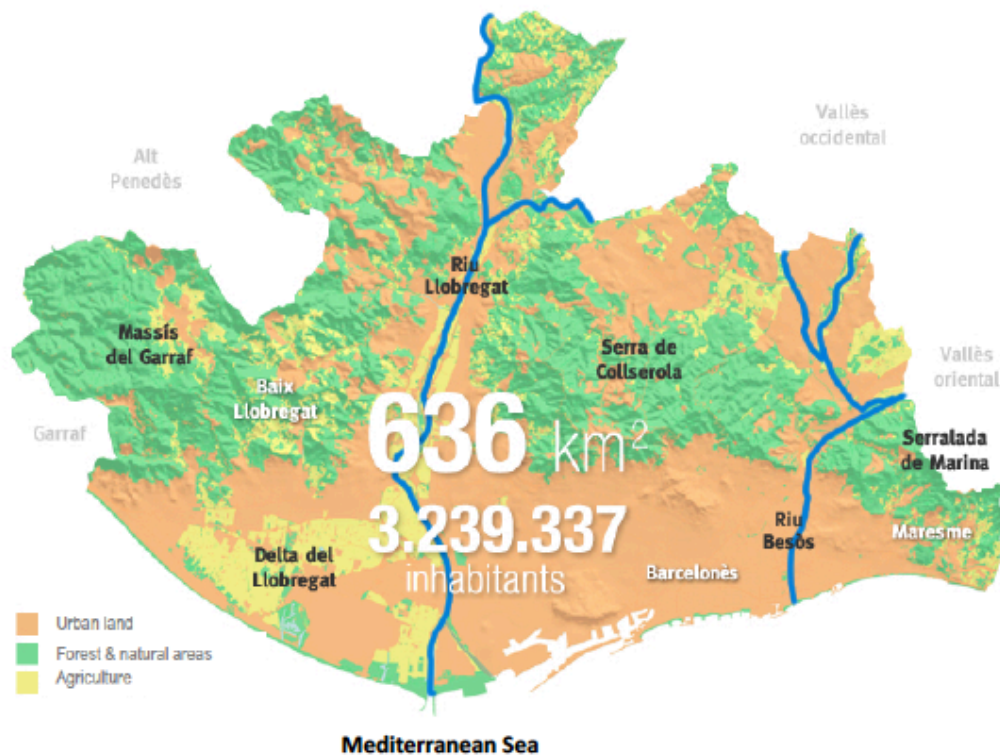
The BMA is one of the largest metropolitan regions in Europe, the 8th most populated and the densest of the region (Eurostat: metropolitan regions. Eurostat 2012). Located in the region of Catalunya where 95% of people live in highly urbanized areas (Borja 2010), the BMA is the home to half of the Catalan population (3.2 million inhabitants of 7.5 million). It is located in a small territory of 636 km² and 36 municipalities, of which 48% of the land is urbanized and 52% is forests, natural areas and farms. Its geographic location and singular topography determine the high density of the BMA (Figure 14). The large proportion of natural land and the natural limits of the area (bordered by the Mediterranean Sea and the Collserola, Marina and Garraf mountains) has limited the growth of the area and fostered a high population density, that makes the BMA the densest European metropolitan area, and one

¹⁶ Catalunya (Catalonia in English) is one of the 17 autonomous communities of Spain, and has the second largest population after Andalusia. The form of government in Spain is a parliamentary monarchy, a democratic constitutional monarchy, in which the King is the head of the state and the president is the head of government. Regional governments function under the system of autonomous communities (17 autonomous communities and two autonomous cities), a decentralized system of administration based on *asymmetrical devolution* to regions that constitute the country (the “richest” autonomous communities give to the “poorest”) in which the central government retains full sovereignty. Catalunya has been historically one of the most prosperous autonomous communities, along with the Basque Country and Madrid. Also, it is one of the three “historical nations” of the country, in addition to the Basque Country and Galicia, with its own language, culture and history. Since democracy, it has had certain autonomy from the central government, particularly in health, education, housing and security affairs. However, the historical demand to become an independent country has become an increasing social and political claim due to injustices and repressions committed by conservative and fascist-oriented central governments. The regional government of Catalonia is the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, whose council members are elected through a Parliamentary system.

¹⁷ Data on Foreign Population extracted from Idescat (Institut Català d’Estadística – Catalan Institute of Statistics) www.idescat.cat

of the most polluted due to the higher concentration of motorized vehicles per square kilometer.

Figure 14: Land use in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area



Source: web page of Barcelona Metropolitan Area, 2017, www.amb.cat retrieved May 25, 2019

The BMA is the economic center of the Catalan region and concentrates 51% of employed (1.7 million) people, but also 41% of the total registered unemployed people in Catalonia¹⁸. The BMA agency does not gather disaggregated economic and employment data by gender, age or migration status. Data about nightwork is not available for the metropolitan area either. The statistics available from 2016, show that the BMA total unemployment rate was 14.4% (16 to 64 years old). For the city of Barcelona, in the last semester of 2016, the unemployment

18

<http://www.amb.cat/s/web/area-metropolitana/coneixer-l-area-metropolitana/activitat-economica.html>, retrieved May 25, 2019

rate was lower, 11,6% for women and 11.3% for men¹⁹. The unemployment rate in Barcelona has been usually lower than in the rest of the metropolitan area and province, because of a higher concentration of job opportunities in the city. Unemployment has decreased in the last five years, showing a slow recovering of the economic crisis that the country experienced from 2008 to 2013²⁰, where unemployment rates in the province of Barcelona peaked at 24% and over 40% among youth between 16 to 25 years old. The current household annual median net income in the BMA is 33,724 € and the personal annual median net income 14,073€²¹. The Gini coefficient, which measures income inequality, was 0,304 in 2016, below the overall Catalan Gini (0.314), and lower than in the peak of the crisis when it was 0.346. The economic crisis also increased the percentage of people at risk of poverty, which represented 18.4 of the BMA population in 2016 (Sarasa, Navarro-Varas, and Porcel 2016). Gender disaggregated poverty data for the Catalan region show that women have increased the risk to poverty in 2016 from 18.8%, to 21.6% while men's risk diminished from 20.7% to 20.2% (Rovira and Fuertes 2016). Finally, the Survey on Life Conditions 2016, which classifies population by class, shows that 55% of the BMA population are classified as middle class, 18.5 % living under poverty, 15% as upper class, and 11.7% under precariousness conditions (Sarasa, Navarro-Varas, and Porcel 2016).

¹⁹ Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) and City of Barcelona Statistics Department <http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/barcelonaeconomia/ca/mercat-de-treball/poblacio-activa-i-ocupada/taxes-datur>, retrieved May 25, 2019

²⁰ "Between 1998 and 2007, the profit-driven interests of banks and private corporations supported and subsidized by the different levels of governments fed a housing bubble in the country. At that time, real estate represented 18% of the country's GDP and the construction and real estate sectors employed 13% of the population, in comparison to 7% in Germany and 8% in the UK (Colau and Alemany 2013). More housing was built than could be absorbed, due to credit liberalization and low interest rates mortgages. Just before the bubble burst, the average household income dedicated to pay a mortgage was 51% (Colau and Alemany 2013). However, the Spanish dream collapsed in 2008. With one of the toughest mortgage laws in the world, more than 400,000 foreclosures left hundreds of thousands of families in the street and with debt for the rest of their lives. Under the Spanish mortgage law, people must continue to pay off their mortgages, complete with interest and penalty charges, even after they have been evicted and their home has been repossessed." (Valdivia and Ortiz Escalante 2018, chap. 6). Many migrant who arrived to Spain to fill the workforce demand were forced to return home under a policy that pushed migrants from countries such as Ecuador to receive their unemployment benefits only if they accepted to return to their home country. The number of Latin American migrants in the city was reduced by half. (Department of Statistics. Ajuntament de Barcelona. <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/index.htm>, retrieved May 25, 2019

²¹ Data extracted from the web page of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area Agency. <http://www.amb.cat/s/web/area-metropolitana/dades-estadistiques/economia.html>, retrieved May 25, 2019

The city of Barcelona is the largest city of the BMA. For that reason, to study the Barcelona Metropolitan Area means going back to the origins of the city.

4.2 Barcelona's urban planning in the last 100 years

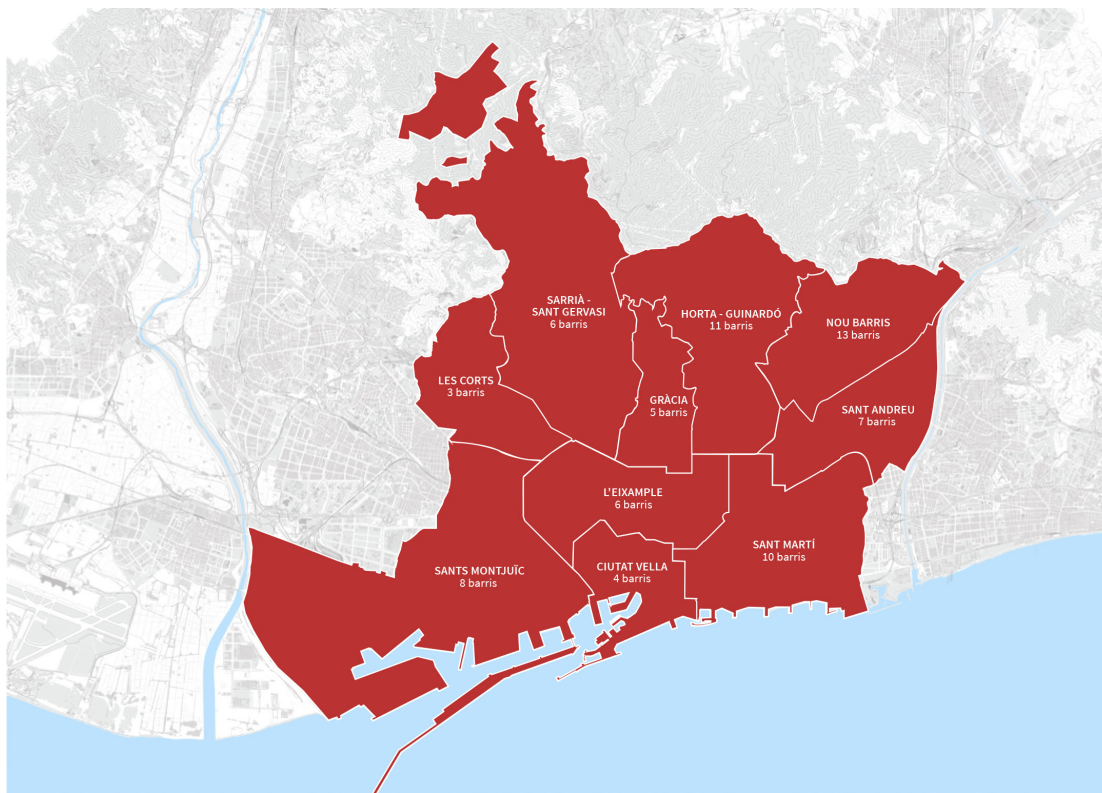
The city of Barcelona has more than four thousand years of history. Its origins documented at the end of the Neolithic period revealed it was the home of the Ibers indigenous group called Laietans, until Romans arrived in the 1st century B.C. After the fall of the Romans, various empires ruled the city, including the Visigoths and the Muslims. By the 10th century, the city and region began to gain some level of independence and autonomy. With the development of the Catalan language in the 9th century, the region began to form an independent identity (Hughes 1992). One example of this autonomy was the creation of a self-governmental institution, the Consell de Cent (the Council of the Hundred, formed by one hundred members), that ruled the city from the 13th to the 18th century, and provided advice on political decisions to the kings of the time.

In this section, I cover the most recent urban planning history of the city, in particular: the period of the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975), the subsequent restoration of democracy (1978-1992) and the impact of the 1992 Olympics under Mayor Pasqual Maragall (1980s-1990s). Then, I focus on the recent globalization and neoliberal trends initiated with the 2004 Forum of Cultures operation (2000s-until 2015), and finally, the efforts of current Mayor Ada Colau to stop a regional re-structuring process and respond to the needs of city residents through a participatory and feminist governance model.

Architect Josep Maria Montaner (2003) explains the form of the city of Barcelona through the image of a square, with the four edges being: the Mediterranean sea, the Besòs River, the mountain of Collserola and the Llobregat River Delta. This geographical square of 10 km of length and approximately 100 km², has evolved from being a Roman grid to a medieval and later organic and radial city. It was not until the 18th century that the medieval city opened to a new urban layout, at the beginning of the industrial era. This era saw the creation of orthogonal neighborhoods such as La Barceloneta (1753) and the opening of new streets and squares in the interior of the old city after the confiscation of convents in the first part of the 1800s. All this process of urban renovation later reunified with the Eixample's Plan of Ildefons Cerdà, originated in 1859 and developed over a long period of almost a century. This

plan created a new order for the city, moving the city center, and annexing the surrounding municipalities (currently districts) (Montaner 2003). Thus, the city of Barcelona is the amalgamation of a medieval city and annexed old towns, now organized into 10 districts and 73 neighborhoods (Figure 15). The old city, currently the district of Ciutat Vella, was originally located within the Roman walls that were absorbed with the growth of the medieval city. The Eixample, developed under the Plan Cerdà; and the towns of the periphery which currently include the districts (Sants, Les Corts, Sarrià, Gràcia, Horta, Sant Andreu, Sant Martí) annexed to the city at the end of the 19th century (with the exception of Sarrià that was integrated in 1921). There is also the Nou Barris district developed in the second half of the 20th century (Borja 2010; Montaner 2003).

Figure 15: Map of the districts of Barcelona



Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, <https://www.barcelona.cat/ca/viure-a-bcn/fem-barri>, retrieved May 25, 2019

The urban planning of Barcelona has been historically characterized by the existence of a unique architecture and planning style and an active civil society engaged in urban planning (Borja 2010). As mentioned, the urban planning of the city in the last century can be explained through four historical periods: the Franco dictatorship, the transition to democracy with the

culmination of the 1992 Olympics, the neoliberal period when the *Barcelona model* was branded, and the current city council under grassroots activist Mayor Ada Colau that belongs to the current Spanish phenomenon known as the “City councils of change”²².

4.2.1. Barcelona under the Franco dictatorship

During much of the twentieth century, Spain was under the fascist rule of General Francisco Franco (1939-1975). It is perhaps less well-known that in the period just prior to the Civil War and dictatorship, during the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939), the politics in Spain and the city of Barcelona were highly progressive. Curiously, the progressive policies reached their peak during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) when Anarchists and Communists controlled key government ministries in the Catalan government (Brenan 1995) and the violence had not yet arrived in the city because much of the fighting was elsewhere in Spain. During this progressive period, the city implemented many innovative policies, particularly in education, family law, women’s emancipation, labour policies, and cooperative initiatives. Marriage was not a mandatory institution required to be recognized as a family. The collectivization of water and electricity were piloted under anarchist and socialist influences (Ackelsberg 2000). The progressive policies and initiatives implemented in this period halted when the Republican side lost the Civil War and the Franco-led troops invaded the city on January 26, 1939.

At the end of the Spanish Civil War, one million people lived in Barcelona. Barcelona’s urban planning under the dictatorship (1939-1975) was a dark period characterized by inaction in the 1940s-1950s and a chaotic growth from the end of the 1950s to the early 1970s. This period, under Franco’s Mayor Jose María de Porcioles, known as the *Porciolismo* (1957-1973), was characterized by a lack of reconstruction policies after the Franco bombings, urban informality, social segregation, housing overpopulation, the massive construction of social and subsidized housing estates and the negation of public space as social and cultural space. Collective activities were prohibited in squares and streets. My father recalled that

²² In the municipal elections of 2015, in several cities of Spain (Barcelona, Madrid, Cadiz, A Coruña, Valencia, Zaragoza, ...) progressive grassroots coalitions without previous representation in local governments gained the elections and have tried to change the old way of doing politics of previous political parties.

when he walked in the street he was afraid to stop to greet a neighbour or sit on a bench in case the police of the regime would interrogate him or threaten to take him to the police barracks. It was during this period that the regime also prohibited and persecuted Catalan language and culture²³.

In the 1950s to 1960s, Catalonia received around 400,000 immigrants from other parts of Spain, mostly Extremadura and Andalusia. Migrants fled extreme poverty and hunger in the rural south of Spain, searching for better economic opportunities in the industrialized Catalonia. Entire families, like my father's and my mothers' families, arrived to cities in the region eager to find jobs and start a new life. Half of these migrants settled in Barcelona, increasing Barcelona's area population to 2 million in the early 1970s. In the 1950s, with the celebration of the Eucharistic Congress in Barcelona, the Franco regime decided to give Barcelona a face-lift and started to build "social" housing and eliminate marginal neighbourhoods (although most marginal neighbourhoods were maintained until the 1970s)²⁴ as a response to the drastic housing shortage resulting from the migration wave (de Solà-Morales 2008).

Between the mid 1950s and the early 1970s, more than 900 hectares of social and subsidized housing emerged. This housing was developed in vertical forms, building massive high-rise housing estates (*polígonos de vivienda*) as well as lower buildings in popular and working-class neighbourhoods and peripheral cities. Most housing estates were poor quality, lacked essential infrastructures, facilities and social services, above all those that were developed by private developers. But the social housing built for the supporters of the Franco regime was of better quality in its interiors and access to public space. Many of these housing estates had between 15,000 and 20,000 housing units occupied by 60,000 to 80,000 inhabitants. These low-cost housing estates designed under 'polygonal' conception had the goal to

²³ The use of the Catalan language has been prohibited in different periods of the Spanish history, since the early 18th century with the invasion of Catalonia by the troops of Felipe V. The persecution of Catalan has been used as a tool to silence and erase the Catalan culture and identity, and to create a unified imperial and colonial Spanish identity through the use of a single language.

²⁴ Even before the Civil War, the Falange, the political party of Francisco Franco and its union, "Obra del Hogar Nacional Sindicalista" promised to develop housing policies that will allow the working class to access "happy, modern and hygienic homes". But in practice, the economic autarchy, social control and the lack of human and technical resources marked the social housing policies under the dictatorship (López Díaz 2002).

maximize the number of homes built per hectare and to minimize costs by using low quality materials. Housing estates covering between 20 and 40 hectares were common, and some such as Bellvitge reached 91.6 hectares. Densities varied greatly, ranging from 60 to 320 apartments per hectare (de Solà-Morales 2008). The development efforts focused on building housing complexes, but forgot public spaces. For years, the streets of these new neighbourhoods were unpaved, some of them functioned literally like creeks, and there were no public spaces, squares or facilities that supported life in these estates. “Whereas the Eixample was constructed over the course of a century, the mass housing estates were built all at once.” (de Solà-Morales 2008, 472)

The mass housing estates were articulated in numerous partial operations, with different projects and different designers, as a mosaic of scattered fragments, from the Llobregat to the Besòs River and from the seafront to the Collserola mountain (de Solà-Morales 2008). Of interest to this dissertation is the Bellvitge estate (1969), the neighbourhood where the research site of Bellvitge Hospital is located. It is the largest housing estate in the entire metropolitan area (Figure 16) with a population of more than 50,000 (de Solà-Morales 2008). In contrast, the Sant Ildefons estate (1960), one of the neighborhoods where some co-researchers live, is half the size of Bellvitge (Figure 17). Architect Manuel de Solà-Morales (2008) argues that Bellvitge estate was developed without any orientation criteria, without leaving enough distance between blocks, and without thinking about the road layout or the basic services for residents. However, more recent critiques of this neighbourhood argue that Bellvitge estate is of better quality than other estates in the region (Hormias and Bestraten 2015). One of the more significant values is that the project incorporated in the buildings, spaces for “production” (retail, services and office space): 1,140 units of 50m², representing 10% of the land. In addition, Bellvitge neighbourhood has more open and public space than other estates of the period. At the beginning these spaces were not urbanized nor asphalted, and there was a lack of public facilities and access to public transportation. However, in the 1980s a process of urban improvement began dignifying public spaces, squares, parks and avenues and increasing the health, administrative, cultural, sport, transportation and university facilities, which makes Bellvitge today a well-connected, equipped and endowed neighbourhood (Hormias and Bestraten 2015). However, this FPAR will argue that it is well-connected through public transportation with the city of Barcelona, but not with the rest of neighboring cities.

Figure 16: Image of Bellvitge's housing estates



Source: Author's picture

Figure 17: Image of Sant Ildefons' housing estates



Source: Archive of newspaper "La Premsa del Baix"

<https://www.lapremadelbaix.es/noticies/societat/2603-96cornella-conclou-el-pla-integral-de-sant-ildefons.html>,
retrieved May 25, 2019

By the end of the Franco dictatorship, in the mid 1970s, social mobilizations started to demand better infrastructures, facilities, public spaces and services in popular

neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood associations²⁵ under the umbrella of Barcelona's Federation of Neighbourhood Associations (FAVB for its Catalan acronym) opposed official urban planning and had a key role in demanding municipal elections in 1979 to restore democracy. These associations worked closely with architects and planners affiliated to the University to design alternative plans (*planes populares*) in some BMA neighbourhoods. This neighbourhood grassroots activism has been central to Barcelona's urban political and contemporary history, and has influenced local planning policies.

4.2.2. From the transition period to the Olympic Games (1977-1992):

After Franco's death in 1975, the new regime known as the Transition to Democracy began. From the beginning of the Transition in 1977 to the 1992 Olympic Games, the city saw intense transformations, particularly in the 1980s and early 1990s. These transformations were designed from a people-centered and redistributive urban planning model (Borja 2003). The general strategy was to complete the form of the city, and solve its deficiencies: build infrastructure in large empty lots that previously had other uses (e.g. train stations and lines, industrial buildings, etc.), create new public spaces, and improve the rail system (Montaner 2003). Even though some of the interventions were questioned (housing improvement was not included) and brought unexpected results, the transformations developed under a coherent strategy that sought territorial equilibrium through a redistributive approach, integrating partial interventions within an overall project for the whole city (Montaner and Muxí Martínez 2002).

The most important interventions were: (1) the regeneration of the Old City urban center with the goal of avoiding gentrification and maintaining social networks; (2) the inclusion of neighbours in urban transformation projects through a more participatory urban planning approach; (3) the creation of more than one hundred new public spaces and facilities distributed across the city to foster social and cultural integration; (4) the improvement of public transportation infrastructures (extension of the subway and better connections by train with the periphery), especially private transportation infrastructures with the construction of Barcelona's beltways (*rondas*); (5) the creation of new centralities outside the city center, four

²⁵ Neighborhood associations were authorized by the Franco regime in 1964, disguised under supposed parents associations, and later they will become the root of political movements in the 1970s

new Olympic areas and development of special plans in neighborhoods in the periphery that led, for example, to opening the beach front to the city neighbors; (Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000, 1332; Montaner and Muxí Martínez 2002). In fact, the four major interventions conducted for the 1992 Olympics were located in the 4 corners of Barcelona's "square": Montjuïc, Vila Olímpica, Vall d'Hebron and Diagonal (Montaner 2003)

These transformations resulted from a combination of social and political factors. First, the public leadership of Barcelona City Council in the design and management of urban transformation projects, under the Catalan Socialist Party PSC and the charismatic Mayor Pasqual Maragall (who would become President of the Generalitat de Catalunya in 2003). As geographers Dolores Garcia-Ramon and Abel Albet (2000) argue, few planning interventions of this calibre have developed through a public initiative. Second, the city of Barcelona managed such transformation, despite severe financial constraints, by developing "multiple, small-scale, and inexpensive interventions in public spaces in popular, mainly working-class neighbourhoods that enlarged the social support on which to build more ambitious projects" (Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000, 1333). At that time, private capital was not interested enough in these transformations because the prospective profits seemed not significant enough. Third, these interventions were also feasible due to the support of a strong civil society represented by the neighbourhood movement (FAVB among them) and active sections of intellectuals, artists and professionals (Borja 2003; Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000). Finally, the 1992 Olympics event was a galvanizing moment in making it easy for the city to involve public administrations at the regional and national level to fund projects.

The Barcelona Olympic experience might seem like a contrast with the displacement policies of marginalized communities that characterize the majority of urban interventions pre Olympics in other cities. But, As Dolores Garcia-Ramon states:

"... the Barcelona experience shows that planning and urban management, based on interventions in public spaces to introduce elements of urban quality and social dignity and to promote values of tolerance, solidarity, and a sense of belonging to the city and to the community, can be successful" (Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000, 1334).

The Olympic Games planning operations were also valued for their positive results because they closed the dark period marked by Franco's dictatorship and the process was free from corruption scandals and without running huge public debts (Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000).

In addition, all these transformations were brought under the general framework of the Metropolitan General Plan approved in 1976 (Borja 2003; Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000, 1332; Montaner and Muxí Martínez 2002). In the 1970s and 1980s, the city would lose population who moved to the periphery of the city and the metropolitan area (1970s and 1980s). The political transition period to democracy was a good opportunity to implement policies at the metropolitan level.

The quantity and quality of the urban planning and architecture projects developed in this period quickly gained worldwide recognition and admiration. The urban planning team that took leadership in Barcelona's transformation were propelled onto the world stage and positioned themselves in well-known planning and architectural institutions²⁶. The approach adopted in Barcelona during the preparation of the 1992 Olympic Games became known as the *Barcelona Model* (Montaner and Muxí Martínez 2002).

While there were clear elements of success in Barcelona's transformation, there are emerging and persistent critiques of the *Barcelona Model*. This model stands out for the adaptation of planning to the local reality, where the participation, territorial re-equilibrium, and quality of new spaces and buildings were considered exemplars of good planning (Montaner and Muxí Martínez 2002). However, many critics agree that this was not a model to export, due to the contextual, historical and political characteristics already summarized.

4.2.3. Period of 2000-2015

In the period following the Olympics, and with the arrival of the new millennium, the City, supported by establishment architects, saw the possibility of exporting the *Barcelona Model*. However, as Josep Maria Montaner and Zaida Muxí Martínez argue:

²⁶ For example, Joan Busquets was offered a full-time faculty position at Harvard's Graduate School of Design, Josep Anton Acebillo joined the faculty of architecture at the Università de la Svizzera in Switzerland and Jordi Borja became a consultant to Latin American cities eager to replicate Barcelona's success.

“... the evolution of the model after the Olympics, and above all in the first decade of the 2000s cannot be considered anymore the Barcelona model, but an imported and imposed model product of the globalization: invitation to architects of the star system to supposedly guarantee the architectural quality; fragmentation and segregation of projects that foster the arrival of international investment real estate operators and the urban scission; politically correct discourses of public space and sustainability that mask any questioning of the neoliberal model.” (Montaner and Muxí Martínez 2002)

The population of the city of Barcelona was 1.5 million in 2000, and increased to 1.6 million in 2005 due to foreign migration (15% of the total population, being South Americans the largest group of migrants, 40%, followed by EU migrants, 20%). Due to public policies implemented in the first decades of democracy, Barcelona had reduced its inequality gap; there was a mix of population in the different city districts, despite some contrasts between the richest (Sarrià-Sant Gervasi) and poorest districts (Nou Barris) (Borja 2010). However, inequalities increased in the 2000s period, a product of the neoliberal development model promoted by the city and the 2008-2013 economic crisis that hit the country, and from which the region is still slowly recovering.

The main planning project during this period was the Forum of Cultures 2004, an international event Mayor Joan Clos invented and linked to an urban neoliberal development strategy. Detractors argued that Barcelona stopped learning and reinventing itself from its own tradition and urban cultures and began to import North American urban planning models (Montaner and Muxí Martínez 2002). The urban planning interventions developed after 1997 followed globalization trends and responded to global neoliberal and capitalist interests: building new areas for private interests, incorporating shopping malls into new developments, bringing famous architects of the star system (predominantly male architects often seen as celebrities, idols and associated with avant-guardist novelty) to brand the city and favouring the interventions of large international real estate companies and the urban divide (Montaner 2003). Private real estate operations without any tradition in the city were justified: gated residential neighborhoods such as Diagonal Mar, shopping malls, and infrastructures of fast mobility that benefited particularly the upper class (highways, the high speed train and new

airport) (Montaner 2003). Some argue that this operation led the city to become “a chic city for affluent elites” (Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000, 1333).

The socialist government (more social democrats than real socialists) supported the imported neoliberal models of urban planning from 1997 to 2015 under Mayor Joan Clos (later Executive Director of UN Habitat 2010-2017) and Jordi Hereu, and later by conservative nationalist party CiU (Convergència i Unió) under Mayor Xavier Trias (the Mayor of the elites). Despite being two different political parties, there was continuity in their urban planning policies because they both have embraced neoliberal logics. In a recent publication, Valdivia and I argue:

“They had very similar approaches to urban policies in their political programs, responding to the pressures of lobbies such as the hotel guild and the Port public-private consortium, and ignored the needs of community residents, above all in the city center neighbourhoods.”
(Valdivia and Ortiz Escalante 2018)

For example, it was during this period, in 2006 and under Mayor Joan Clos (PSC), that the municipal government approved a city bylaw “The Civic Ordinance” (*Ordenança del Civisme*), the first in the country that punished sex workers and their clients with administrative fines in the public space. In 2012, Mayor Trias (CiU) confirmed the commitment to persecute this practice in the city. This ordinance increased the precariousness of sex workers, above all migrant sex workers, whose use of the public space has been restricted by constant police persecution.

The urban planning policies of these governments fostered gentrification and *touristification* dynamics in the city. During this period, central parts of the city began catering more and more to visitors and tourists, gaining elements that resembled a theme park. This started a severe process of *touristification*: increasing the number of permits to build new hotels, opening the door to tourist flats licenses, expanding the port for the arrival of cruises²⁷ and mass tourism, converting the local commercial model to an open street-level shopping mall

²⁷ The port is jurisdiction of the Spanish government, but the Barcelona and Catalan government of the time did not oppose this expansion.

and displacing residents who moved to other parts of the city. Since 2005, the number of tourists who visit the city has increased 78% from 4.2 million tourists in 2005 to 7.5 million registered in 2017²⁸.

During this period, most municipal investments were made in Barcelona's Northwest neighbourhoods where wealthy neighbourhoods are located, and cut investment and improvement plans in the low-income neighbourhoods of the city's Northeast (with high concentration of non-EU migrant population), aggravating the situation in these areas that were deeply affected by the economic crisis. Barcelona has become the place where tourists can accomplish the "Spanish dream" and do in the street what they are not allowed in their home countries: drink alcohol in public, or walk the streets in a swimsuit or almost naked. These periods saw:

"...open doors without conditions to international real estate investment funds and *touristification* lobbies (hotel guilds, vacation rental platforms, AirBnB), and multinational retail chains, all of which damaged the social fabric of neighborhoods by displacing local long-time residents and local retail stores, increasing housing and job insecurity and exploitation, fracturing people's everyday life, and eliminating neighborhood physical support of care and mutual support networks" (Valdivia and Ortiz Escalante 2018)

The economic crisis of 2008 was a turning point because it exacerbated the city's problems of inequality and reliance on the tourism economy. These problems specifically relate to the housing and mortgage crisis. However, local politicians and the private sector used the crisis to advance a corporate city model of development that privileged tourism and a 'smart city' strategy as a response to the economic recession. Above all, under CiU, many public services and facilities were privatized, creating the worst period for local residents, especially the poor and marginalized sectors²⁹. The city government embraced a 'smart city' model for urban development under the claim of connecting people in the city. However, it focused on

²⁸ Department of Statistic. City of Barcelona

<http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/economia/teoh/evo/t21.htm>, retrieved May 25, 2019

²⁹ The regional government of Catalonia, ruled also by the same political party, supported these privatizations and social services cuts that were conducted across the region.

the control and surveillance of people through CCTV, and other tracking technologies that benefited smart city private sector business (Valdivia and Ortiz Escalante 2018). Under this period, the city also implemented a model of “preventive” urban planning, using CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) criteria, and focused on reducing the quality of public spaces, eliminating benches and any possibility of encounter, stay, rest and socialization in central streets and squares. These policies reduced the quality of neighbors’ life; the city center was branded for mass tourism, and the popular neighborhoods of the periphery were forgotten and left without any public investment for four years.

In response to the economic recession and social crisis, in the Spring of 2011, people took to the streets, and the *Indignados* movement occupied public spaces and squares of major cities throughout the country, particularly Madrid and Barcelona.³⁰ Different social movements demanded reforms in the political system to address the adverse impacts of the privatization of housing, health, education, and social services. Among these movements, the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* - PAH³¹ (Platform of People Affected by Mortgage Loans) created in February 2009, gained popularity and visibility. The president of the PAH at that time, Ada Colau, gained popularity and decided to lead a grassroots-supported candidacy for Mayor in Barcelona’s 2015 municipal elections.

4.2.4. Barcelona under Mayor Ada Colau (2015 to the present)

With far less resources than traditional establishment political parties and breaking all expectations, Ada Colau and her candidacy *Barcelona En Comú* (Barcelona in Common) won the municipal elections in May 2015. As the first woman mayor in the history of Barcelona, in the last four years, Mayor Colau’s government has promoted social and political changes the city has never seen before.

³⁰ This movement was later called the “Occupy movement” in North America, but activism in Spain pre-dated activism in North-America. Activism in Spain was inspired by the Spring Revolution in the Middle East.

³¹ The PAH is a grassroots organization comprised of those affected by foreclosures and evictions that take direct action to stop evictions and campaigns for housing rights. Since their creation, they have stopped more than 1,600 evictions, rehoused 2,500 people, and renegotiated hundreds of mortgage payments.

<http://afectadosporlahipoteca.com/category/propuestas-pah/stop-desahucios/> retrieved May 25, 2019

A self-declared feminist, and openly bisexual, Mayor Ada Colau has aimed to reverse the neoliberal strategies that were ruling the city: touristification³², gentrification, increasing poverty and social inequalities, and in general, neoliberal private initiatives that historically concentrated power and resources in few hands in the city. In contrast, her government's policies have focused on the "common good" and on increasing transparency and the mechanisms of neighbours' participation, focusing on returning the city to its residents. The city has promoted progressive policies in terms of housing, urban planning, mobility, social and environmental justice and city management. Currently the city government is working on:

- The implementation of the **Gender Justice Plan** that incorporates an intersectional feminist perspective in all municipal policies including urban planning, mobility and safety.
- A **Tourism Plan** that for the first time in the history of the city aims to manage tourism in a sustainable way and has limited tourist apartment licensing and stopped the construction of new hotels in the city.
- A **Mobility Plan** that aims to reduce car use and pollution for motor vehicles, and promote active and sustainable modes of transport, for example, through the construction of 150 km of bike paths, and the creation of two Superilles (pedestrian superblocks).
- A **plan to re-municipalize utilities** by creating its own municipal electricity company and prioritizing the re-municipalization of the water company currently managed by the Suez company group.
- A **Housing Plan** to increase social housing, affordability and diversify the type of tenancies by promoting cooperative housing. Under this plan, the city council has recently approved a policy that mandates new housing constructions to reserve 30% of units to social housing;

³² In 2017, a city survey on municipal services revealed that Barcelona residents' first preoccupation was the increasing affluence of tourists in the city and their impact on housing, public space and transportation use.

http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/premsa/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/r17008_ESM_Evoluci%C3%B3_Taules.pdf, retrieved May 25, 2019

- The **expansion of public services** with the creation of 10 new municipal daycares, 13 primary and secondary public schools, and the opening of a municipal funeral service company.

All this is occurring in a context where the city is trying to promote an alternative economic model, challenging the predatory neoliberal system that has ruled the city in previous decades, and promoting and supporting the social and solidarity economy of the city, which currently represents 7% of Barcelona's GDP and more than 4,700 economic initiatives.

Grassroots social movements are vigilant and continue pressuring the current government, even though Ada Colau's party has been ruling as a minority government and constantly receiving criticisms by a privileged and predominantly white heterosexist opposition. One major criticism is that the current government has not abolished the "Civic Ordinance" that was approved in 2006 and sex workers collectives have continued reporting persecution by the local police. Being part of one of the solidarity economic initiatives, Col·lectiu Punt 6 is collaborating with the city in developing urban planning processes from a feminist perspective. Through the collective, I have been able to learn from the inside how the city hall works. Although as an organization, we agree that the changes the current government is implementing are progressive in terms of social justice, we take a critical position towards the implementation of some policies. But at the same time, we recognize that most government initiatives are constantly battling against homogenous and powerful capitalist and patriarchal structures. The elites in the city, linked to the hotel guild, Catalan banks, insurance companies, real estate and other powerful multinational corporations, have seen their power jeopardized and they have constantly campaigned against Ada Colau's government.

There will be municipal elections again in May 2019, and both fascist groups and conservative national parties are choosing populist and media personalities as candidates for the municipal elections. The candidacy that would represent the biggest loss for the city's progressive gains is the nearly-fascist anti-Catalan political party *Ciutadans*. They have chosen Manuel Valls, former Prime Minister of France, as their candidate for Mayor. Future election results will definitely have serious consequences for the city. A continuity of Ada Colau's government or a coalition between her candidacy and other progressive parties can lead to consolidation of the social programs the city has started to implement. In contrast, the

potential victory of a fascist candidate can take the city back to the past, which is deeply disturbing for those who believe in the fundamentals of social justice, and in particular for women, LGBTQ2+ and migrants due to their misogynist, racist and homophobic agenda³³.

4.3 The Barcelona Metropolitan Area (BMA)

In contrast with the long history of the city of Barcelona, the BMA only has 45 years of history. As previously mentioned, the Metropolitan Corporation was created in 1974 as the supra-municipal entity in charge to administrate the 26 municipalities that were part of the Metropolitan Municipal Entity of Barcelona³⁴. In its beginning, the metropolitan corporation had the responsibility to manage and develop the Metropolitan Plan approved in 1976. The political transition period to democracy was a good start to implement local and integral policies at the metropolitan level.

Since then, there had been no metropolitan government structure. There were only different agencies that managed and regulated water, solid waste, transportation, and other metropolitan infrastructures. The nationalist conservative Government of Catalonia under CiU's President Jordi Pujol, who stayed in power for 25 years after the restoration of democracy, opposed efforts to create a metropolitan entity or government. The demand to create a metropolitan government came from progressive sectors that knew that a metropolitan institution would benefit neighborhoods and cities in the periphery, composed mostly of migrants and working class, and promote social mix and wealth redistribution. This is why Pujol's government, whose interests aligned with the bourgeois and Catalan elites,

³³ As I write the final parts of this dissertation, right-wing party PP and fascist party Ciudadanos have built a coalition in Andalusia to control the regional Parliament, with the support of VOX (a Nazi, fascist, racist, misogynist homophobic party, followers of KKK). VOX gave their essential support for the creation of this government in exchange of changing the application of the Spanish Law of Prevention of Violence Against Women, that they consider discriminatory against men. They openly want to persecute the "gender ideology" and the feminist movement. The rise of VOX is of major concern in Spain and in Europe, because until now, Spain had not had an extreme right and openly racist party. Spain is no longer the European exception in this regard.

³⁴ The 26 municipalities were: Badalona, Barcelona, Cerdanyola del Vallès, Castelldefels, Cornellà de Llobregat, Esplugues de Llobregat, Gavà, L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Molins de Rei, Montcada i Reixac, Montgat, Paltejà, El Papiol, El Prat de Llobregat, Ripollet, Sant Adrià de Besòs, Sant Boi de Llobregat, Sant Climent de Llobregat, Sant Cugat del Vallès, Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Sant Joan Despí, Sant Just Desvern, Santa Coloma de Cervelló, Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Sant Vicenç dels Horts, Tiana i Viladecans.

was not interested in a metropolitan government structure. As a consequence, the Government of Catalonia (*Generalitat de Catalunya*) dissolved the Metropolitan Corporation in 1987, and since then until 2011, there has not been any entity, planning institution or government body that effectively managed the territory as a whole (Borja 2010).

Barcelona's geographer Jordi Borja had tirelessly argued that the metropolitan city is a multi-municipal city that deserves to have its own government structure (through direct or indirect election) to share common forms among municipalities to build the metropolitan city in the service of people. He argues that the BMA can follow models that already exist in other metropolitan areas of the world, such as the Greater London Council, Montreal and Toronto. For him, not having this structure represents a democratic deficit that contributes to the lack of transparency and redistribution (Borja 2010).

Just a few years ago, in 2011, after 8 years of a progressive three-party coalition that ruled the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, the BMA was constituted as a distinct public administration unit (Law 31/2010 approved by the Catalan Parliament on July 21, 2011). Before then, three metropolitan entities composed the BMA: the BMA Commonwealth of Municipalities, the Environmental Entity and the Transportation Metropolitan Entity. The establishment of this metropolitan administration intensifies the level of institutionalization and creates a metropolitan government with its own competencies: transportation and mobility, water management, and environmental and waste management. In addition, this new administration strengthens the government's urban and regional planning competences.

Under the current context of progressive municipalism in the metropolitan area, there are debates to expand the competences of the BMA and expand its capacity to regulate housing policies. In particular, the city of Barcelona and the BMA are advocating to create a public-private housing agency (*Metròpolis Habitatge*- Housing Metropolis) with the goal to build more affordable rental housing (Antón-Alonso and Porcel 2017).

4.4 Transportation planning in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area

This might be surprising for audiences of more car-dependent societies, but, the history of Barcelona's mobility infrastructures reflects that pedestrian mobility has little importance in the different historic periods of the region. Today, car and motorcycle infrastructure still

occupies 70% of Barcelona's public space, even though this mode represents only 28,5% of metropolitan mobility and it is predominantly used by men (EMEF 2016). The car became the hegemonic transportation by the 1960s, due to quality of life improvement, the construction of the access highways between 1958 and 1978, and the adoption of the American model linked to construction policies that promoted private transportation (de Solà-Morales 2008; Miralles-Guasch 1998).

According to transportation geographer, Carme Miralles-Guasch, the street as the space for pedestrians was designed in two historic periods. The first came in the reform of the old city when it became necessary to redo the medieval road layout in the 18th century; the second, with the expansion of the Eixample in the 19th century when streets were intended to include different transportation modes: from the train to pedestrians. However, between the mid 19th century and the end of the 20th century, transportation policies ignored pedestrians as part of the mobility system. It was not until the 1980s that public space was reconsidered as part of a global strategy to revitalize the central space of the city. Throughout the 20th century, private motorized transportation was consolidated in the city, with the exception of the historic old city where other modes of transportation were promoted (e.g., walking, cycling and public transportation) (Miralles-Guasch 1998).

Despite car dependency, collective transportation infrastructures were already present in the city since the 19th century. In its origins, from 1860 to 1940, transportation was privately managed. First, horse-drawn trams (1872), followed by steam-operated trams (1877) and electric trams (early 1900s) constituted the main collective mode of transportation in the city. The first suburban rail service began in 1863, connecting the town of Sarrià with the city center. Two funicular lines, Tibidabo and Vallvidrera, opened in the early 1900s, the second one connecting the Collserola mountain with the Sarrià suburban train line, and one in 1928 connecting the mountain of Montjuïc with the town of Sants. The first metro line opened in 1924 running from Lesseps in the town of Gràcia to the center of the city, Plaça Catalunya. Buses were introduced in 1906. In its beginning, though, trams dominated collective transportation services until the 1950s.

The metro system was initiated under President Josep Puig-i-Cadafalch, an architect and planner turned politician and President of Catalonia from 1917 to 1924. In the 1920s, the city

had the vision to begin to create a subway system like the larger cities of Europe. Puig-i-Cadafalch was later forced into exile because of his political ideas.

During the construction of the public transportation system, private companies prioritized the center-periphery relationship, privileging the use of private motorized transportation by the bourgeois. This is clear in the first two funicular lines and the first metro line. In consequence, the expansion of collective transportation followed this initial dynamic, building a radial network.

After the Spanish Civil War, the use of private motor vehicles was privileged in the city and public transportation was marginalized. In the 1950s, public transportation stopped generating profits to the private companies and in 1952, the state felt obliged to take over the public transport system, but the Franco regime did not have interest in improving public transportation infrastructures. A harsh press campaign against the tram company and its poor service, aggravated by the electrical restrictions of the time, provoked users' discontent. This negative atmosphere experienced its worst moment in 1950 with the increase in transportation fees. This detonated a strong popular protest that boycotted the trams in 1951. This situation provoked the beginning of the municipalisation of urban transportation, a process that lasted from 1952 to 1958 with the direct control of public transportation by Barcelona's City Council (Fundació TMB 2017). It was not until 1987 that the Metropolitan Transportation Entity started to manage public transportation, followed in 2011 by the Barcelona Metropolitan Area agency (Fundació TMB 2017).

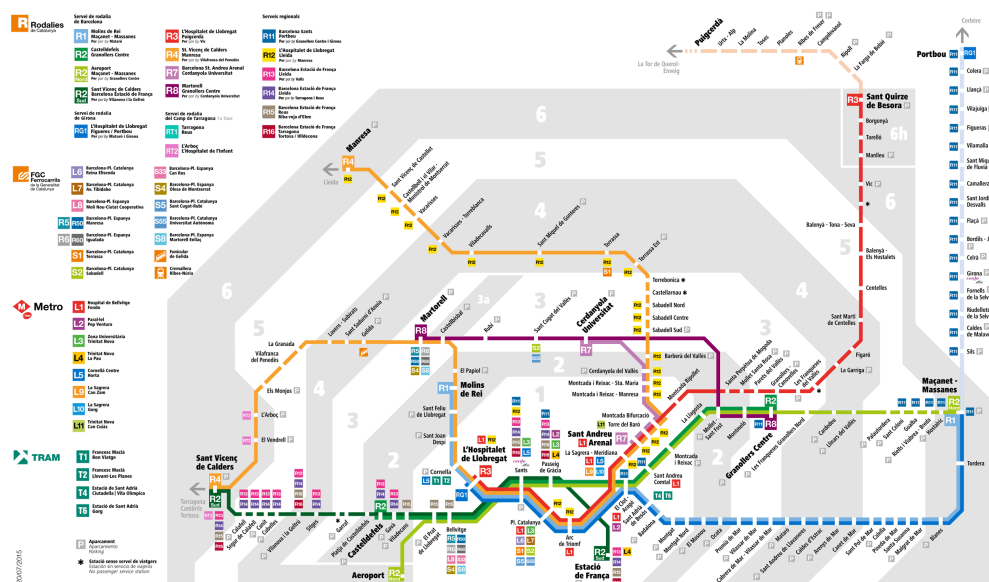
Under Franco's dictatorship, the regime focused on improving public infrastructures for private transportation and disregarded public transportation. It is during this period that the government dismantled the network of trams that had worked for more than 100 years. This happened at the same time that the first Spanish affordable car, SEAT 600, began to be manufactured in 1957. The metro was promoted rather than the tram or the bus, without reviewing the radial network that continued abandoning service provision to the peripheries of the city (Miralles-Guasch 1998).

In the 1960s, the metropolis had exceeded the municipality of Barcelona beyond the Collserola mountains and the two rivers. And the metropolitan transportation system needed to be more coordinated with the regional rail system: Renfe, the Spanish managed

commuting rail system, and FGC, the Catalan managed commuting rail system. However, the effort to coordinate the city's transportation (metro) with the regional system also followed a radial network, since it used the railway infrastructures built by private agents in the second part of the 19th century to connect Catalan industrial cities with the port of Barcelona (Miralles-Guasch 1998). By 1927, most of the railway tracks were laid out, with their terminus at Sants station in Barcelona. This railway layout, established according to the industry specifications, conditioned metropolitan residential development, and began to connect the city with the periphery, such as L'Hospitalet, Cornellà, Sant Joan Despí, Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Molins de Rei. Thus, the course of the railway and the existence of small stations in places of secondary geographical importance was an important factor in the development of suburban neighbourhoods, towns and cities around Barcelona, a fragmented development that lacked general urban structure (de Solà-Morales 2008).

Still today, the regional and metropolitan railway system has a radial structure and this structure has not been modified. However, the railway system continues having a key role in the organization of urban and metropolitan mobility: reinforcing centrality, connecting the different peripheries with the centre of the city, as an alternative to private transportation, and avoiding the environmental degradation of the centre of the city (Miralles-Guasch 1998).

Figure 18: Map of rail systems: Renfe and FGC



Source: Renfe (Commuter rail system) <https://www.redtransporte.com/barcelona/cercanias-renfe/plano.pdf>.

retrieved May 25, 2019

The new metro and bus lines opened in the last decades have tried to balance this radial structure and improved the connections among the peripheral neighborhoods and cities. Many connections within the metropolitan area still pass through Barcelona's city center, which makes the periphery well connected with the center but it increases commute time when people commute between cities of the periphery. As we will see in the following chapters, this layout has a negative impact for women nightshift workers, who face longer and unsafe commutes.

In the 1990s, public transportation infrastructure plans did not address the growing public investment needs. With the restitution of democracy and the Olympics urban planning strategy, the city and the region missed the opportunity to invest and improve public transportation infrastructures. Instead, private transportation had priority, with the construction of Barcelona's beltways, road junctions, new highways and car facilities. Although these were also necessary, they mainly benefited private motor vehicle owners as these were built without comparable investments in public transportation (Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000; Montaner 2003).

In the 2000s, the housing boom led to building new residential areas outside the first ring of the metropolitan area. This context promoted the creation of low-density residential suburbs linked to higher investment in motorized infrastructures. According to geographer Jordi Borja (2003), this era saw "10 times more investment in motorways infrastructures than on metro and commuter train and 20 times more kilometers in motorways than in public transportation infrastructures."

This lack of investment in public transportation continued in the urban operation of the Forum 2004. In this period, larger infrastructures, linked to meeting the needs of a particular economic class, were developed: a new airport terminal, the arrival of the high-speed train AVE, and the increase of private vehicle parking areas (Montaner and Muxí Martínez 2002).

The 2000s, despite the unequal investment supporting private transportation infrastructures, was the decade that saw major improvement in the public transportation network. The creation of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority in 1997 and the transportation policies promoted by the three-party progressive coalition that ruled the Generalitat de Catalunya from 2003 to 2010 helped to improve public transportation infrastructures. On one hand, new

metro lines were created, connecting marginalized neighborhoods of Barcelona and the peripheral cities; as well as the construction of two new tram lines in 2004 and 2005. One line connected the north of Barcelona's Diagonal Ave with the Baix Llobregat county, and the second connected the south of Barcelona's Diagonal Ave with the Barcelonès Nord county on the other side of Besòs river.

It is also in this period that the Generalitat of Catalunya and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority created the Everyday Mobility Inquiry questionnaire (hereafter, EMQ06). In Catalonia, mobility patterns have been studied since the 1970s through the Catalan census. However, the census only recorded the first outbound journey of the day to work or place of study (Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016). In 2006, for the first time, a wide-ranging survey to gather data on the mobility of the Catalan population during workdays and weekends was conducted. This questionnaire was designed by geographer Carme Miralles and it is the first that analysed mobility patterns by sex, age, mode of transportation, type of journey and type of urban-rural area, among other variables (Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016) and that collected disaggregated data for the Catalan region. Since then, the region has gathered this type of data annually.

It is through this questionnaire that we know that the main mode of mobility of residents in the BMA is walking (39.7%), followed by public transportation (29.3%) and private motorized vehicle (28.5%); biking represents only 2.3% (EMEF 2017). As mentioned in Chapter 2, this data also talks about women's sustainable mobility, since they mostly move by foot and using public transportation, while men still rely mostly on private vehicle mobility³⁵. The survey also gathers information about public transportation demand. The metro transit gathers the most annual metropolitan trips (381.5 million trips), followed by the bus system (356.1 million trips), the commuter rail system Renfe (108,2 million trips) and the FGC train system (81,4 million trips) (EMEF 2017).

³⁵ The survey collects information about transportation use on the 24 hours cycle. However, previous studies have not analyzed the night mobility data. And it was not the purpose of this FPAR to exploit this large data set.

Finally, it is necessary to mention the current situation in terms of public transportation infrastructures. At the city level, Ada Colau's government has committed to improve public transportation and pedestrian infrastructures. The previous government began to implement a new orthogonal network of buses in Barcelona to improve the North-South and West-East connections (Figure 19). However, the current government has shown its commitment to improve and promote sustainable transportation infrastructures. The city has targets to reduce traffic, largely driving the high levels of air pollution in the metropolitan area, especially NO₂ (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2018). The BMA currently faces dangerous levels of air pollution, considered the main environmental risk for inhabitants that has provoked 659 premature deaths and 1135 illness (preterm birth, stroke, hypertension, low birth weight and respiratory problems). Air quality measurements frequently do not comply with EU and WHO recommended levels (Consorci Sanitari de Barcelona 2017). Planners in Barcelona have pointed to the dangerous concentrations of particulate matter and poor air quality as a reason to implement policies pertaining to public transportation and street pacification. Examples of these policies are the improvement of bike network and increase on numbers of bike paths. Another example is the project to connect the two segments of the trams in the north part of Diagonal and the other in the south part (which the entire opposition unfortunately rejected). Other examples include the calming of transit through the creation of the Superilles (Superblocks) in different districts of the city, and the creation of an economic incentive to cover three years of public transportation for those BMA residents that unregister their car, among other initiatives.

[illegible]

<https://www.tmb.cat/ca/sobre-tmb/millores-xarxa-transport/nova-xarxa-bus/mapa>, retrieved May 25, 2019

In the 1990s and 2000s, new legislation and policies started to include a gender perspective³⁶ in urban planning at the Catalan and Spanish level: the Catalan Law for Neighborhood Improvement (*Llei 2/2004 de millora de barris, àrees urbanes i viles*), the Spanish Equity Law (*Ley de Igualdad 3/2007*), the Spanish Land Law (*Ley del Suelo 2/2008*), modifications of the Catalan Urban Planning Law (*Text refós de la Llei d'Urbanisme 3/2012*) and the Catalan

119

Equality Law (*Llei Catalana 17/2015 d'igualtat efectiva entre dones i homes*) (see Appendix 2).

This new political framework was pushed forward by international gender mainstreaming policies initiated with UN Women Conference in Beijing in 1995. In the same year, at the European level, the European Charter for Women in the City was drafted. This charter advocated a gender perspective and women's participation in 5 areas: urban planning and development, mobility, safety, housing and political decision making. This Charter was later ratified at the same time women signed the Charter of Women's Right to the City of 2004 at the International Forum of Women hosted in Barcelona in 2004. The inspiration behind the ratification were examples of the city of Vienna with a Gender Urban Planning Office created in 1998, and Montreal's Femmes et Ville program focused on improving women's safety and everyday life through urban planning. Other inspiring projects in the implementation of women-centered and gender-inclusive urban planning policies was the work of the *Red Mujer y Habitat de América Latina* (Women and Habitat Latin American network) to improve women's safety in Latin American cities.

In the specific context of Catalonia, architect Anna Bofill, historian Isabel Segura and Rosa Maria Dumenjó from the Maria Aurèlia Capmany Foundation, initiated in 1996 the project *Women and the city* with funds of the European Commission. The goal of this project was to address women's needs and desires through their participation in urban planning³⁷. As a project result, the coordinators published *El llibre blanc. Les dones i la Ciutat (year 1996)* (The White Book. Women and the City), which compiled policy recommendations to transform Catalan cities. In addition, the project fostered a national and transnational network of advocates on gender issues and the city. Different institutions participated in this network: the cities of Barcelona, Lleida, Reus, Donosti, Arbeit und Leben de Sachsen Anhalt; the province of Barcelona, the county of Garraf, the Catalan Institute of Woman, the Women Council of the Community of Madrid, the VES Emancipatie Bureau Zuid-Holland, the network of Quartiers en Crise, and the network of Educational Cities.

³⁷ The category of women was understood as diverse women, and the project included activities with women of different territories (rural, urban, suburban, etc.), ages and migration histories.

This project was a milestone in the history of Catalan feminist urban planning, and influenced the policies and legislation that began in the early 2000s. In particular, in 2004, the regional Catalan government enacted the Law of Neighborhood Improvements. The law was approved in a period when Catalonia had a progressive coalition of three parties that unseated the conservative government that had been in power for 25 years. This government advanced gender equity policies in many areas, and one of them was urban and regional planning. The Catalan Neighborhood Improvement legislation was the first in Spain that included a gender perspective in urban planning. The law regulated the projects of rehabilitation that were co-funded 50% by the Generalitat de Catalunya and 50% by each respective city. In order for neighborhoods to receive matching funds, the law establishes social, economic and physical criteria to guide implementation of the rehabilitation projects in old centers, housing estates and marginal suburbs. In particular, it established eight criteria, of which criteria number 6 required gender equity in the use of urban space and facilities. It is through this legislation that several municipalities began to implement a gender perspective in urban planning. Some examples were building facilities for women's needs (women's centers), conduct mobility assessments from a gender perspective, or urban planning assessment processes with the active participation of women.

In this context, in 2005, a small collective of feminist architects and planners of different origins, led by Zaida Muxí Martínez, started to work under the name of *Col·lectiu Punt 6*, due to the increasing demands that municipalities had to learn how to apply an intersectional feminist perspective in planning. Point 6 of the neighborhood law inspired the name of the collective, *Punt 6- Point 6*. I joined this women's collective in 2009.

The Neighborhood Improvement legislation was a precedent for other legislation that started to mandate the inclusion of a gender perspective in urban planning. The Catalan Law of Urban Planning of 2005 (*Text refós de la Llei d'Urbanisme Decret Legislatiu 1/2005 de la Llei dels Plans d'Ordenació Urbanística Municipal*) requires that Municipal Urban Plans evaluate the gender related impacts of urban planning proposals. The law modified in 2012 stipulated that the Catalan Department of Territorial Policies and Public Works include a gender perspective to guarantee the equal representation of women and men in the collegiate urban planning agencies.

A year after the approval of this law, the government of the province of Barcelona in coordination with the Catalan Institute of Women, the Catalan College of Architects and the Superior School of Architecture of Barcelona, organized the first Conference of Gender and Urban Planning. Experts on this area, such as Lisa Horelli, Anne Michaud, Maria Ángeles Durán, Daphne Spain, Anna Bofill, were invited to present the different experiences of implementing a gender perspective in housing, safety, urban planning, mobility, architecture, etc. The conference concluded with the commitment of the different institutions involved to integrate a gender perspective in urban planning policies. The Generalitat de Catalunya incorporated this objective in the Neighborhood law and in a Mobility Decree. The government of the province of Barcelona committed to incorporating this perspective in projects that supported local governments and related to facilities, public spaces and neighborhood improvement. The Catalan College of Architects also committed to work with the rest of organizing members in creating an Observatory of Urban Planning and Gender.

The Spanish Equality Law of 2007 and the Spanish Land Legislation of 2008, and the recent Catalan Equality Law of 2015 incorporated a gender perspective in urban planning. The Catalan Equality law mandates that urban planning, housing, mobility and sustainability policies include a gender perspective in all the phases of planning, from design to evaluation, through the participation of women and women's organizations. In order to accomplish these measures, the public administration has to guarantee the following (1) access to capacity building of political and technical personnel on gender issues; (2) disaggregation of quantitative data by gender; (3) elaboration of gender impact assessments and the definition of corrective measures; (4) application of urban planning policies to create compact cities with mixed uses and proximity to respond to people's everyday life; (5) creation of programs to facilitate women's access to housing; and (6) mobility policies that give priority to everyday life activities, particularly those related to the domestic and care work.

In sum, since the 1990s, many frameworks have promoted the inclusion of a gender perspective in urban planning³⁸. However, its application in practise, as often happens, has

³⁸ The application of a gender perspective in urban planning might vary depending of the municipality, the staff or the consultancy group involved. From the view of Col·lectiu Punt 6, a feminist urban planning proposes a change of priorities in the current society, placing people's everyday lives at the center of decisions to transform the inequalities that the neoliberal, capitalist and patriarchal city has

not been implemented as fast as the legislation mandates. At the political and technical level in municipalities, and at the education level, in urban planning schools, there is still resistance to implementing this perspective. In contrast, the grassroots feminist movement has pushed this issue since the 1990s, with higher intensity in the last four years (2014 to present), above all, with the support of the progressive municipal environment that exists in the cities governed by the “City Councils of Change”. Under this context, the interest in applying feminist urban planning has increased in these cities. For example, Madrid has aimed to become the “City of Care” and in Barcelona, Mayor Ada Colau declared the government would work towards a Feminist City. It is in this context that, in March 2017, Barcelona City Council approved a Government Measure (the equivalent to a municipal bylaw) to implement an intersectional gender perspective in all urban planning policies, processes and projects. Then in May 2017, the city passed a Government Measure for the Democratization of Care, that acknowledges care work as an essential part of the socioeconomic life and promotes social co-responsibility of care to end the sexual labor division that has historically imposed this unpaid work on women. These new municipal policies have created opportunities to make visible the issues women nightshift workers face and to include the everynight life in the design of urban planning strategies, as I discuss in Chapter 7.

Despite efforts in raising awareness of the importance of a gender perspective and legislation that mandates its application, radical societal changes take decades. Working at Col·lectiu Punt 6, I have seen a qualitative and quantitative change. In the beginning, skeptics continually questioned and challenged our work; and it continues to face challenges.

reproduced. Feminist urban planning places people’s lives at the center of urban planning decisions, acknowledging people’s diversity and how gender roles have direct impact in the use and right of the city. Putting the everyday life of people at the center means designing cities that privilege and respond to care, domestic and reproductive unpaid work, which is still mostly carried out by women, and claiming that this work should be a social and public responsibility and not exclusively a women’s job. Feminist urban planning works for the transformation of places that give physical support to the development of domestic, care, and community activities. And to guarantee women’s full right to the city, which has been historically limited by gender based violence, safety and perceptions of fear. Feminism makes also a methodological contribution applying qualitative and interdisciplinary methods from an intersectional gender perspective and through community participation. This provides balance to the traditional quantitative analysis; to consider the vital and personal experience in research; to include diverse women’s experiences for their extended knowledge about everyday environments and to apply an intersectional perspective that sheds light on the needs and aspirations of people not only by gender, but also by age, origin, capacities and capabilities, type of household, place of residence, income, among others.

However, there is more interest among planners and architects, both at the government institutional level and those working with organizations and private firms. Feminist planning has been legitimized by the two women Mayors of Spain's two largest cities (Madrid and Barcelona), and the ideas have taken off and been adopted by other medium and mid-sized urban areas in Spain. Our work and the requests we have received have increased exponentially in the last three years and we receive weekly requests from people who want training in planning from a feminist perspective.

4.6 Municipal and regional planning approaches to nightlife and intersectional gender issues

In applying a feminist perspective in urban planning, we find a legal framework that supports it, despite the lack of its implementation. However, there is no specific mention of night-time planning policies in local and metropolitan plans, policies or legislation. Therefore, the night seems even more invisible, at least in formal planning terms.

Susana, one of Bellvitge Hospital's night workers, said she had the feeling that planners might think that streets close at night. Interviews with city and regional planners lead to the conclusion that most urban planners seem to plan the city as if the streets close after dark, since they have not included nightlife issues related to transportation, urban design or safety issues. At least, there is not a conscious strategy to planning the territory after dark beyond lighting the streets, and even less with an intersectional gender perspective in mind.

The last section of this chapter analyses interviews conducted with city and regional planners (3 women and 4 men) between December 2016 and March 2017. These interviews were not part of this FPAR and were planned as part of the dissertation to examine whether the advances in legislation regarding gender inclusive planning were implemented in some of the cities where women nightshift workers live. They also aimed to obtain primary information about how municipal planners approach nightlife. I introduce those interviews here to illustrate the policy context of how the absence of an intersectional gender perspective motivated this research. Of all the BMA cities contacted, the people who agreed to an interview were: the head of prospective planning and a long-term urban planner of Barcelona Urban Planning Department; and the urban planning head and the director of mobility at the city of El Prat de Llobregat, where the airport is located. I also interviewed the head of mobility planning and a transportation engineer at the Barcelona Metropolitan Area agency. I tried

several times to interview someone from the planning department at the city of L'Hospitalet, the second largest city of the BMA and the city of Bellvitge Hospital, the place of work of 10 co-researchers and the residence of 5. However, the planner seemed not interested and sent me to talk with the director of the Gender Equity Department instead.³⁹

These interviews explored the awareness, inclusion and level of implementation of an intersectional gender perspective in planning and nightlife policies. The different institutions showed different levels of awareness and implementation.

4.6.1. L'Hospitalet de Llobregat

The Gender Equity Department head shared the urban planning projects involving her department, and it was mainly the improvement neighborhood plan funded through the previously mentioned "Catalan Neighborhood Law". This plan implemented in the neighborhood of Collblanc-La Torrassa (2004-2008) used an intersectional gender perspective and women's active participation in the assessment and development of a mobility plan for the neighborhood. This is a neighborhood with a high-percentage of foreign migrant population and women from different origins were involved in this process. This project is actually one of the good practices that illustrate examples of neighborhood improvement plans that mainstreamed an intersectional gender perspective throughout the project. But this was a one-time project, and the director of the Equity Department did not have much information about other projects that the city has implemented using this perspective. The director did not have any information about night planning. It was unfortunate that I could not interview anyone from the planning department to examine their approach to night planning, since women co-researchers identified severe urban planning issues related to women's perception of safety and mobility infrastructures in the city (see Chapter 6). After data gathering, I contacted again the city of L'Hospitalet to invite them to the public presentation of the research report. We did not receive an answer, but later in the

³⁹ I did not interview the planning head of the city of Santa Coloma de Gramenet, because she is Zaida Muxí Martínez, founding member of Col·lectiu Punt 6 and member of my dissertation committee. She was called by the Mayor Núria Parlón in May 2015 to serve as the head of planning because of being a feminist urban planner and architect. The city of Santa Coloma, under Mayor Núria Parlón, has also self-declared as a feminist government and implemented a feminist perspective in all the policies of the city.

year, in November 2017 we were invited to present the report in a conference the Gender Equity Department organizes yearly around November 25th, the International Day Against Gender Violence. This year the main theme of the conference was “Urban space and sexist violence”.

The city of L’Hospitalet reflects an issue seen in other cities, where the implementation of gender inclusive planning legislation has been pushed by municipal equity departments, but involvement of urban planning units has responded to legislative and political mandates, but not as part of a transformative process of approaching urban issues.

4.6.2. El Prat de Llobregat

Planners in the city of El Prat also showed low interest in incorporating an intersectional gender perspective in urban planning. They actually showed a “neutral” approach when the head said, “We do not plan from a gender perspective; we plan for everybody.” As a feminist urban planner, in previous engagements with other municipal planners, I have received similar responses that often are associated with rejecting an intersectional gender perspective, because this would mean discriminating a segment of the population. This is a common “false neutrality” approach that many urban planners and architects take, and as a consequence, have often developed plans without taking into account the diversity of residents and people’s everyday life, and fostered hegemonic and androcentric planning policies. When asked about night-time planning policies, El Prat’s planners emphasized all their work related with the night mobility. They mentioned the night bus line that connects the city of El Prat with Barcelona, and the two night-bus lines that connect the airport with the city of Barcelona (N16 and N17). They highlighted the improvements made in terms of illuminating bus stops at night, as well as installing electronic panels that inform users about real transit times. However, they do not have any night bus that connects the city of El Prat with the industrial areas, another of the spaces with high volume of night work (6.000 workers in total, without knowing the exact number of night workers) in addition to the airport. As a highlight, they explain the creation of a line of “on demand bus” that connects El Prat with one part of the airport, used exclusively by workers. The person who wants to use the bus goes to the stop and pushes a button that connects with the driver of the bus, who will receive the order to pick up someone at that stop. They are looking to improve this service by doing it through a cellphone app to avoid going to the stop. Many of these improvements are

motivated by the BMA agency and not by the municipality, which questions also the inclusion of the night-time in their municipality's planning policies.

Even though El Prat's planners seemed not committed to implement gender inclusive legislation, they seemed to be responding to night planning issues related with night work transportation.

4.6.3. Barcelona

In the city of Barcelona, urban planners showed higher interest in feminist and night planning policies, although there was no formal mechanism promoting it at the time of the interview. The long-time city planner started the interview affirming that "the city has not been planned thinking of the night or with an intersectional gender perspective". However, he later explained the different actions and plans developed that can contribute to improve the city in terms of nightlife and gender equity. This planner has collaborated for several years with one of the founding members of Col·lectiu Punt 6 at the university. He has developed awareness of gender inclusive planning, and he prepared well for the interview, sharing what planning projects and actions developed in the city could have contributed to improve gender equity in the city. His gender awareness, however, was a personal interest and did not reflect an institutional policy. The head of strategic planning did not incorporate either an intersectional gender perspective or a night planning approach in her discourse and practice. She emphasized this through the use of a universal accessibility discourse: "We increasingly talk about universal accessibility and making spaces the friendliest possible, but not from a gender or night view."

The long-time planner, in preparation for the interview, elaborated a list of the different plans and programs that according to his view, contribute to improving women's everyday life and their perception of safety. From this list, he mentioned the (1) new orthogonal bus network, which is intuitive, well signaled and counteracts the existing radial public transportation system; (2) work on universal accessibility in all neighborhoods; (3) mixed use planning approach that has explicitly avoided zoning in the city and promoted the maximum "mixtcity" and vitality at different times of the day; (4) city's lighting master plan; (5) improvement of the perception of safety in the connection between underground levels (parking, metro, train) and the ground level through different actions such as the installation of transparent elevators

or criteria to improve visibility in underground parking; and (6) connection between the street and buildings' ground floor promoting activities at this level or transparent materials.

In general, both planners recognize that there is still work to do regarding the night, such as examining the night working areas or improving the connection between Barcelona's night bus and the metropolitan buses. They assume that through their "whole city" urban planning approach, the needs of Barcelona's neighborhoods are covered, and thus, no longer in need of including an intersectional gender perspective or thinking specifically in night-time policies.

Some months after the interview, Col·lectiu Punt 6 was called to work with the Urban Planning Department to help them draft the bylaw on "Urban Planning from a Gender Perspective. Everyday Life Urban Planning"⁴⁰ that was approved on March 2017, and later, to conduct capacity building on this topic with all the Department's planners. At the time of the interview there was no institutional policy in place to include a gender perspective in planning, but it became a requirement a year after. This is influencing different planning aspects at the city level, from the participatory urban planning processes to specific actions conducted at the neighborhood level. Some of the actions included in the approved bylaw have a night component, for example, conducting an assessment to improve safety perceptions in Barcelona's industrial areas.

4.6.4. Barcelona Metropolitan Area Agency

Finally, the mobility planners of the BMA agency showed the most interest in this participatory action research and in incorporating an intersectional gender perspective in mobility policies. The BMA agency, due to its mobility and transportation responsibilities, seems to be the only agency interviewed that conducts night planning. This agency manages 700 buses and more than 1000 drivers of the lines of the metropolitan municipalities outside the city of Barcelona. It recognises that the agency does not have a long-term plan, although the agency is currently drafting a Metropolitan Urban Mobility Plan. Until now, they affirm they have dealt with "day-by-day planning, based on quantitative and qualitative data gathered through different

⁴⁰ This is the name of the bylaw; the document defines in more detailed that urban planning policies include an intersectional perspective and analysis.
https://www.slideshare.net/Barcelona_cat/mesura-de-govern-urbanisme-amb-perspectiva-de-gnere, retrieved May 25, 2019

methods". The agency conducts two annual surveys, collecting information from bus operators and drivers, and municipalities, conducts quality controls through mystery shopping techniques⁴¹, and gathers complaints and suggestions sent directly by the users. On certain occasions, it has also run focus groups on particular elements of the service, for example, how to improve the bus schedule signage. The indicators collected include night-time aspects, such as lighting, perception of safety, frequency, and night intermodal connection. From the data collected, the typical day user is a woman of 40 years old and the typical night user is a man of 32. Women represent two thirds of BMA bus system users during the day and one third during the night.

Even though there is no specific policy written in terms of night-time or including an intersectional gender perspective in their plans, the planners' insights demonstrate awareness about the issue. They acknowledge that the night bus service is weak and does not adequately cover all the territory. Routes are longer, an element that discourages public transportation use. They also think that the night bus network will be always deficient because there are limited economic resources. The services provided are based on economic decisions, not people's needs and demands. This reinforces the policy discourse of public transportation as a deficit. This discourse is perverse, since the investments in infrastructure that support private motorized vehicles and related amenities are rarely questioned, even though it is higher than in public transportation. This discourse has trickled down to justify the deficiency of public transportation in general, and of transportation services at night in particular, and to draw attention away from the lack of government investments in public transportation infrastructures.

During the interview, BMA planners shared some of the actions that they have been implementing to improve night mobility and the perception of safety. These include video surveillance on the bus connected with an emergency pedal that the driver can push in case of an emergency and directly connects with the police; internal lighting in bus stops canopies (before it depended on the advertising tower of the bus stop); on demand service through an

⁴¹ Mystery shopping techniques are used to evaluate the quality of services or compliance with regulation. It is called mystery shopping because the mystery consumer's specific identity and purpose are generally not known by the service being evaluated.

app in lines with low number of users. However, they admit that actions have focused on improving above all the service inside the bus, but the service needs improvement in the route between the bus stop and home, work or the final destination, which ultimately depends on each municipality.

In this positive exchanging environment, the BMA planners showed high interest in improving the incorporation of an intersectional gender perspective in the actions they were developing. They asked me for advice to improve one of the survey's questions, related to the perception of safety. They wanted to make sure the question could gather data regarding women's perception of safety and data on sexual harassments and assaults. Explaining the research project, I shared with them the program of requesting a stop at night between official stops, already implemented for years in several Canadian cities (and for decades in many Latin American cities). The BMA planners liked the initiative and, by the end of the interview, they committed to study piloting this initiative in at least one line of their bus system. And they did. A year after the interview, and two weeks after my interview with the Catalan television about the program of Requesting a Stop at night, the BMA launched a pilot Request a Stop program in two night-bus lines. One line connects the industrial area of Zona Franca with the city of Barcelona and another connects Barcelona's night entertainment area of Marina with the Barcelonès North county, on the other side of the Besòs River. Still not documented officially, this is one of the silent but big victories this participatory action research has had.

4.6.5. Final thoughts

In closing this chapter, I acknowledge the complexity of sharing the context of this participatory action research. I have tried to summarize the urban planning and transportation history of a city more than four thousand years old and how the city's history has shaped the development of the metropolitan area. In the second part of the chapter, I sought to present the framework that supports the implementation of an intersectional gender perspective in urban planning. The implementation of this perspective is backed up by several laws and regulations, but, as interviews with planners demonstrate, bringing it to practice is a challenge and takes time to realise in a society still deeply androcentric and patriarchal. I venture to say that current local feminist politicians, activists, architects and planners at different levels, and

Col·lectiu Punt 6 among them, are contributing to changing this; we are writing a chapter in the history of local and regional planning. Finally, as I later further argue, I am confident that this feminist participatory action research will contribute to more discussion about including the night-time from an intersectional gender perspective in urban and mobility plans.

Chapter 5. Everyday/Everynight Experiences of Women Night Workers

This chapter analyses the impact of heteropatriarchal⁴² gender norms and expectations on women night workers, looking at how intersectional identities shape women nightshift workers' everyday/everynight life at work, at home and in their bodies. In the first section, I introduce the women co-researchers in this FPAR project, looking at how gender, class, household composition, migration history, their place of residence, and professional status shape their everyday/everynight life. In the second section, I look at women's reasons to work at night as well as their work conditions. I also present how women's discrimination is exacerbated in the night labor market for being a territory where women still remain unwelcomed. In the third section, I look at the embodied consequences of working at night through the analysis of body mapping conducted with women co-researchers, using visceral geography and *territorio-cuerpo-tierra* as an analytical lens. The last section looks at the effects of night work on family, social relations and supports.

This chapter emerges from conducting feminist participatory action research. Gatenby and Humphries's (2000) argument in favor of reducing power differentials between researchers and researched implies inviting women co-researchers to discuss and influence the topics analyzed. I have followed this approach throughout the research, including the elaboration of the ethics and safety protocols. On the first day the groups of women co-researchers met, one of the aspects discussed was what other issues women wanted to address through this FPAR beyond analyzing the impact of urban, mobility and safety planning on their everyday/everynight life. Women emphasized two topics they wanted to include in the analysis: the impact of night work on their physical and mental health, and how nightshift affects their personal, family and social relations. The flexibility of FPAR and the use of multiple methods have enabled their demands to be met. I subscribe to Reinhartz's (1992) assertion that using multiple methods reflects the desire to respond to co-researchers' needs and might illuminate unexamined or misunderstood experiences. For example, body mapping is one of the methods that has allowed examining the impact of night work on physical and

⁴² A heteropatriarchal system understood as a sociopolitical system that sees men and heterosexuality as superior to other gender and sexual identities.

mental health and in relation to how their bodies experience the consequences of the alteration of the circadian rhythm, but also the mobility and safety problems they encounter on a nightly basis.

The participatory video elaborated with co-researchers titled “Nocturnas: Physical, emotional and social impacts on women who work at night” is the analog of this chapter, and gathers first-person testimonies of women co-researchers to complement the textual output of this research.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JC2oJY2OERc>, retrieved May 25, 2019



5.1 The intersectional identities of Women Nightshift Workers

In Chapter 3, I briefly introduced the women nightshift workers of this participatory action research project. In this chapter, we get acquainted with all of them, learning about how their intersectional identities shape their everyday/everynight life as night workers (see Table 1 on page 129 for a summary of women nightshift workers' profiles). It is a diverse group by age, place of residence, migration experiences, household composition, years of working at night, and job security.

Table 1: Summary of women nightshift workers profile

	Name	Age group	Origin	Co-researchers group	Job	Place of Work	Neighbourhood/City of residence	Type of Household	Single- Head household	Years Night Work	Shift and contract
R1	Toñi	50s	Spain	Bellvitge Hospital	Cleaning	Bellvitge Hospital	Sant Joan Despi	With three children (18 and older)	X	1	Week nights/Permanent
R2	Rafaela	60	Spain	Bellvitge Hospital	Cleaning	Bellvitge Hospital	Sant Joan Despi	With son in his 20s	X	8	Week nights/Permanent
R3	Ángeles	50s	Spain	Bellvitge Hospital	Cleaning	Bellvitge Hospital	Sant Ildefons, Cornellà	Husband and mother in law		18	Week nights/Permanent
R4	Ana	26	Spain	Bellvitge Hospital	Nurse	Bellvitge Hospital	Cornellà	With partner		1	3 nights per week (12 h per night)/Permanent
R5	Susana	48	Spain	Bellvitge Hospital	Assistant Nurse	Bellvitge Hospital	Rubí	With daughter older than 18	X	19	3 nights per week (12 h per night)/Permanent
R6	Neus	30	Spain	Bellvitge Hospital	Nurse	Bellvitge Hospital	Sant Boi de Llobregat	Husband and 1yo baby		3	3 nights per week (12 h per night)/Permanent
R7	Cristina M.	48	Spain	Bellvitge Hospital	Cleaning	Bellvitge Hospital	Collblanc/Torrasa, L'Hospitalet	With teenager daughter	X	5	Weekend nights/Permanent
R8	Pilar B.	50s	Spain	Bellvitge Hospital	Cleaning	Bellvitge Hospital	Bellvitge, L'Hospitalet	Alone	X	11	Week nights/Permanent
R9	Conchi	50s	Spain	Bellvitge Hospital	Cleaning	Bellvitge Hospital	Bellvitge, L'Hospitalet	Shares apartment with 3 more people	X	4	Morning (starts at 6 am)/Permanent
R10	Cristina L.	39	Spain	Baix Llobregat	Nurse	Bellvitge Hospital	Centro, Molins de Rei	Husband and 4yo son		>10	3 nights per week (12 h per night)/Permanent
R11	Núria	25	Spain	Bellvitge Hospital	Nurse	Bellvitge Hospital	Eixample, Barcelona	With partner		3	3 nights per week (12 h per night)/Permanent
R12	Silvia	39	Spain	Barcelona group 1	Nurse	Bellvitge Hospital	Barri Sant Martí, Barcelona	With partner and 10yo daughter		>3	3 nights per week (12 h per night)/Permanent

	Name	Age group	Origin	Co-researchers group	Job	Place of Work	Neighbourhood/City of residence	Type of Household	Single- Head household	Years Night Work	Shift and contract
R13	Yoli R.	35	Spain	Baix Llobregat	Cleaning	Barcelona's Airport, El Prat	San Cosme, El Prat	Husband and two daughters (8 & 12)		10	Week nights/Permanent
R14	Yoli T.	30s	Spain	Baix Llobregat	Airport Cleaning	Barcelona's Airport, El Prat	Castelldefels	With three minor children	X	5	Week nights/Permanent
R15	Mayte	41	Spain	Baix Llobregat	Police officer	Sant Feliu de Llobregat	La Salut, Sant Feliu de Llobregat	Parents and 4yo son	X	1	Week nights/Public servant
R16	Pilar C.	50	Spain	Baix Llobregat	Elder care worker	Elder care centre, Cornellà	Sant Ildefons, Cornellà	Mother and son (older than 18)	X	>10	Week nights for 6 months/Permanent
R17	Txell	32	Spain	Barcelona group 1	Psychologist Social Emergencies	Centre for Social Emergencies, Barcelona	Sant Pere i Santa Caterina, Barcelona	With partner		3	Rotating shift/Permanent
R18	Zenobia	58	Spain	Barcelona group 1	Night Staff Social Emergencies	Centre for Social Emergencies, Barcelona	Gràcia, Barcelona	With partner		>12	Rotating shift/Permanent
R19	Karina	44	Ecuador	Barcelona group 1	Street cleaning	Zona Franca and Barcelona	Florida, L'Hospitalet	With husband		10	Nights Mon-Sat/Temporary
R20	Lidia	30s	Spain	Barcelona group 1	Street cleaning	Zona Franca and Barcelona	Can Franquesa, Santa Coloma de Gramenet	With partner and teenage son		>10	Nights Mon-Sat/Permanent
R21	Pepi	41	Spain	Barcelona group 2	Sex worker	Camp Nou, Barcelona	Barcelona	She lives in a temporary shelter	X	>15	Nights/No contract
R22	Alejandra	58	Ecuador	Barcelona group 2	Sex worker	El Raval, Barcelona	El Raval, Barcelona	With 4yo granddaughter	X	>20	Nights/No contract
R23	Laura E.	38	Bolivia	Barcelona group 2	Sex worker	Apartment, Sabadell	Pubilla Casas, L'Hospitalet	With son older than 18	X	10	Nights/No contract
R24	Laura L.	42	Spain	Baix Llobregat	Elder care worker	Different locations in Baix Llobregat	Pallejà	Teenager daughter and eventually with mom	X	>20	Week nights/Permanent

5.1.1. Their Neighbourhoods

Women nightshift workers are between 25 and 60 years old and live in 12 different municipalities of the BMA. There is a high representation of women living in the Baix Llobregat (southeast of Barcelona): L'Hospitalet, Castelldefels, Cornellà, El Prat, Sant Boi de Llobregat, Sant Feliu, Molins de Rei, Pallejà, Sant Joan Despí, Rubí, Santa Coloma de Gramenet.

Only 4 of 24 co-researchers live in the city of Barcelona, two in the city center, one in Gràcia and one in Sant Martí. The rest live in the periphery. Ten of them live in the large and high density housing estates neighborhoods that were built in the 1960s: Bellvitge, Florida, Pubilla Casas and Collblanc (L'Hospitalet), Sant Ildefons (Cornellà), San Cosme (El Prat) and Can Franquesa (Santa Coloma). These neighborhoods have been historically stigmatized for housing migrants, being low-income and working class (*barrio popular*). As explained in Chapter 4, migrants who arrived from other parts of Spain in the 1950s were the first to inhabit these neighbourhoods. In the 1990s-2000s, foreign migrants from the Maghreb and South-Saharan Africa, South America, and Eastern Europe moved to these areas because they were more affordable. Although housing units used low quality materials, residents have renovated them over the years, and the democratic local governments started to improve the public spaces, their access to services and facilities, as well as transportation infrastructure. They are now one of the few affordable options in the first ring of the metropolitan area.

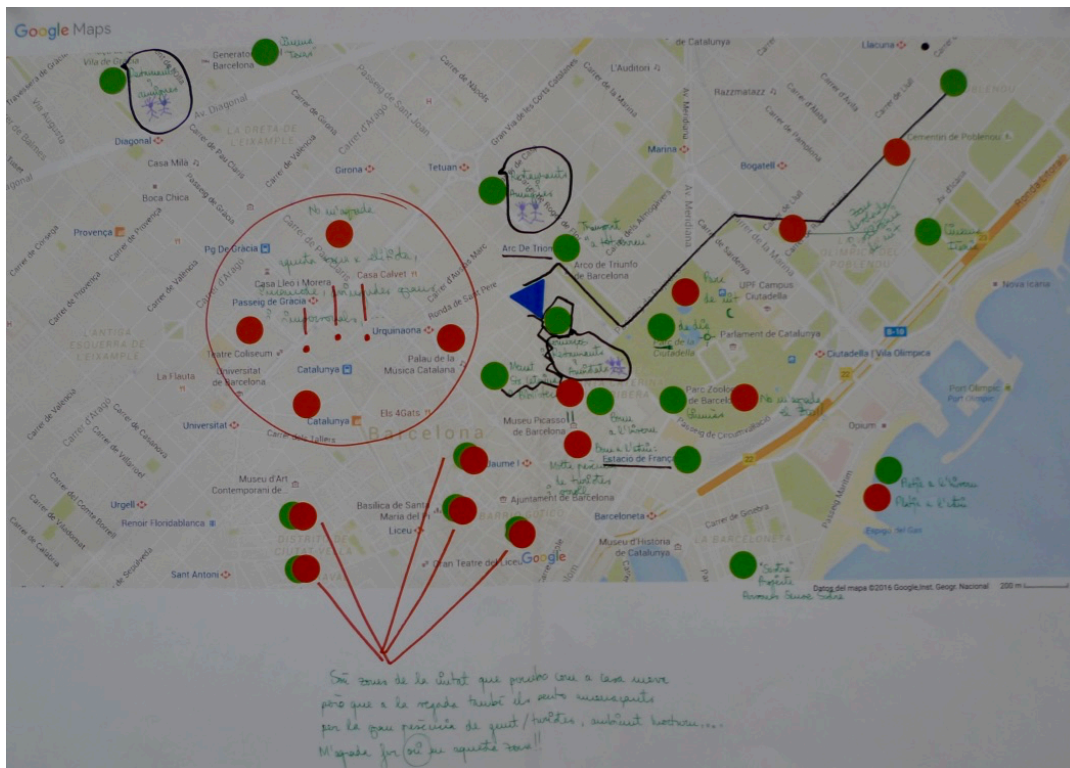
Most women co-researchers are renters and often fear being forced to move in a context of rising housing prices in the region. One of them, Cristina M. (48), was already impacted by the housing crisis. She was evicted from her previous apartment when she was unable to continue with the mortgage payments. The local section of the PAH – Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (Platform of People affected by Mortgages) helped resolve her housing situation and the PAH protected her from living on the street. Since then Cristina M. has become a housing advocate who helps other people living through similar circumstances. She currently lives in the neighborhood of Collblanc in the city of L'Hospitalet, but she remains afraid she might not be able to afford her neighbourhood in the near future. She works two jobs, one during the week at a school cafeteria, and a night-time cleaning job on weekends at Bellvitge Hospital.

Another co-researcher, Pepi (41) is homeless. She is one of the sex workers on our research team, and usually she moves between different shelters of the city. She lost the custody of her children some years ago. She receives social-income assistance.

In general, women nightshift workers have a positive perception of their neighbourhoods, because they live in mixed-use communities that facilitate the practicalities of everyday life: during daytime, they have access to services, facilities, commercial areas, and public spaces in walking distances or public transportation.

Only three women, who live in L'Hospitalet, dislike their neighbourhood at night. They have access to diverse facilities and stores in the neighbourhood, but they dislike the environment, which they often perceived as hostile and unsafe. Public spaces are not well maintained; there is a lack of cleanliness and there are several bars that women associate with alcohol consumption and men's sexual harassment, as further discussed in Chapter 6. But, it is in these areas where they found affordable housing close to Barcelona. Women nightshift workers who live in Barcelona also talk about how tourism has changed everyday life at the neighbourhood level (Ciutat Vella, Poble Nou, Gràcia). Txell, the social emergencies psychologist who lives in the old city, raised this issue. She represented on the map her everyday life network (Figure 20).

Figure 20: Txell's everyday network map



Txell marks with red dots the negative points related to high volume of tourism

She marked with both red (negatively impact the development of everyday life) and green (positively impact the development of everyday life) dots the places that are part of her everyday life, and writes, “These are areas of the city where I feel I am home but at the same time these are places that I feel threatened by the high presence of people/tourists”. This is an example of how the touristification of the city deeply impacts Barcelona’s neighbourhoods, and also is an example that corroborates the sentiment gathered in the 2017 city survey on municipal services that reveals that the increase of tourist activity is the first preoccupation of Barcelona residents.

5.1.2. Their households

As I later discuss in more detail, women co-researchers work at night mainly for economic reasons. They get paid more and night work enables them to reconcile work and family responsibilities. This is why it might not be a coincidence that thirteen of them are heads of household. Two of them live alone but have adult children whom they support. Three of them take care of dependent parents and eleven live with children and became single moms after

a divorce or separation, with little support from the children's fathers. There are particularly rough cases such as the case of Yoli T. (30s) who has three children. The eldest in her teens is responsible for her two siblings when mom goes to work at the airport. There is the case of Mayte (41), who has a son aged 4 and two dependent and sick parents, creating a complicated puzzle of schedules and sleep deprivation. And the very sad case of Alejandra, 58 and originally from Ecuador, who has been responsible for the care of her 4-year-old granddaughter after her daughter was killed while working as a sex worker. Alejandra is also a sex worker and lives in the city center.

5.1.3. Their jobs

Women co-researchers work in 9 different locations and represent 6 different occupations: cleaning and medical staff at the Bellvitge Hospital, cleaning at the airport, street cleaning in Barcelona, elder care in different cities of the Baix Llobregat county, Local Police, social emergencies service in Barcelona, and sex work in Barcelona and other BMA areas. From their job occupations and their family responsibilities, we can see patterns in the professional occupations and family responsibilities of the women co-researchers. The work activities of the women largely relate to taking care of others, and all of them are responsible for double shifts at work and at home. These are jobs that have in their roots, a long patriarchal tradition of contempt for the activities that historically have been attributed to women (Torns and Carrasquer 1999).

They have been working on night shifts between one and twenty years. Half of them have worked on the nightshift ten years or more. But not all of them have the same nightshifts. The cleaning night workers and the police officer have more fixed shifts, and they usually start between 10 and 11 pm and finish at 5 or 6 am, from Monday through Friday, with the exception of street cleaners who work from Monday to Saturday. The cleaning night workers usually work for an external cleaning company, most of them already have permanent contracts and few work on temporary ones. Such is the case of Karina (44), who migrated from Ecuador, and is still hired under a temporary contract after many years of working for the street cleaning company. The police officer has a public servant position. Nurses usually have a fixed shift of 10 or 12 hours but only work three or four nights a week, and the hospitals directly hire them. Nurses are most likely to have the highest income among women co-researchers, which puts them in a better economic position. For the rest, the shift varies. The

sex workers usually start work at 10 or 11 pm until the middle of the night, depending on the amount of work. Alejandra says she works until 3 am almost every night, Pepi works as much as she can on weekends and usually until 5 am, and Laura E. works in an apartment on weekdays and weekends and she sleeps there. Laura E., who migrated from Bolivia, combines sex work at night with housekeeping during weekdays. Definitely, sex workers have the most vulnerable work situation because they work in the informal sex industry sector without legal protections or income stability. Txell (32) and Zenobia (58) work at Barcelona's Social Emergencies Center on permanent contracts and work on a rotating shift in which they are responsible for the night shift one week a month. However, they face similar mobility issues when they work on the morning shift that starts at 6 am. Pilar C. (50), who is a permanent elder care worker in a nursing home, works on the night shift six months a year, usually the spring-summer months. Laura L. (42), also an elder care worker, was doing temporary jobs at the time of this research, but has worked at night since she was 18. She is one of the few who loves the nightshift.

Migration status also increases women's precariousness. This is the case of two sex workers, Alejandra and Laura E., and one street cleaner, Karina, who are from Latin American countries. Karina has an unstable job situation since she depends on temporary contracts, uncertain of whether they would renew her contract. As Sònia Parella argues,

“Migrant women are who, from the invisibility and the lack of social recognition, provide cheap and flexible care work in a deregulated market, which enables to cushion the conflicts arising from the insufficient male implication in care and domestic work and the deficiencies of our Welfare system” (Parella Rubio 2007).

They are three of many Latin American migrant women, who arrived to Spain alone as head of a transnational household who often are limited to informal jobs related with social reproduction (domestic work or sex work), while leave the care of their children to others in the countries of origin (Ortiz Escalante and Sweet 2013; Oso 2010; Parella Rubio 2007). They have to survive in Spain and at the same time provide for their families back home. Alejandra and Laura E. were able to bring their children some years after they first migrated, through reunification migration laws.

Migrant women face patriarchal oppressions specific of the Catalan context, and at the same time face racist migration policies that relegate them to a subordinated position in the labor market (Parella Rubio 2007). We will see how nightwork increases these oppressions⁴³.

5.2 The decision to work at night: the influence of gender, class and other intersectional categories

According to the Spanish Labour Legislation (*Estatut dels Treballadors*), night work is defined as work done between 10 pm and 6 am. Under this same legislation, night workers are the employees who work at least three hours of their shift during this time interval or a third of the total annual work⁴⁴. The legislation also regulates that night work has a salary supplement, which unions of each sector negotiate.

A small percentage of the Catalan population work at night. According to Catalan Labor Department, in 2012, only 8.6% of employees in Catalunya (close to 256,000 workers) work at night, either permanently or as part of a rotating shift (Molinero Ruiz 2012). Women who work at night represent 5% of the total women employees and men nightshift workers are 11.7% of the total men employees in the region. The Labour Department data suggests that this difference between women and men is due to more men working on jobs with three shifts (morning, afternoon/evening and night). In the Barcelona Metropolitan Region, which is larger than the metropolitan area, night workers represent 6.9% of the total employees.

In the specific case of Barcelona, the city conducted a study in 2002 about night workers and found that women represented one third of those working the nightshift (Oliver Alonso 2003). However, this study needs updating in view of the drastic changes the city and region have suffered due to the economic boom (2000-2007) and dramatic recession (2008-present).

⁴³ Besides the three women who self-identify as Latin-American migrants, there are also several women who are internal migrants, who migrated with their families in the 1960s to Catalonia. They did not talk specifically about this identity feature and I did not want to label them without their self-identification. The 1950s-1960s historic Internal migration has been historically stigmatized, and migrants and their children have been labeled under a lower social and economic status. However these forms of discrimination against migrants from other parts of Spain has not reached the violence and oppression that non-EU migrant face.

⁴⁴ https://www.boe.es/boe_catalan/dias/2015/10/24/pdfs/BOE-A-2015-11430-C.pdf retrieved May 25, 2019

5.2.1. Reasons to work at night

Unions' data show that most people choose to work at night for economic reasons (e.g. UGT 2008). In the particular case of women night workers in this participatory action research, they also choose working at night for economic reasons; the salary is higher, in some cases up to 300 and 500 euros more per month. In addition, many women co-researchers highlight that they decided to work at night because, as household heads, night work allows them flexibility to provide while caring for their families. For those in charge of dependent people (elderly, sick or children), nightshift allows reconciling employment with family obligations. Pilar C., one of the elder care workers, summarizes it by say:

“Yo pienso que un tanto por ciento muy elevado coge la noche por temas económicos y personales, porque a nadie le va bien la noche, porque físicamente no te recuperas, el cansancio es brutal...”

“I think that a high percentage of women choose the night for economic and personal reasons, because the night is not convenient for anybody, because physically you don't recover, and the exhaustion is brutal...”

-- Pilar C., elder caretaker

As Pilar C. emphasizes, night work however has a price to pay in terms of health, more negative for women because they end up sleeping less to cover their domestic and care responsibilities at home. It affects their quality of life and can have negative impact on their health in the long term. Pilar C., the woman who works at night six months of the year, has been responsible for taking care of her elderly sick mom. She states that during the months of night work, her face and physical health change because of lack of rest and sleep.

Most women night workers acknowledge they sleep less and sacrifice sleep time to combine paid work with domestic and care work. Despite sleeping less, working at night allows them to do administrative errands in the morning. Still, not all women with children think that the night helps to reconcile work and family; for some, the night work prevents them from spending adequate time with their children. Conchi, one of the cleaners at Bellvitge Hospital, worked for four years on the night shift. After her husband died, she became a widow in charge of two small children and took two jobs, one at night, to make ends meet. She regretfully recalls that she could not take good care of the children because she was so tired when the kids return from school that she was constantly cranky and upset with them. After

four years, she was able to change to the morning shift, and she acknowledges that the night shift ideally should be for people who have time to rest during the day:

“El turno de la noche debe ser para gente que tenga una estabilidad para que cuando llegues descanses, estás sola, te organizas tú, etc.”

“The night shift should be for people that have the stability to be able to rest when they arrive home, to be alone, and to get organized, etc.”

-- Conchi, hospital cleaner

Research shows that men also decide to work at night for economic reasons, yet, they rarely chose this shift to reconcile family and work life (Lowson et al. 2013; Venn et al. 2008). Furthermore, the way society and family treat men and women who work at night is different. Women co-researchers’ perceptions confirm what other studies have documented. Men are more likely to maintain time for quality sleep without interruptions, while women sacrifice sleep and rest to respond to care and household responsibilities (Garey 1995; Lowson and Arber 2014; Venn, Arber, Meadows, and Hislop 2008). Thus, as Txell, the psychologist at the social emergencies center, argues, gender norms definitely shape the unequal impact of night work on women and men:

“Ser mujer es transversal a todo, el género tiene un impacto diferenciado y desigual en relación al trabajo de noche de mujeres y hombres.”

“To be a woman permeates everything, gender has an unequal and differentiated impact on the night work of women and men.”

-- Txell, shift psychologist at social emergencies center

Women carry the burdens of a patriarchal and capitalist system that benefits from free and unpaid work at home as well as more precarious job conditions, which becomes more visible when this work happens at night.

5.2.2. Women's night work conditions

Regardless of the impact on the quality of life, women in general prefer night shift over the day shift. They associate darkness with a cozier environment that creates personal ties not possible on the dayshift. Many who work in the health system feel personally satisfied with their work and this compensates the negative impacts of the night shift.

The case of sex workers is totally different from the rest. They are the only group of co-researchers working without a contract or monthly salary. They face the most precarious work conditions of the whole group for several reasons. They did not choose to be sex workers for extra income. For them, going out at night to work is their main source of subsistence, while living in constant economic insecurity. Other night workers with a contract do not face this precariousness. In addition, they do not have the labor, social and health benefits that come with a formal job. Pepi and Alejandra, the two street sex workers, capture very well how they feel and live their shared economic insecurity:

“Hay días que a lo mejor me hago 150 euros y hay algún día que no me hago ni un duro.”

“There are days that maybe I make 150 euros and there are days that I don't make a penny”.

-- Pepi, street sex worker

“Si voy a trabajar y me sale la noche bien y he ganado dinero, estoy contenta, cuando me llevo 110 ya me conformo. Eso me reanima y pienso que el día siguiente me voy a hacer lo mismo, y el día siguiente igual me hago menos dinero, me hago 50 o me hago menos... y bueno, que voy a hacer? No tengo más remedio que aguantarme.”

“If I go to work and the night goes well and I gain money, I am happy. When I make 110 Euros I am satisfied. This revives me and I think that the next day I am going to make the same, and maybe the day after I make less money, I make 50 or less... and well, what can I do? I don't have a choice but to hold on”.

-- Alejandra, street sex worker

Pepi and Alejandra look for their subsistence on a nightly basis, uncertain of what they will make and whether they will gain enough to cover their everyday expenses. Their vulnerability increases due to other precarious life circumstances: they both face severe health issues and exposure to street and sexual violence. Their situation is different from Laura E., the youngest of the three sex workers, who has a more pragmatic approach to what she does. She sees it as another job that helps her move forward.

As previously mentioned, Laura E. combines sex work with housekeeping. Therefore, she has more than one source of income, even though they are both informal jobs. In addition, she works in an apartment with other sex workers. Recently, she was able to bring her son from Bolivia to Barcelona through a family reunification program. Her son found a job and now contributes to household expenses. In sum, this overall situation gives her a higher feeling of security, on one hand, because of the safety net she created with coworkers at the apartment, and on the other, her additional housekeeping work and her son's income. In contrast, Pepi and Alejandra have a more vulnerable situation due to street work where the risk of assault and violence is often higher.

As non-EU migrant informal workers, Alejandra and Laura E. are examples of how gender equality legislation has not included an intersectional perspective. The Equality Law of 2007 measures equality through the access of women to the public sphere of production. However informal production related with domestic, care and sex work is not recognized or measured. Non-EU migrant women, being the largest group of domestic, care and sex workers in the Catalan informal economy, see their rights violated because equality is measured through the access of women to the public sphere of production (Mestre 2010; Ortiz Escalante and Sweet 2013).

In addition to the sex workers' precarious work conditions, other women co-researchers' experiences reflect how the night labour market exacerbates gender discrimination and it particularly affects some sectors of night work with a hegemonic heteropatriarchal culture. They share that one of the main problems they face at work, for being women and choosing the night shift, is the sexism (*machismo*) of male co-workers as well as the companies' labour policies that reproduce gender inequalities and sexual discrimination. Three of the co-researchers explain their stories of discrimination. The police officer, Mayte, is the only one who works in a traditionally highly masculinized occupation, where men dominate and often respond to hegemonic masculinity models. She affirms that the worst impact of working at night has been gender discrimination, her male co-workers directly tell police women that they do not want to work with them, they diminish their work using bullying and harassing strategies:

“A mí me afecta el machismo por el turno que estoy. El problema de la noche es que no quieren mujeres, los propios compañeros no quieren. Todas las que pasan por la noche terminan llorando y saliendo del turno. De hecho, yo ya he llorado. Y ahora, he pedido salir de la noche y estoy tramitando la conciliación laboral para que me pasen a la mañana, y a ver qué pasa.”

“The machismo affects me because I work at night. The problem of the night is that they don’t want women, our male colleagues don’t want women. All women who have worked at night end up crying and leaving the shift. In fact, I have cried too. And now, I have asked to change shifts and I am claiming issues of work and family reconciliation to be changed to the morning, and let’s see what happens.”

-- Mayte, police officer

Mayte chose the nightshift to be able to take care of her 4-year-old son and her dependent parents. In addition to sleep deprivation (she does not sleep more than four hours on most days), the sexual discrimination and harassment at work also affects her emotional health, increasing her already stressful situation.

Yoli R., one of the airport cleaners, explained the double gender discrimination women face in her company. On one hand, the company denied her a change of shifts, even though her request was based on legally supported family reconciliation need to take care of her two small daughters:

“He trabajado siempre de noche, pero he pedido cambios por conciliación y me los deniegan. He puesto tres denuncias. La conciliación familiar y eso les da igual.”

“I have always worked at night, but I have asked for a change because of work-family reconciliation and they deny it. I have legally challenged the company three times. They don’t care about work-family reconciliation at all.”

-- Yoli R., airport cleaner

Yoli R. sought her union for advice in bringing legal challenges against the company, because it is illegal to deny shift change when there are family reconciliation reasons. However, she is still waiting for the resolution while she continues working at night. Yoli R. also makes visible how gender discrimination works when men enter in a feminized job such as cleaning. She explained:

“Yo que limpio, he estado dos años conduciendo maquinaria, y luego dijeron que no, que las mujeres no. En la fábrica donde trabaja mi marido no quieren mujeres, porque dice que distrae al personal.”

“I clean, and I spent two years driving cleaning machinery, and then they told me not to do it, that women cannot do it. In the factory where my husband works they don’t want women, because they say women distract the personnel.”

-- Yoli R., airport cleaner

In contrast with Mayte’s situation at the police department, Yoli R. argues that men entering feminized jobs are not discriminated; she shares that in her company when men enter in feminized jobs such as cleaning, they are assigned better positions and women are secluded or excluded despite doing those positions before.

Lidia, one of the street cleaners, also experiences gender discrimination in her job. Although cleaning is a highly feminized occupation, street cleaning at night has a high percentage of men workers. Lidia works in a highly masculinized workplace that often requires driving a cleaning truck and carrying heavy hoses to wash down the street. She provides examples of how her company perpetuates gender discrimination. In particular, she explains that gender discrimination is displayed in the distribution of jobs and on the number and size of changing rooms and bathrooms; the latter ones being insufficient and a lot smaller for women. It is also displayed on the workwear, which is not adapted to fit women’s sizes.

“Lo que pasa que esta ropa es de hombre y son tallas muy grandes. Las que somos bajitas, menuditas, delgaditas, el agua nos entra por aquí, por acá, claro, cuando acabas el turno vas toda mojada.”

“This workwear is for men and the sizes are big. To those women who, like me, are short, small, and thin, the water enters everywhere; of course, by the time we finish our shift, we are soaked.”

-- Lidia, street cleaner

To access a promotion and a better salary, Lidia decided to obtain a truck driver’s licence. However, her immediate supervisor harassed her for being a woman. When Lidia got promoted as a truck driver in the company, her supervisor would try to change continuously her job responsibilities, look for men in the company who could drive the same truck and force her to continue working as a street cleaner. With the help of her union, Lidia sued the company, but the process wore on her emotionally and she experienced depression and anxiety. She has been on health leave while waiting for the trial on gender-based discrimination against the company and her supervisor.

These sexist dynamics perpetuate the gendered imaginary and stereotype that the night is men's territory. The case of Mayte, Yoli T. and Lidia are examples of the extra burden women face due to systemic gender discrimination. At the same time, their courage should be honoured for fighting to make this problem visible and advocating for improving women's working conditions.

In addition, these cases are examples of how gender discrimination becomes an additional gender impact of night work on women's bodies and health. They have experienced health issues due to gender discrimination and harassment. Unfortunately, these risks are often omitted in labor risk prevention policies or on the study of the night work impacts on women's health (Pavalko, Mossakowski, and Hamilton 2018; Krieger 1999; Valls Llobet 2013).

5.3 The embodied effects of night work

This section presents the analysis of body maps where we look at the embodied experiences of night work, exploring the relationships between night work, shift work, health and urban planning.

Health research demonstrates that working at night has health and wellbeing consequences that are different for women and men (see for example, Batalla i Fonoll 2014; Harrington 2001; Ijaz et al. 2013; Papantoniou et al. 2016). Dr. Carme Valls Llobet, who has studied women's health in Spain from a feminist perspective documents that the night shift causes physical and mental stress, lack of sleep quality, lack of Vitamin D, and melatonin alterations, increases women's risk of suffering certain illnesses, for example, breast cancer (Martí Valls et al. 2011; Valls Llobet, n.d.; Valls Llobet 2013). Her studies coincide with other studies conducted in other European countries (Costa 1996; Ijaz et al. 2013; Papantoniou et al. 2016)

Feminist methods that analyze women's safety in geography and urban planning use data from interviews, focus groups and surveys or through participatory methods such as exploratory walks, community mapping or participatory video (Casanovas et al. 2013; Koskela 1997; Loukaitou-Sideris 2006; Pain 1997; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2015, 2017; Waite and Conn 2011). But these methods do not focus on bodily experiences and sensations (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2015), even though violence and harassment are directed at women's sexual bodies.

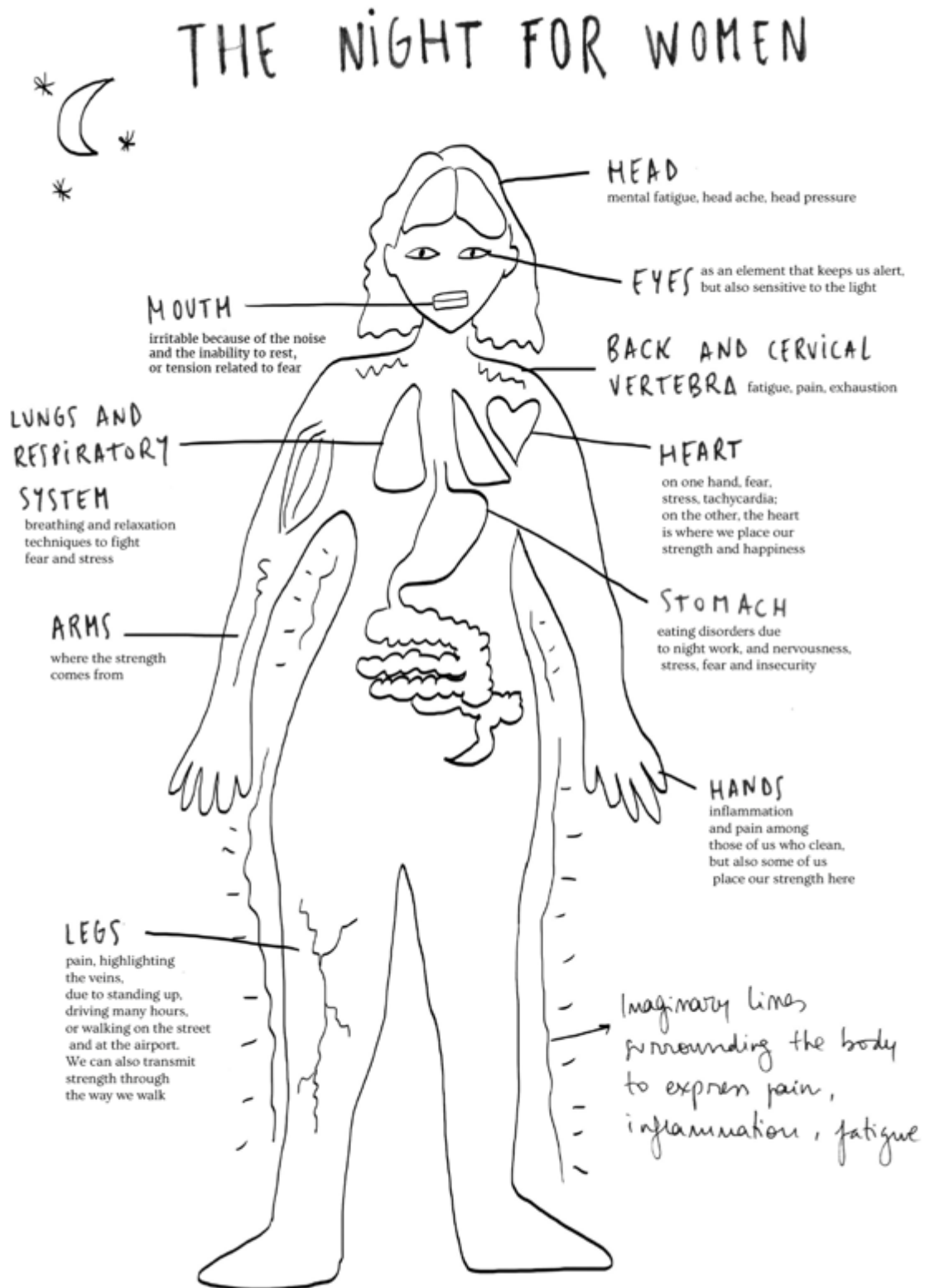
Using body mapping as a method comes from previous work conducted with Elizabeth L. Sweet on body map storytelling (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2015, 2017) that seeks to break the public-private divide that often androcentric planning has reinforced. We argue that “using bodies as a space and scale of planning to collect data will improve policies and planning, and has the potential for dissolving the public-private divide” (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2015, 1827). Using body mapping as a method seeks to connect planning policies with the body, with the most private and intimate scale affected by planning. Telling stories about the effects of urban design and planning policies on people’s bodies has the potential to increase the sensibility of planners.

Through body mapping, we were able to reflect on and share the impacts that night work has on women’s health, quality of life, as well as the embodied experiences of moving in the city and the region at night. By combining body mapping with everyday life maps and collective mobility maps, we examine the interconnection and continuum between bodies and the space of the home-neighborhood-city to “reveal feelings and sensations people have as part of space, in particular related with safety” and how bodies and land are simultaneously reconnected (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2017, 595).

Body mapping was a tool used with women nightshift workers after they have already built trust among each other and felt confident to share their bodily experiences. Eighteen of the 24 co-researchers participated in body map story-telling workshops. Women co-researchers were asked to represent in real-size body silhouettes the answer to the following questions: How does night work affect me? How and where do I live and perceive fear in the body? How and where do I feel strength in the body? How does the urban form affect my body?

As part of the collective analysis with women co-researchers, we summarized the main results of all body maps (see Figure 21). To further the analysis, in this chapter, I combine the collective analysis with the examination of individual body maps to appreciate their specificities.

Figure 21: Body map that summarizes the effects of the night on women's bodies



Source: Collective map made with women co-researchers and included in Nocturnas 2017, 58

We find common themes in the body maps produced by the women. We see an emphasis on three parts of the body: the head, the heart and the stomach. The head used to talk about physical health consequences of night work such as mental fatigue, exhaustion, headache or pressure, is also associated with feelings and stress related to fear during their commute or with personal worries. The heart is also associated with fear, as an organ that accelerates when it encounters a fearful or stressful situation. Simultaneously, the heart is where women locate their strength, happiness and their sense of care. The stomach used to represent physicality and emotions represent all the eating or digestive disorders associated with the alteration of the circadian rhythm, where stress and fear are located, in relation to safety perceptions.

The analysis of body maps shows differences between women nightshift workers, based on their gender and intersectional identities, nightshift schedules, profession, economic (in)security, family responsibilities, neighbourhood or the mode of transportation they use.

5.3.1. Physical health effects

In general, women associate night work with the loss of quality of life. They highlight the **effects on physical health**: back and headache (sometimes it is not pain, but a constant pressure), swollen legs and varicose veins, change of appetite, and increased exhaustion. They also noticed alterations of the digestive system, as well as changes of body temperature during the night shift.

In particular, the group of nurses at Bellvitge Hospital emphasized the physical health effects. Ana, a nurse in her twenties who lives with her partner, explains the alteration of her internal body system:

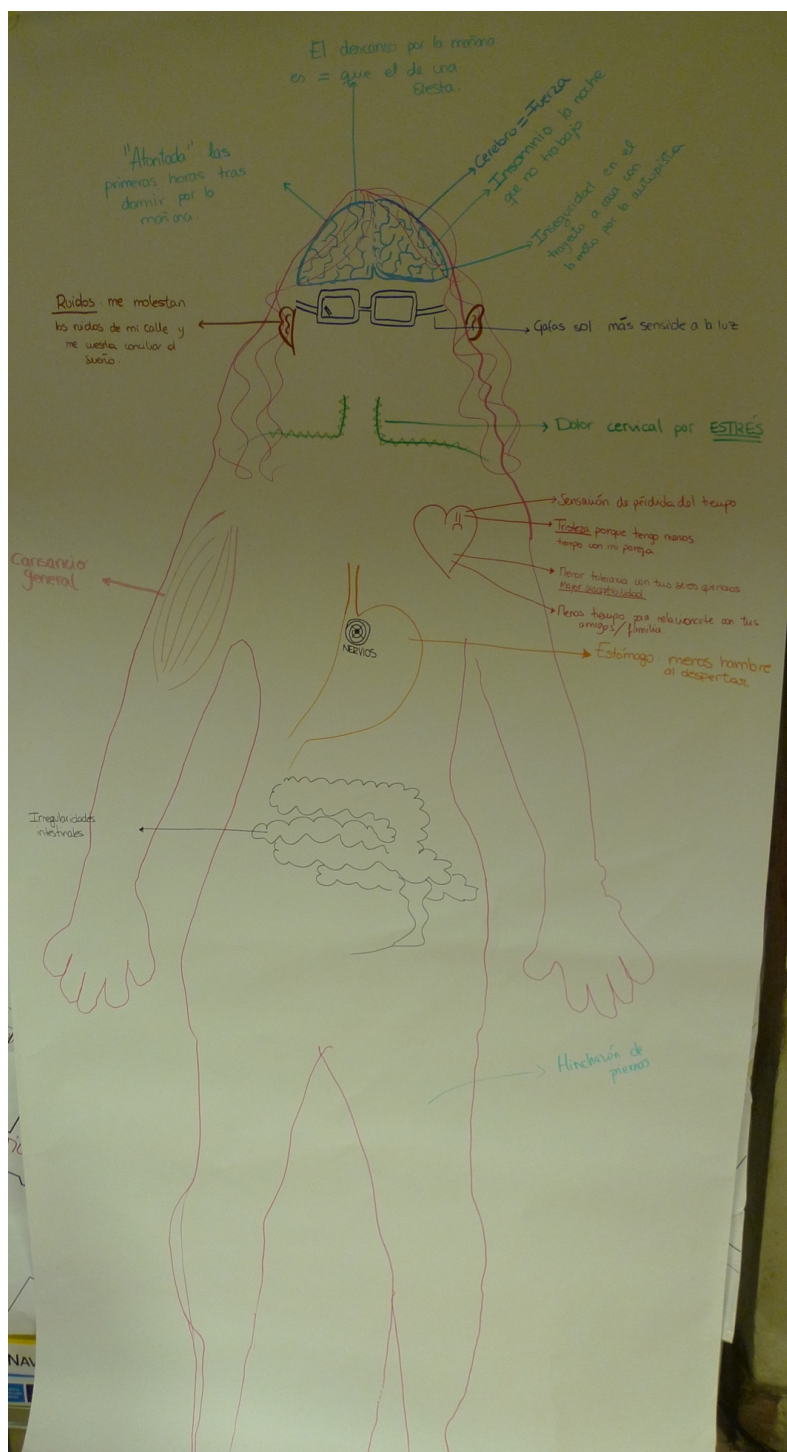
“La nit m’afecta que em destrota els òrgans, dormo diferent, destrota el cos. Els òrgans se’m revolucionen.”

“The night unbalances my organs, I sleep differently, it unsettles my body. The organs get turned upside down.”

-- Ana, hospital nurse

In her body map (Figure 22), Ana draws all her body parts affected by night work using different colors to distinguish each part (brain in light blue, ears in brown, eyes in dark blue, shoulders in green, heart in red, stomach in orange and intestines in black). With an arrow, she connects each part with a piece of text that explains her feelings and sensations.

Figure 22: Ana's body map⁴⁵



⁴⁵ I took pictures of all body maps and for this reason, I do not include photo credits for the body maps' pictures.

In her body map, she mostly emphasizes the effects on her physical and mental health. Ana is one of the nurses who works from 10 pm to 8 am. She lives 10 minutes away by motorcycle from the hospital, and in the discussions about safety, she acknowledges that she does not experience fear of sexual assault because her shift finishes at 8 am. Ana, as well as Núria, the other young nurse who also commutes with her motorcycle, fear for their personal safety when riding their motorcycles after a 10 or 12-hours shift. In Núria's words:

"Para mí lo inseguro es que, del cansancio, tienes menos reflejos y puedes tener un accidente en moto o en coche".

"For me the fear is related to fatigue, you have less reflexes and you can have a car or motorcycle accident".

-- Núria, hospital nurse

I was able to embody this fear the day I accompanied Ana and Núria with their motorcycles on their commuting routes. In the morning, during rush hours, they were advancing cars and weaving between traffic, moving or stopped, in order to pass through traffic jams. I was impressed how they were able to maneuver and driving under these conditions and after a 12-hour shift.

In her body map, Ana highlights her brain to denote insomnia, slowness when she wakes up, or insecurity of not having all her reflexes in her commute after work. She also represents her swollen legs, shoulder pain or general fatigue due to the nature of her work, and intestinal disorders and lack of appetite due to the alteration of her circadian rhythm. She emphasizes how she becomes more sensitive to noises and sunlight after the shift.

Ana, Núria and Neus, the youngest co-researchers and nurses, have many feelings and sensations in common. They share similar life cycle situations and share the privileges of being young White middle-class women: they are the youngest of the group of co-researchers, they are nurses with similar schedules, move with a motorcycle (Ana and Núria) or car (Neus) that give them mobility independence, live with their partners and have a stable job situation and economic security. Ana and Núria do not have children, but Neus has a one-year-old boy. Núria and Neus (Figures 23 and 24), also used different colours to highlight different body parts and health aspects. They also signal the brain to highlight fatigue, slow motion when they wake up, and the lack of reflex. They have also legs' blood circulation

issues despite being in their 20s, pointing at the shoulders and back as places where they accumulate tension and pain, and had body temperature disadjustments.

Figure 23: Núria's body map

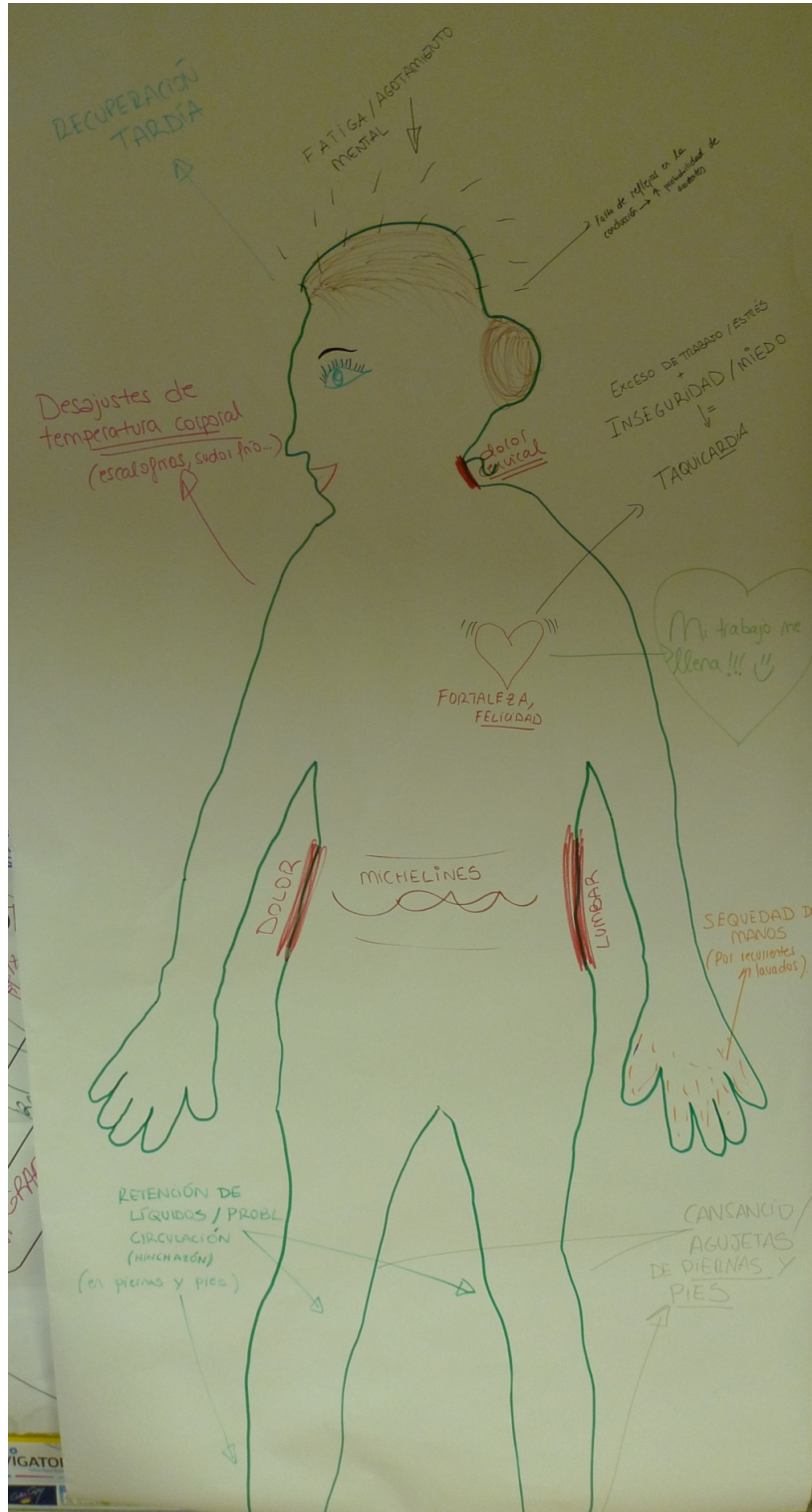
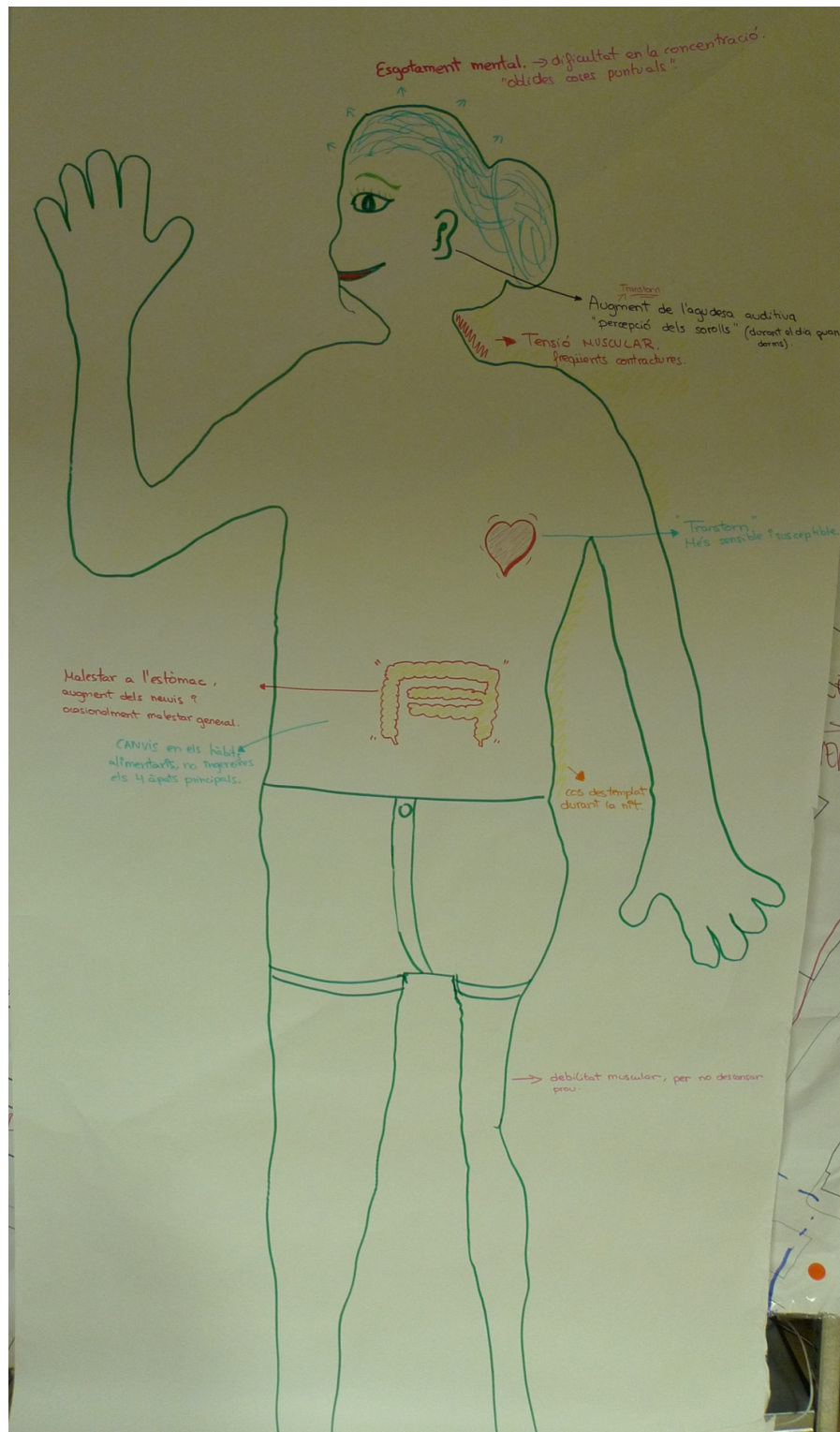


Figure 24: Neus' body map



Two more nurses at Bellvitge Hospital, Susana (Figure 25) and Silvia (Figure 26), showed in their drawings similar physical effects (fatigue, sunlight sensitivity, digestive disorders or back pains), despite being in a different life cycle. Susana is 48, single mom to a young university student who still lives with her. She has been working for 19 years at Bellvitge Hospital and commutes 28 km from Rubí on public transportation.

Her long-time night work experience makes her talk about the differences among those who work at night for a few years, and those, like her, who have had a fixed nightshift for a long time,

“La nit físicament i mentalment desgasta moltíssim, i no és lo mateix que et parli una persona que porta tres anys que una que porta 15 anys. A vegades porto 36 hores sense dormir o a vegades en 48 hores he dormit molt poc... avui per exemple dormiré tot el que no he dormit el cap de setmana, perquè en algun moment t’has de recuperar.”

“The night wears you out both physically and mentally, and it is not the same for a person who has been working at night for 3 years than for someone who has been doing it for 15 years. Sometimes I don’t sleep for 36 hours or sleep very little in 48 hours. Today, for example, I’ll make up the sleep I skipped over the weekend, because at some point, I need to recover.”

-- *Susana, hospital nurse*

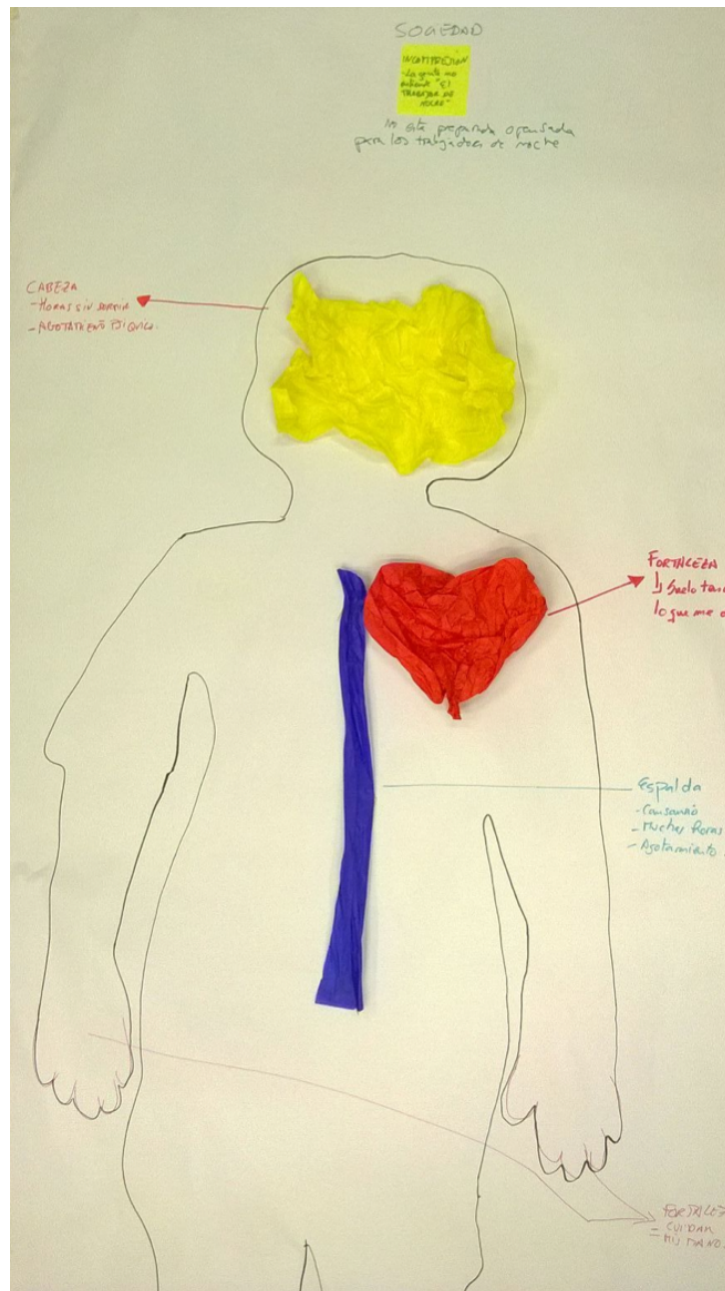
Figure 25: Susana 's body map



Silvia, 39, married, mom of a 10-year-old daughter and originally from northern Spain, moved to Barcelona a few years ago, after working as a nurse in the UK. She lives in the neighborhood of Sant Martí in Barcelona, close to the Besòs River and the beach. When she

began to work at Bellvitge Hospital, she commuted by public transportation, combining the metro with the tram. However, it took her more than one hour and she felt unsafe while falling asleep and feared assault on the way home. She decided to start commuting by car, which saves her time and allows her to arrive home to see her daughter before she goes to school. Like Núria and Ana, Silvia also talks about the lack of reflexes and the risk of falling asleep while driving, but she has learnt to live with it.

Figure 26: Silvia's body map



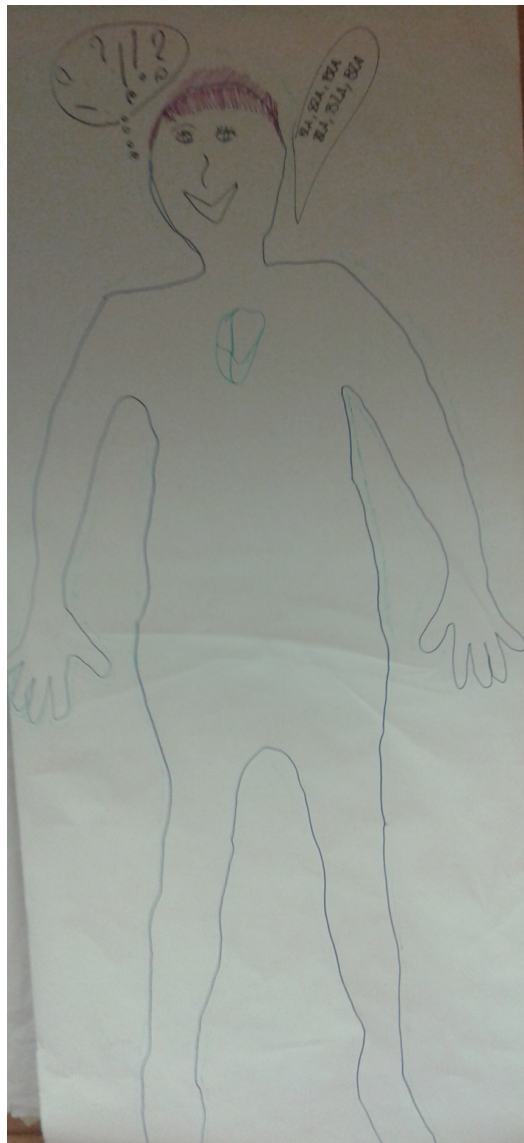
The sixth nurse of this FPAR, Cristina L. (Figure 27), is the exception of the group. She is one of the three women co-researchers who prefers the nightshift and feels her body works better when working at night. Cristina L., 39, married, mom of a 4-year-old, gets excited when she talks about working at night:

“Yo cuando estoy trabajando de noche, superbién, sin dolor de cabeza, superactiva, yo superbién. Yo soy nocturna. Estoy superequilibrada y superbién cuando trabajo de noche”.

“When I work at night, I feel super good, no head ache, super active, super good. I am nocturnal. I feel super balanced and super good when I work at night.”

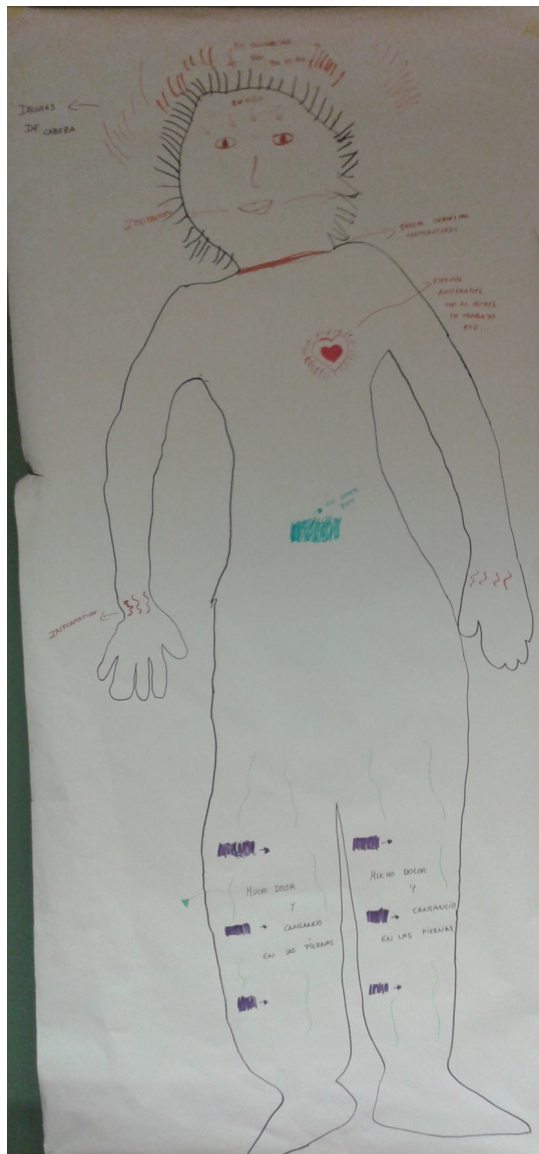
-- Cristina L., hospital nurse

Figure 27: Cristina L.'s body map



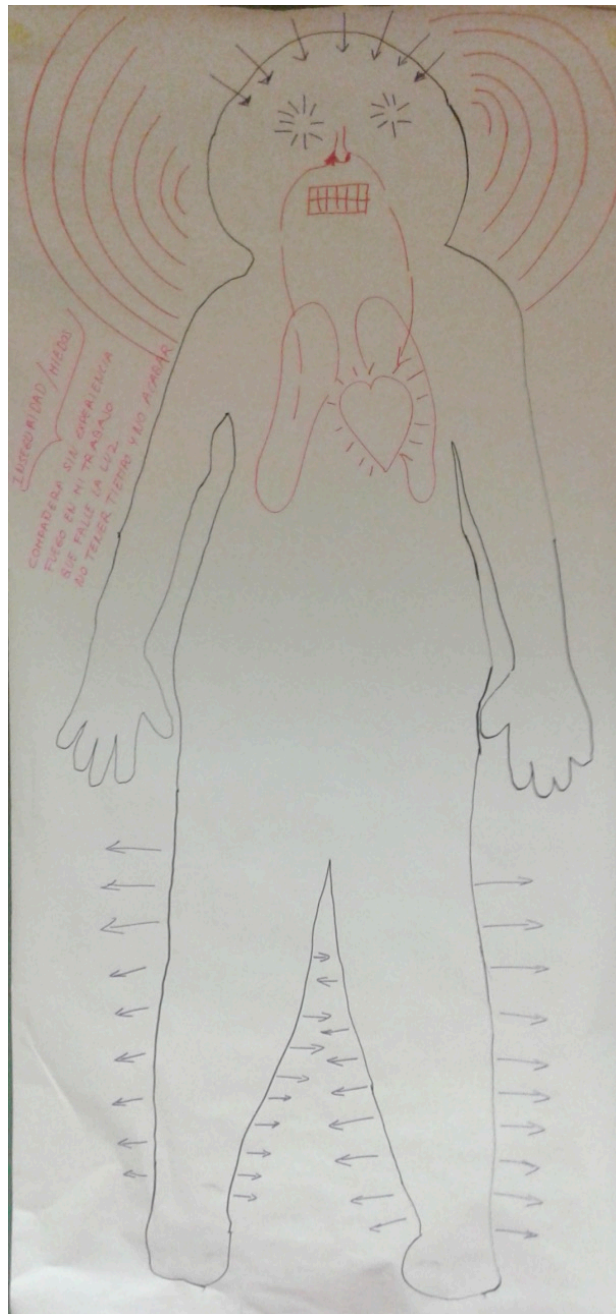
Other women also emphasize the physical effects of night work in their bodies. Their drawing and texts highlight the consequences of their physical jobs. It is the case of hospital and airport cleaners, as well as elder caretakers. These maps reflect how their bodies pay the consequences of developing very physical and repetitive jobs. For example, Yoli R., one of the airport cleaners, points out the head to emphasize headaches. She also highlights cervical pain, inflammation of her hands and leg pain and tiredness (Figure 28). At the airport, Yoli also mentions how her fear has increased following recent terrorist attacks in different European cities and the role of airports in these attacks. She feels that workers in the cleaning service are exposed.

Figure 28: Yoli R.'s body map



Pilar C., one of the elder caretakers, draws a very expressive body map that reflects the pains and tensions in her body (Figure 29). She draws arrows that come out of her legs to express her swollen legs and waves around her head and arrows pricking the brain to show constant headache and pressure. She often has dry eyes and uses eye drops. The drawing that connects the heart, lungs and nose wants to express her breathing techniques to overcome stress at work.

Figure 29: Pilar C.'s body map



In Pilar C.'s body map, the only words she wrote serve to express her insecurity and fear at work. Pilar C. and the other elder caretaker, Laura L., complain that in certain work places, the number of night staff diminishes under the false pretense that there is less work at night. This creates fear in elder care homes, as many emergencies happen at night and it distresses them not to be enough staff to cover the work.

"Yo me he quedado sola con 35 abuelos, si no pasa nada das abasto... pero y si pasa? si tienes una urgencia olvídate de cambios y de nada más"

"I have been alone with 35 elderlies, if nothing happens, you can handle it... but if something happens? if there is an emergency forget about changing [patient's positions] or any other task"

-- Pilar C., elderly caretaker

Mayte, the police officer, emphasizes the physical effects of night work (Figure 30). She uses only drawing and symbols, and does not write any words. In her verbal account, she explains that the night affects her appetite. She also suffers headaches and leg pain. In contrast to other co-researchers who spend many hours standing (nurses, cleaners), she explains that her legs suffer because she spends eight hours in a car, either driving or in the companion seat, patrolling all night. In her body map she did not make any reference to the gender discrimination and harassment that she experiences at work, which highlight that when analyzing body maps we should also be aware of the silences.

Figure 30: Mayte's body map



5.3.2. Mental health effects

Besides these physical effects, all women co-researchers associate the heart with **emotional wellbeing**, either because it is the organ where they locate sadness and mood changes, or where they place happiness and strength. Ana places in her heart diagram her feeling of sadness and the sensation of being often more susceptible because she cannot spend enough time with her partner, family and friends. Neus also places in her heart her sensitivity and susceptibility. Núria, Susana, Cristina L., Yoli R., Pilar C. and Mayte place at the heart their happiness and strength, and love for their jobs and lives. We also see this strength located in the heart in the rest of body maps later presented.

Mood changes and susceptibility to disease commonly affect women's mental health. Women consider lack of rest and night schedules to affect their mood, becoming irritable, anxious and depressive. Conchi, the hospital cleaner who decided to change shifts because of the mental health consequences, shares:

“Te cambia el carácter mucho, cambias mucho los horarios de dormir; a la larga si no lo frenas la noche es depresiva.”

“My mood changes a lot, I change the sleeping schedules a lot; and at the end, if you don't stop, the night becomes depressive.”

-- Conchi, hospital cleaner

In addition to marking the physical and mental health effects in the body map, women also marked where they feel strength. As mentioned, the heart and head are two places where most women indicated strength. For example, Conchi (Figure 31) used her body map as an exercise of empowerment and self-esteem to show her strengths. She emphasizes how she tries hard for her heart to guide her:

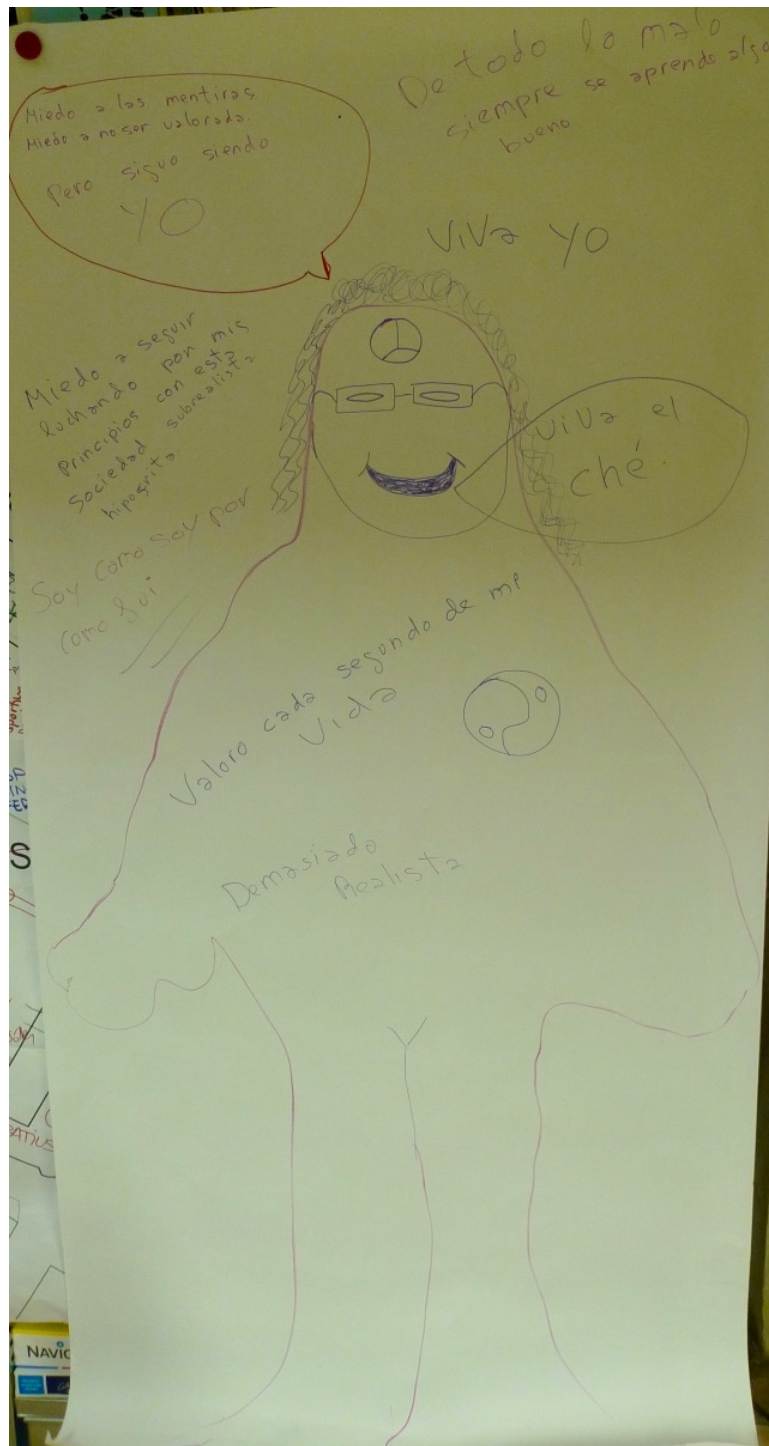
“Yo, el corazón mío es el que manda. Manda más que la cabeza en muchas ocasiones, dentro de que tengo los pies en el suelo. Pero sí. Mentalmente estoy muy agotada, muy agotada, precisamente por eso, porque quieres llegar a todos sitios, y de hecho pues llego a muchos sitios, y no me doy cuenta de que tengo una edad.”

“My heart is in charge. It commands more than my head in many occasions, with my feet on the ground. But yes. Mentally I feel exhausted, very exhausted, precisely because I want to get everywhere and in fact I do many things but I forget I have a certain age.”

-- Conchi, hospital cleaner

Conchi explains she has had a difficult life. She grew up in Bellvitge neighborhood in L'Hospitalet, a working-class housing estate neighborhood where the heroin crisis in the 1980s affected young people. She was a drug user for some years, but decided to access a detox program far away from her community. When she returned, she became a neighborhood activist working with youth and advocated for the improvement of social services. Thus, her body map is a representation of the self-esteem and empowerment process she went through. She pictures herself smiling and acknowledges her personal story when she writes on her map: "I am what I am because of what I was". She writes positive messages such as: "you always learn from all the bad things" "hurrah me" or "I value every second of my life". She also presents her fears: "fear to lies, to not been valued, to continue fighting for her values in a surrealist and hypocritical society".

Figure 31: Conchi's body map



As other scholars have documented, Conchi demonstrates that body mapping can also be an individual and collective empowerment and self-esteem tool when built and shared within

a trusting environment (Gastaldo, Magalhães, and Carrasco 2012; Lykes and Crosby 2014; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2015, 2017).

Another element present in most women's body maps and accounts, is sleep deprivation. Most women are sleep deprived, few of them sleep 8 hours, and most sleep a few hours before their second shift at home starts. This is the case for Yoli T., one of the airport cleaners who is a single mom with three kids. Yoli T. was not able to participate in the body map workshop, but the day I accompanied her bus commute from the airport to her home in Castelldefels, she explained how the lack of sleep affects her mood and character:

"Duermo 4-6h, no más. Y en mí lo que hace es que te cambia el carácter por completo, es que no eres ni persona. Estás irritable, te lo comes todo. Es como voy a hacer ahora, llego y me tumbo, voy a dormir 2 horas, me mata. Cuando tengo que hacer una gestión es así. Prefiero no dormir y hacer las cosas, acostarme luego, pero del tirón."

"I sleep 4-6 hours, not more. This changes my mood completely; I am not a person. I am irritable with everything. Just like I'm about to do now, I arrive home and lay down, I sleep for 2 hours, it kills me. When I have to run some errands it's like that. I prefer not to sleep at all, run the errands, and go to sleep afterwards without interruptions."

-- Yoli T., airport cleaner

Alejandra, the oldest of the sex workers in charge of her granddaughter, also talks about her sleepiness linked to family obligations:

"Yo llego a las 4 de la mañana, me acuesto una hora y media, y me levanto por la niña, ya dejo todo arreglado por la noche, y me levanto y me lavo la cara y todo, pero luego de dejarla me da sueño."

"I arrive at 4 am, I lay down an hour and a half and I wake up for my girl. I leave everything arranged at night, I wake up and wash my face and everything but after dropping her at school, I feel sleepy."

-- Alejandra, sex worker

Even among the few women who sleep 8 hours, they acknowledge that sleeping during the day is not the same as sleeping at night. Pilar C., one of the elder caretakers, explains how night work accelerates the aging process:

“Hay estudios que dicen que envejecemos más que una persona que trabaja de día. Te cambia en seguida la expresión de la cara. No es lo mismo dormir 8 horas de día que 8 horas de noche.”

“There are studies that show that we age faster than a person who works during the day. Your face expression changes rapidly. It is not the same sleeping 8 hours during the day than 8 hours during the night.”

-- Pilar C., elder caretaker

Greater sensitivity to light, and daytime noises of construction work, neighbours, postal services, telephone rings and other similar elements are magnified and disturb sleep quality during the day. Lidia, one of the street cleaners whose partner also works on the same company and shift, explains that she is able to rest more in the winter than during the summer because noises start later in the morning:

“En invierno, como que sí que amanece más tarde, a lo mejor hay gente que hasta las 9 y media o 10 de la mañana no hace ruido. Pero ahora en verano, que a las 6 de la mañana ya hace sol, claro, la gente se levanta, que si persianas para arriba, persianas para abajo, ya se empiezan a mover, es diferente. Pero bueno, es lo que nos toca, armarnos de paciencia.”

“In the winter, since it dawns later, people might not make noise until 9:30 or 10:00. But now, in the summer, at six in the morning the sun rises, and of course, people wake up, and you hear the shutters go up and down, people start moving, it's different. But anyway, we need to have lots of patience.”

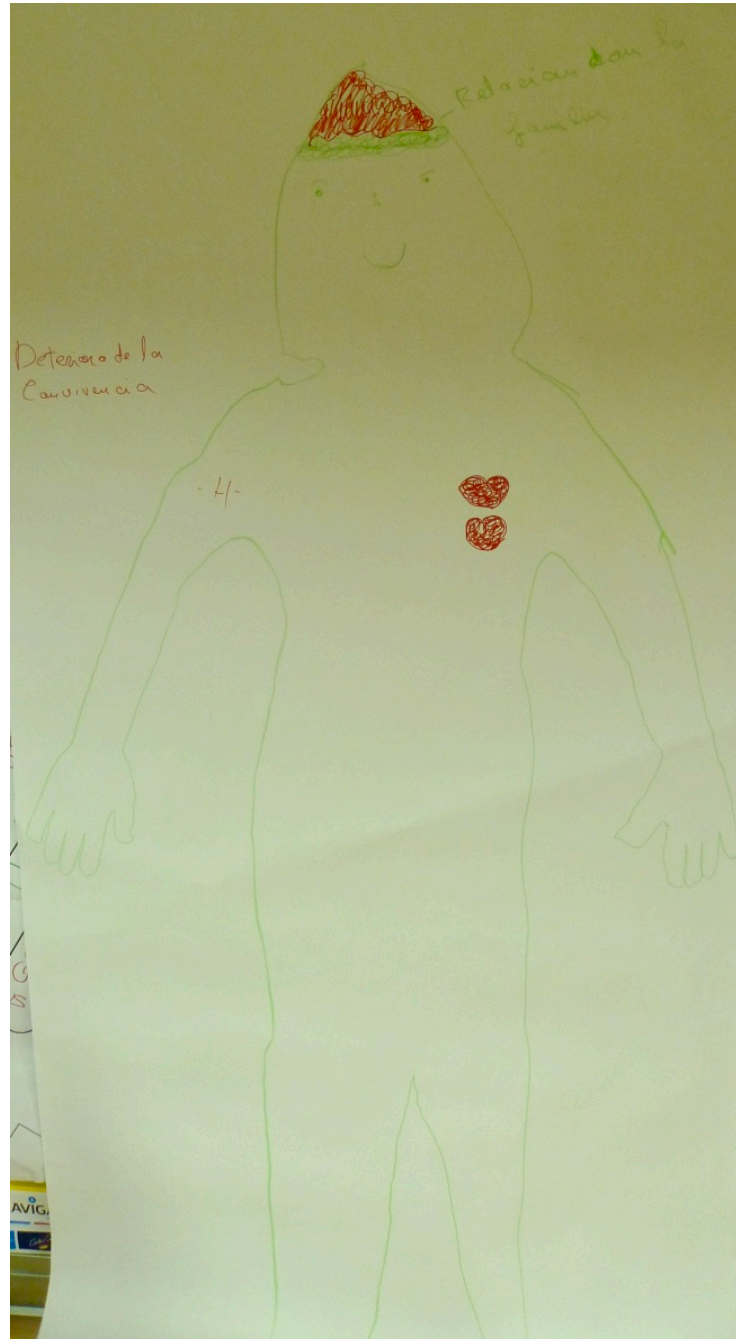
-- Lidia, street cleaner

Ángeles, one of the hospital cleaners in her 50s and a nightshift worker for more than 18 years, is one of the three co-researchers who loves working at night. She lives in Sant Ildefons, one of the working-class housing estates built in Cornellà, 10 minutes driving from the hospital. Ángeles was the first night worker I met, before starting fieldwork. Felisa, one of the advisory group members, introduced me to Ángeles because she was one of the activists within the cleaners' team. Ángeles was excited about the project, but the year we started fieldwork, her daughter suddenly died. This tremendously affected her, and she was at the beginning reticent to participate in this FPAR project. She finally engaged with the research and participated in all data gathering, analysis and action activities.

In her body map, (Figure 32) she highlights that night work affects her psychologically, because the poor sleep quality affects her mood and mental wellbeing. She also emphasizes

how night work negatively affects family relations. However, she did not want to enter deeply in describing her emotions due to her grief.

Figure 32: Ángeles' body map



Pilar B., a hospital cleaner and close friend of Ángeles, also emphasizes in her body map the emotional effects of night work. Pilar B. sees herself as a positive and strong woman, graphically expressed through the top part of the body map (Figure 33). She appears smiling

and writes inside her heart “Very strong”. In her stomach, though, she writes “Anguish day by day”. Pilar B., divorced with two adult daughters and recently re-married, lives in the Bellvitge neighborhood, a 15-minute walk from the hospital. During the week, she lives alone, and on weekends, she travels to a town in Valencia, 200 km south of Barcelona, where her current husband lives. She did not share much detail about her life, but her body map is a representation that gives clues of a tough life covered in a strong “body armour” to feel less vulnerable.

Figure 33: Pilar B.'s body map



5.3.3. Physical and mental health effects of sex work

Finally, the body maps of sex workers deserve special attention because they add complexity to the analysis of physical and mental health effects due to the sexual dimension of their work, as well as the intersectional consequences of their social and economic situation.

In the body mapping session with sex workers, we explicitly discussed how they live the sexual aspects of their work, not explicitly mentioned on their body maps. They try to remove the social stigma attached to their job, as they see it as a source of income. Laura E. has the most pragmatic approach and says:

“Pues yo me mentalizo, es un trabajo más donde gano dinero. Yo es que lo veo normal, ya que necesito dinero y con eso me estoy.”

“Well, I prepare myself mentally; it’s another job where I gain money. I see it normal, since I need money and this serves me.”

-- Laura L., sex worker

Alejandra does not like her work and considers it unpleasant above all her night activities:

“A ver, a mí no es que me guste, la verdad, pero es un trabajo que a mí me ayuda a tirar para adelante; muchas veces me afecta y otras no. Cuando más trabajo es cuando más me afecta. Es un trabajo más, me ayuda a tirar para adelante, pero tienes que tener estómago.”

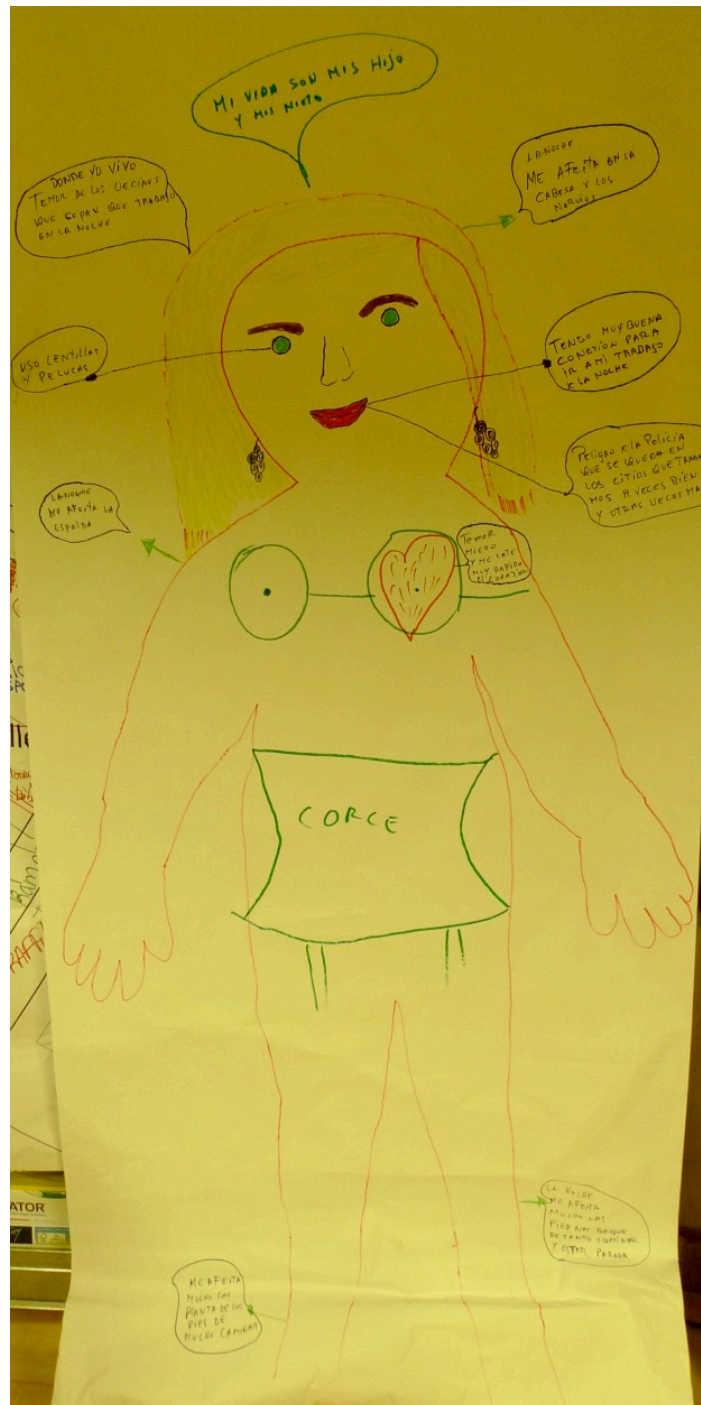
“See, I don’t like it, the truth, but it is a job that helps me move forward; many times, it affects me and other times not. When I work more is when it affects me more. It’s a job, it helps me move forward, but you have to have guts.”

-- Alejandra, sex worker

Alejandra, the oldest sex worker, pictures herself in the body as she dresses when she goes to work (Figure 34). She uses a blond wig, a corset, color contacts and make up. At the physical health level, she highlights on her body map how she suffers back pain and swollen feet due to long hours standing on the streets. Above all, Alejandra represents the emotional impact and the fears of working as a street sex worker. On one hand, she fears her neighbors’ recognizing her since she stands less than 500 meters away from her home. She values working close to home because she does not have mobility issues, so she dresses up to avoid recognition by her immediate neighbors. On the other hand, she also fears the police that patrol the areas where sex workers stand. Alejandra often complains that in the area of

Raval the police do not make sex workers feel safe as they discourage clients and intimidate sex workers. She explains that under the current government, police have stopped imposing fines to sex workers under the Civic Ordinance. However, police officers in her area of work continue harassing sex workers.

Figure 34: Alejandra' body map



Alejandra represents the fear of robbery or sexual assault in her heart. She shares stories of women who were literally and figuratively robbed after providing sexual service. She always remembers the rape and murder of her daughter. Street sex workers, who are mostly migrant women and transgender (Ortiz Escalante and Sweet 2013), are undoubtedly in a very vulnerable position because the current patriarchal, racist and capitalist society sees them as disposable sexual objects and as sexual commodities. Alejandra and the other sex workers explain how there are men who think they can abuse and do whatever they want with sex workers. Between 2015 and 2018, at least 16 sex workers have been murdered in Spain. However, these are not recognized as violence against women cases and they often disappear from official statistics⁴⁶. The impunity and lack of recognition and invisibility of these crimes increase sex workers vulnerability.

In contrast with Alejandra's body map, Laura E. and Pepi makes more use of writing on the contour of their body maps than drawing. Laura E. surrounds her body silhouette with lines of colors: red surrounding the head and yellow the rest of the body (Figure 35), writing on the top of the mapping sheet the impacts of night work. Laura E. works in an apartment in Sabadell, a city 30 km north of Barcelona. She commutes by train from L'Hospitalet to Sabadell. The apartment is located next to an industrial zone that becomes a nightclub zone after dark. She shares the fear she experiences walking from the train station to her apartment at night. She has to cross this area and often encounters men who harass her. Thus, she signals in her body map the fear she experiences, placing her strength in the hands and legs.

In the body map exercise, we also discussed how their neighborhood influenced fear and safety perceptions. Although Laura E. acknowledges she lives in a marginalized neighborhood in L'Hospitalet, she is confident of her safety because she knows the community and values the neighbourhood's connectedness with public transportation. Her main inconvenience is her apartment building without an elevator. She lives on the fifth floor, and complains of how tiresome it is to go upstairs after work or to carry the groceries.

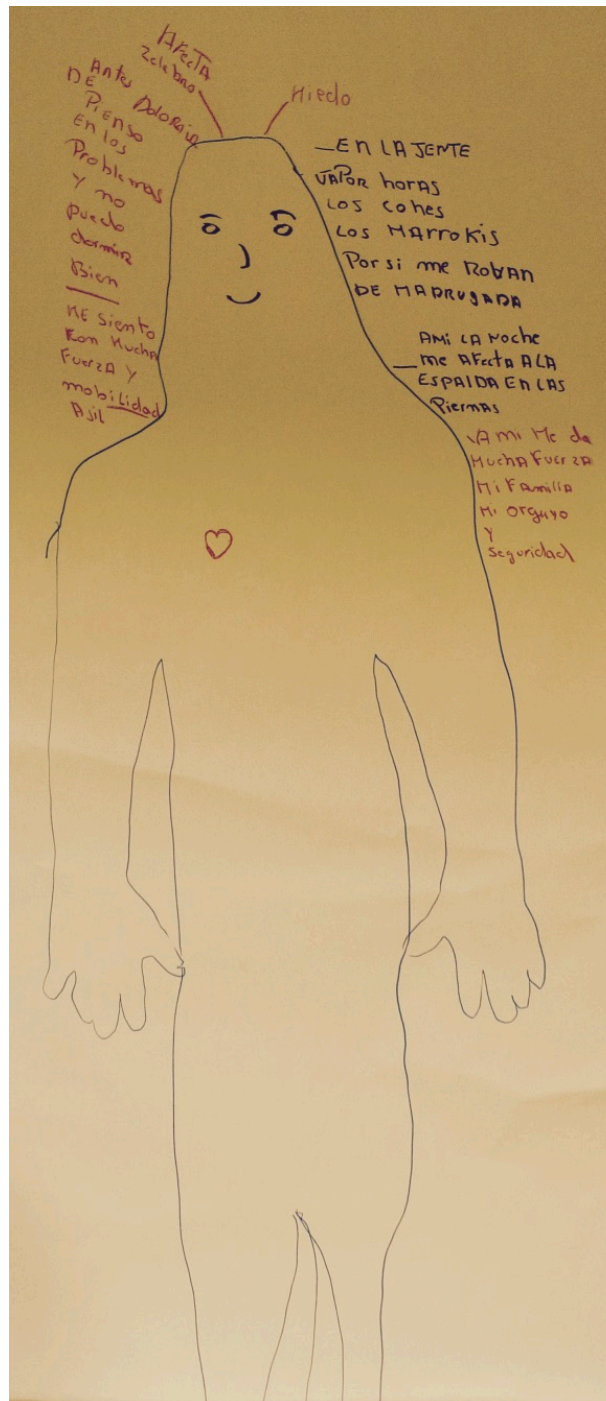
⁴⁶ Feminicidio.net <https://feminicidio.net/>

Figure 35: Laura E.'s body map



Pepi in her body map draws herself smiling (Figure 36). She also writes in the contour of her body the effects of night work. She mentions back and leg pain. Above all, she emphasizes her fears and anxieties. She fears cars and people who might rob her in the middle of the night.

Figure 36: Pepi's body map



Although not included on her body map, Pepi shared with us how a Moroccan man raped and almost killed her. She often brought up this traumatic experience when we met, but at the same time, she expressed her racism against Moroccan men. She is the only one born in Spain in the group of sex workers. Even though the three sex workers share the oppression of living at risk of poverty, being a white woman positioned Pepi in a privileged position to make these racist assumptions in front of the two migrant sex workers, originally from countries that were colonized and dispossessed by Spain. In this case, Pepi's belonging to both oppressed and privileged groups at the same time adds complexity to the situation (Bastia 2014). Pepi's racist comments confirm how the history of colonialism impregnates debates about migration even in contexts where women live common oppressions. I tried to create a safe environment where Alejandra, Laura E. and myself could question her racist assumptions, but I acknowledge my limitations and recognize that Alejandra and Laura E. might have felt silenced and discriminated by Pepi's attitude.

Despite this negative experience, Alejandra and Laura E. always emphasized that they identify the space of Àmbit Dona (Woman Scope) of the Fundació Àmbit Prevenció as a safe environment. All sex workers who use the space and receive support services are women and trans, many of them migrants, have diverse histories and origins. But they have created a climate of respect towards diversity, unseen in other similar environments. Sex workers highly value the program support of Àmbit Dona. It is like their second home, a space where they feel safe, supported, not judged, and where they can talk and socialize comfortably with other workers living similar situations. Alejandra beautifully shares:

"Es nuestra segunda casa, damos gracias que hay esto, sino ¡qué sería de nosotras! Se puede andar con libertad, nadie te anda mirando; si no hubiera esto yo fuera un desastre... me han dado mucho la mano y me la siguen dando."

"It's our second home, we are grateful that this exists, otherwise, what would become of us! We feel free, without anybody looking at you; if this did not exist, I don't know, I would be a disaster... they have helped me a lot and continue helping me."

-- Alejandra, sex worker

5.3.4. The effects of fear of sexual violence

Finally, the body maps also explain how fear of moving at night through the city and metro area is embodied. Most co-researchers place fear in the heart, stomach and mouth, as the

body parts that suffer fear-provoked stress. Three women co-researchers focused their body maps on this topic to show this is the night work issue that most affects them, particularly Cristina M., Txell and Zenobia.

Cristina M., one of the hospital cleaners from Collblanc in L'Hospitalet, focuses her body map on her everynight fear when she goes back home. Seven metro stations separate Bellvitge Hospital from Cristina M.'s home. As further discussed in Chapter 6, due to a sexual assault she suffered one night on her way back home, Cristina M. decided to change routes. She takes the metro and instead of stopping at her neighbourhood stop, she continues until Barcelona city center and from there she takes a night bus that brings her back home in L'Hospitalet. This allows her to walk home in an area of the neighbourhood where she feels safer and saves her having to cross the bridge where the assault happened and that separates the closest metro station from her home.

In her body map (Figure 37), Cristina M. pictures all the parts that react to **fear**. On the top part of her map, she draws a moon and a house to symbolize the night commute. She draws big eyes with big glasses as a symbol of alertness, a heart that accelerates, closed fists and legs in tension. In her body map account, she explains:

“Los ojos por la noche es que me van por todos lados. Cuando salgo de aquí, cuando salgo del metro empiezo a mirar para todos lados porque mi barrio tiene tela marinera. Cuando me cruzo con un hombre el corazón se me empieza a acelerar, cierro los puños, las piernas y hasta que no llego a mi casa no hago ‘uff’ y descanso”

“My eyes at night look everywhere. When I leave work and when I leave the metro, I start looking everywhere because my neighbourhood is complicated. When I come across a man, my heart starts to accelerate, I close my fists, and my legs and is not until I get home that I can say ‘uff’ and rest”

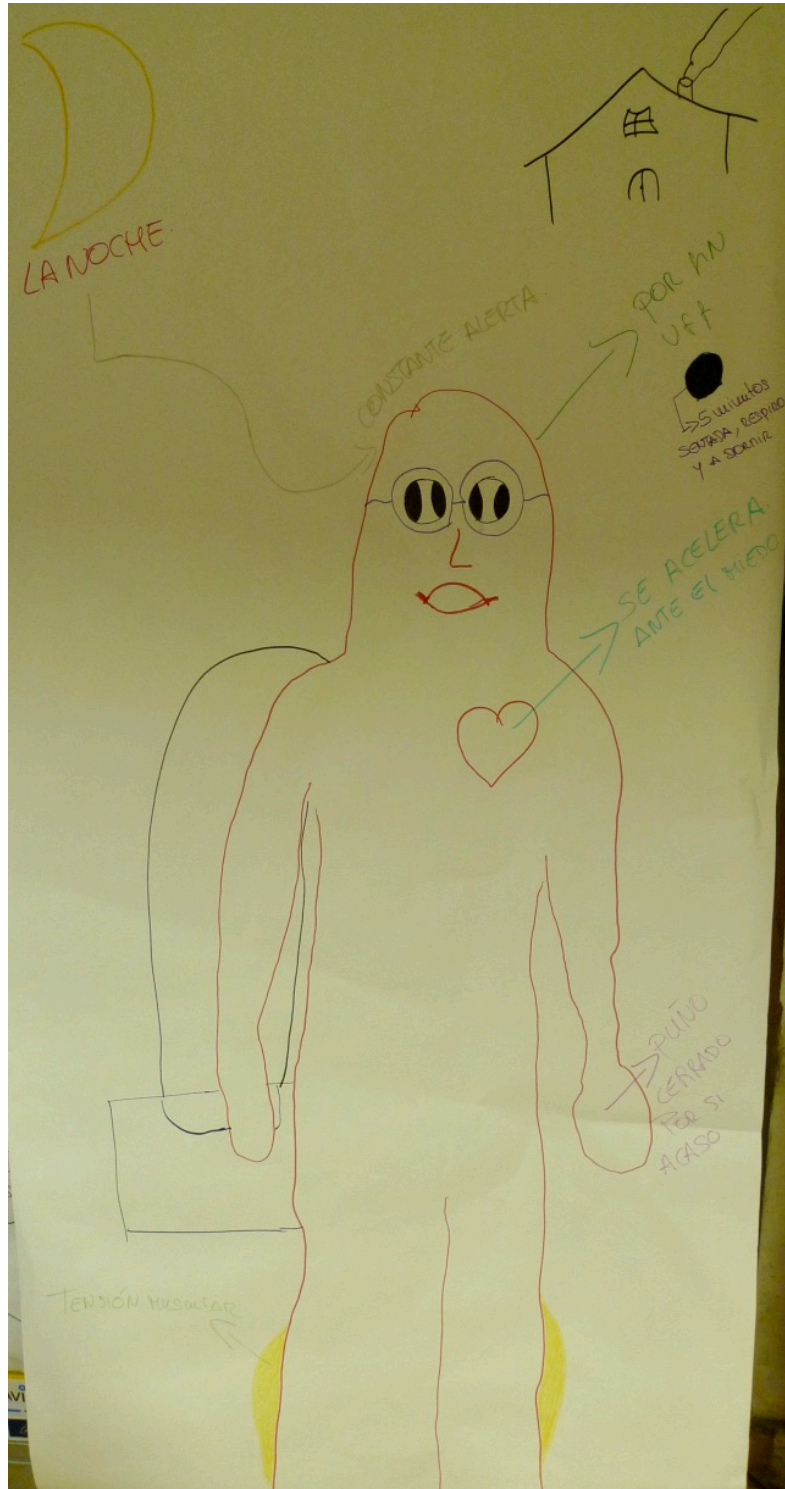
-- Cristina M., hospital cleaner

On her map, she also writes under the house, “Finally, uff” to represent she got home. She draws a black point and writes next to it: “I sit for 5 minutes when I get home, breathe and go to sleep.”

As we will see in Chapter 6, Cristina M.'s neighbourhood urban layout and mobility infrastructures negatively affect her everynight life, to the point of investing more time in commuting to reduce her anxiety. This is also a clear example of the unequal impact of night

work on women, thus contributing to other studies that document how women change their routes at night as a safety strategy (Law 1999; Pain 1991; Valentine 1989).

Figure 37: Cristina M.'s body map



Txell, the shift psychologist at the social emergencies centre used this opportunity to picture the negative impacts of fear in her body, doing a gender analysis (Figure 38). She uses different colors, symbols and supplies to represent this. On the top of her body map, she wrote “Women+Night=Danger” and she draws lines that surround the body to express all the threats women receive. In the head part, the lines enter her brain and she writes next to them, “our society educates us on being vulnerable, submissive, repressed, fearful, which limits our freedom” (Figure 40). In her explanation of the map, she shares:

“La meva impressió que si treballes de nit, i ets dona, el primer pensament que et ve és com aquesta sensació de perill, i tal. Llavors, he posat, que surt del cap, com a dona, tot el tema de la submissió, gènere vulnerable, objecte de desig i tal i després també com educació repressora, creences limitants heretades. A partir d’aquí, com a base, està la por, pel simple fet d’anar de nit, ser una dona i anar sola, i després també aquests pensaments que es relacionen entre ells. A l’esquena notar aquest pes, aquesta amenaça, inseguretat, desconfiança, que va fent motxilla. Aquesta sensació d’alerta, l’entorn que el percebo com amenaçant, a la nit, en general.”

“My impression is that if you work at night, and you are a woman, the first thought you have is this sense of danger. Hence, I noticed that as a woman, all this comes from my head: the issue of submission, vulnerable gender, object of desire; and even the repressive education and the inherited limiting beliefs. I feel all this weight on my back: the threat, insecurity, distrust, it all adds weight to my backpack. This sense of alertness, I perceive the night environment threatening in general.”

-- Txell, social emergencies shift worker

To picture the weight of heteropatriarchal gender norms and expectations, she draws a zipped mouth, and writes “eyes wide open and ears aware of everything”. She draws a pyramid of lines over her shoulders to represent the weight of oppression. In her brain, she glued small paper balls to represent in blue those positive thoughts such as “everything is ok” and in yellow the negative thoughts: “Watch out!” She writes next to her head “ALERT” and next to her fist “RIGIDITY” to illustrate her readiness to flee a dangerous situation.

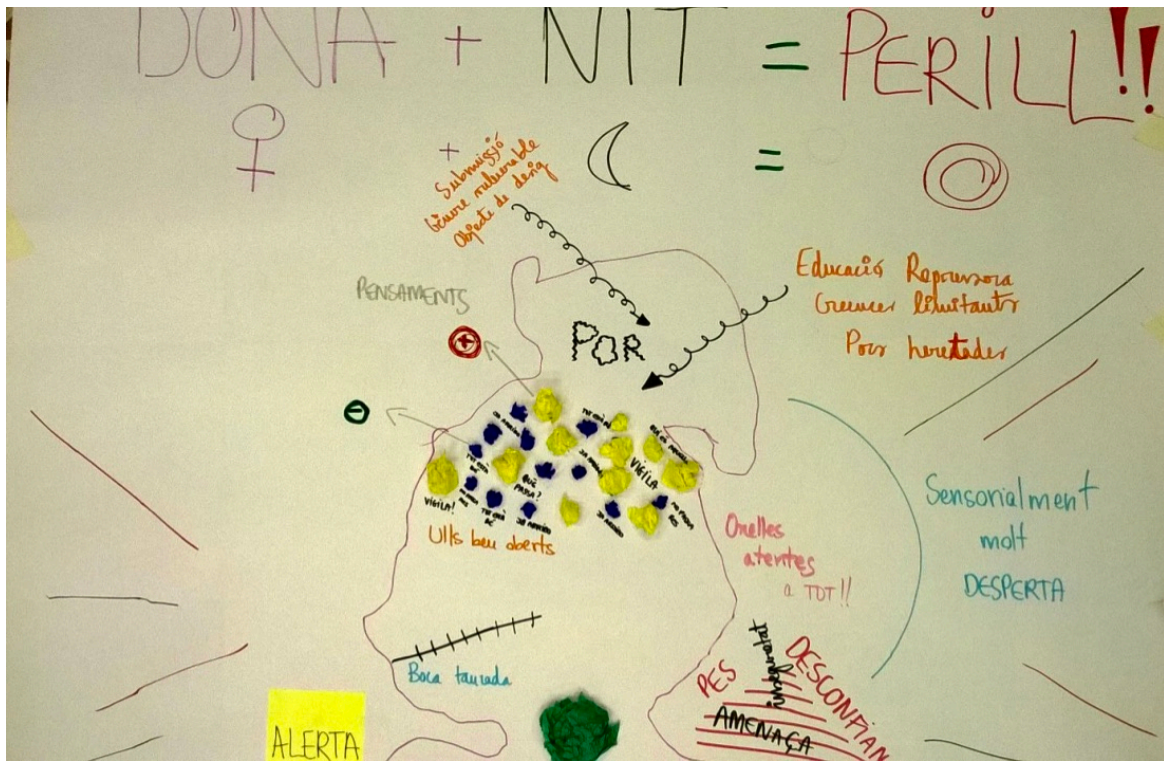
On her body map, she also draws a connection between her throat and her vagina through a red spine. She draws a zip on her vagina and writes between her legs: “unprotected (unfortunate? guilty?)”. Through this, she pictures the fear and exposure of women night workers to sexual assault. She is the only one who makes specific reference to sexual parts of her body. Finally, as a safety strategy, she imagines her feet as swimming feet that flap

fast to return home. She also shares that she often uses music as a distraction. She likes to sing a song on her commute called "*Vestida de nit*" (Night dress) as a strategy to face the fear when she gets out of work at night.

I think Txell's body map captures the thoughts, perceptions, fears and strategies of many women who use the city after dark. The rest of women co-researchers expressed through words, but not made specific reference to their sexual organs to talk about fear or safety.

[illegible]

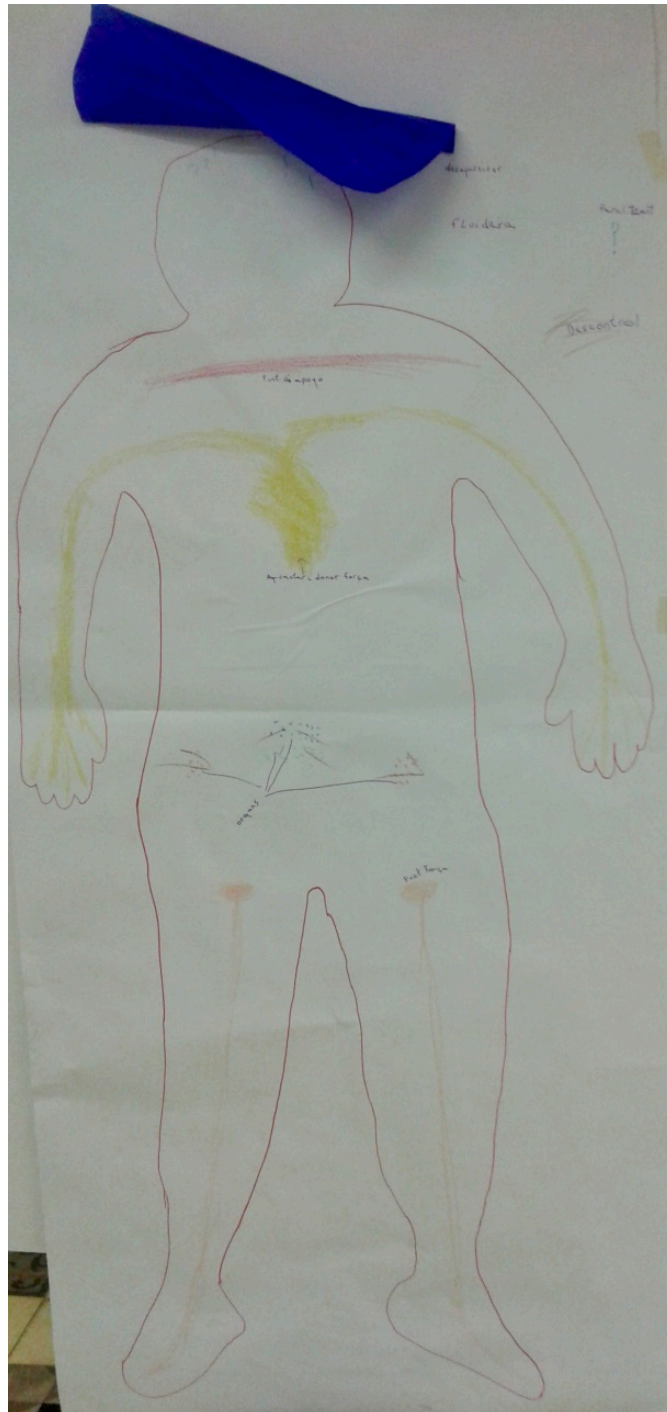
Figure 39: Detail of the head of Txell's body map



The body map of Zenobia (see Figure 40), also a shift worker at the social emergencies centre, might serve to close the body map analysis in an affirmative tone. Zenobia has worked on rotating shifts for many years at the social emergencies center located in the neighborhood of Poble Nou, Barcelona's old industrial area located close to the beach. She lives in Gràcia neighborhood and during day shifts, she takes the metro; her home is ten metro stops away from her job. But at night, she prefers to drive for safety reasons. Zenobia showed through the body map and the other research activities, how over the years she has developed strategies to avoid the perception of fear and empower herself to feel safe and gain autonomy. She uses meditation and other mindfulness and body awareness techniques to fight the fear. In her body map, Zenobia draws and writes these techniques. She glues a blue paper cover over her head to symbolize an invisible cover she imagines when she faces fear. She imagines herself as becoming invisible and uses her body awareness techniques to walk firmly and with security. She represents how she distributes her energies and strength in her shoulders, arms, hips and legs.

Zenobia also exemplifies other strategies that many women develop to gain autonomy and access to night activities. Since tearing down the patriarchal systems will take centuries, in the meantime, women develop strategies to increase their right to the city. Chapter 6 further explores these strategies.

Figure 40: Detail of the head of Txell's body map



5.3.5. The contributions of body mapping

One of the objectives in using body mapping in this FPAR has been to locate the impact of planning policies on women's bodies, challenging the colonial, patriarchal, racist and capitalist dehumanization of women, and to address women's exclusion from the public space. Women are dehumanized and treated as objects in a colonial, patriarchal and capitalist society (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2017) that can be dominated (Wesely and Gaarder 2004) by being exposed to fear of sexual harassment and abuse. Federici (2013) argues that women's bodies are the last frontier capitalism wants to conquer because there is no way yet to produce life outside women's bodies. This dehumanization of women's bodies is one of the aspects that women nightshift workers highlight in this study, particularly those who work on the streets or commute by walking or taking public transportation.

By using body mapping, we have sought the humanization of planning. It is necessary for urban planners to connect with the body, and make them aware of the impacts that planning policies have at the visceral and intimate level. The awareness of planning impacts on the body are now acknowledged when analyzing the effects of climate change and pollution, for example. But there is still a disconnection between safety planning and mobility planning policies with gendered embodied consequences of violence and access to transportation (Law 1999; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2015, 2017). This research aims to raise awareness among planners and policy makers of the importance of connecting with the body. Understanding bodies as a part of space can enable planners to de-emphasize the public/private divide. Looking at the body-land as a continuum and including women's everyday/everynight life knowledge can help planning make communities safer (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2017). Thus, we hope that by making visible the effects of nightwork on women's bodies and its relation with urban planning elements, planners will increase their awareness about the importance of planning the night beyond leisure and alcohol consumption, and including an intersectional and gender lens in the analyses that inform planning policies and practices.

Using body mapping has enabled gathering information about embodied lived experiences at different scales, and their bodies have been analyzed not only as a biographical space, but also a space of resistance. We hope that body mapping has helped women reclaim their

bodies, the most intimate space, to be able to take ownership of other territories: the home, the neighbourhood, the city, the country (Falú 2009; Vargas 2009).

However, we have to be also cautious about its use. Body mapping story-telling should be used with groups of people with whom a trust and safe relationships has been established to avoid damage. Even in this FPAR, where women created a safe environment, there was a lack of reference to the sexualized experience, with the exception of one woman, in the body maps. These silences illustrate that analyzing the intimate impacts of planning should be approached carefully and with respect and reflexivity.

5.4 Night work effects on family and social relations and support

In the final section of this chapter, I analyze how gender roles, expectations of women and night work affects family and social relations and support, highlighting how women nightshift workers feel that society does not understand what it entails to work at night.

Many women feel that their family, relatives and society in general do not understand the consequences of night work. Women have the feeling that people think that a 4 or 5-hour sleep gives enough rest. They also emphasize that family members associate their sleeping during the day not as rest time but as being lazy. For Silvia, a hospital nurse, this effect of night work affects her the most. In her testimony, she highlights the lack of understanding in a society that plans mainly for the day:

“En la sociedad hay una incomprensión total de la gente que trabaja de noche, porque hasta que no trabajas de noche, sea en el ámbito que sea, no te das cuenta... la gente te llama por teléfono, te toca el timbre... piensa que si duermes un poquito, pues ya está, y además esperan que si duermes 4-5 horas te despiertes y ya seas persona.”

“In this society there is total lack of understanding for people who work at night, because until you work at night, in whatever field, you don’t get it... people call you by phone, ring the door bell, and think that if you sleep only a bit, it’s enough, with only 4-5 hours of sleep, they expect you to be a regular person.”

-- Silvia, hospital nurse

Other co-researchers echo the lack of empathy that Silvia feels. Núria, another nurse, explicitly shares the feeling that her family does not value her work:

“No et sents valorada, en el teu nucli familiar... La gent més propera a tu, com quan tu treballes ells estan dormint i se’ls passa el temps molt ràpid, no tenen la sensació que treballis. És a dir, que quan ells et veuen, estàs a casa sense fer res, perquè estàs descansant. Llavors tenen la sensació de que treballes de pascuas a ramos. Que pots dormir menys hores.”

“I don’t feel valued in the family circle. While we work, family and relatives sleep and their time passes very fast, they don’t have the feeling that we work. Therefore, when they see us, we are at home doing nothing because we are resting. Then, they have the feeling that we work ‘once in a blue moon’, and we can sleep less hours”

-- Núria, hospital nurse

Núria, like other nurses’ co-researchers, works three or four days a week, in non-consecutive days. This ‘untraditional’ routine probably contributes to the lack of understanding. The most worrisome impact is how family’s lack of understanding also conditions women’s sleep. Again, this lack of understanding is gendered; women’s work, and night work especially, continue being less valued at the family and social level. In general, the discrimination women face from unequal pay for equal work is a macro indicator of embodied consequences lived at the personal level, often in silence and with lack of understanding.

Women nightshift workers also see their social life, leisure and self-care time reduced because of night work. Most women have a double shift, they sleep less to be able to take care of their dependents, and therefore, their leisure time disappears. Toñi, a hospital cleaner, divorced and whose grown up children still live with her, exemplifies this:

“No tienes mucha vida social, sales de aquí, duermes, haces las cosas en tu casa, mis hijos son grandecillos, pero son chicos y los tengo muy mal acostumbrados y lo hago todo y hasta las 5 de la tarde no salgo, también voy a ver a mis padres, etc.”

“You don’t have much social life, leave work, sleep, work at home... My children are big now, but they are boys and I have spoiled them and I do everything and I don’t leave the house until 5 pm, I also go to visit my parents, etc.”

-- Toñi, hospital cleaner

Women with small children unfavorably identify their inability to dedicate more time to them. Neus, the nurse with a 1-year-old child, is still breastfeeding and regrettably, her schedule limits her capacity to breastfeed a lot more. Neus argues that the existing breastfeeding permits after women return to work mainly consider dayshift workers. In fact, Neus and other co-researchers, complain that most family leave policies do not accommodate the needs and characteristics of night work. Consequently, many end up not benefiting from these policies,

because they are incompatible with their realities. For example, Neus mentions that when you ask for a one or two-day leave to accompany a family member to a hospital intervention, the leave starts in the morning, which automatically reduces sleeping time for night workers. They claim the leave should count from the evening to acknowledge the night work conditions.

There are few women co-researchers who share care responsibilities with other family members, either because they are single-head households or because their partners do little sharing. Neus and Cristina L., both hospital nurses, share domestic chores and children's care with their partners: they acknowledge its enormous benefits on their quality of life because they can sleep and rest more hours. This exemplifies the need to make visible women's burden of carrying double and triple shifts and to advocate for making domestic and care work a social and public responsibility, recognized outside the household. Care work is not a "private" affair, it is a public matter that public policies should address in order to change social norms and advance towards a more equitable society where men share care work, not as a personal choice but a social responsibility, and governments invest in welfare policies that provides support to make it also a collective responsibility.

Women's leisure time is also limited because their family and friends socialize when they are working at night or when they rest on weekends. This is particularly difficult for Lidia, one of the street cleaners, who works all night Monday through Saturday. Sunday is the only weekend day she can rest and ends up missing most family activities:

"El trabajo de la noche lo cierto es que te limita. Poca vida social... claro, trabajamos de lunes a sábado, pero al ser el sábado por la noche ya plegamos el domingo por la mañana. Así que vida social cero."

"The fact is that night work limits you a lot. Little social life... working from Monday to Saturday, of course, but working Saturday night means you finish on Sunday morning. Therefore, zero social life."

-- Lidia, street cleaner

The lack of time to see family and friends, as much as they would like it, sometimes increases their feeling of loneliness, loss of family relations and depression. Ángeles explains how she juggles to balance resting, sleeping less and seeing her family:

“A mí, más que nada es con la familia. Porque no puedo ver a mi padre, me cuesta relacionarme porque no tengo tiempo. Porque si voy, luego no tengo tiempo para echarme un rato. El sábado, que es cuando tienes más tiempo, entre pitos y flautas, te levantas a las tantas, o si te levantas temprano es como si no estuvieras, estás zombi perdida... me afecta en ese sentido, en la relación con mi familia. Y no puedo verla como quisiera.”

“For me, the biggest challenge is making time for family. Because I cannot see my father, it is difficult to spend time with him because I have little spare time. If I go, then I don't have time to take a nap. On Saturdays, when I have more time, between one thing and another, I wake up very late, or if I wake up early I feel like a total zombie... in this sense, it affects the relationship with my family. I cannot see them as much as I would like.”

-- Ángeles, hospital cleaner

Some women also mention the incompatibility of schedules with their partners; consequently, they sacrifice sleep hours to spend more time together. Those without children, such as Ana, being young without dependents, have more personal time for leisure and self-care:

“No tener hijos ni nadie que dependa de mí. Ese hecho me da libertad y margen para llevar horarios flexibles y favorece mi descanso y mi bienestar.”

“Not having children or any other dependents gives me freedom and some margin to have flexible schedules in favor of my wellbeing and rest.”

-- Ana, hospital nurse

In sum, we see how having children or dependent adults seems to condition women's lives, decreasing their wellbeing and excluding women from having personal time. Statistics in Spain have recorded the unequal gender impacts of having children. While having children rarely affects men's career and enjoyment of leisure time, women continue dedicating more time than men to domestic and care, see how their leisure time disappears and their careers are affected (Idescat 2011; Observatori iQ 2017; Torns et al. 2012).

5.5 Conclusion

This study highlights the gender discrimination and injustice that women nightshift workers suffer from living in a patriarchal, racist and capitalist society that invisibilizes and devalues women's paid and unpaid work. Through this study, we reveal that women nightshift workers “weave complicated temporal tapestries” (Davies 2003, 137). Women's everyday/evernight life is experienced as a continuum, as a negotiation between the different spheres of paid and unpaid work. They work at night for economic reasons, linked to their family responsibilities (the majority are head of households) but their responsibilities go beyond the

economic because they also work at night to reconcile paid work with unpaid care work. Their paid night activity adds more complexity to women's experiences of time due to the simultaneous activities they develop in their double and triple shifts in a patriarchal society that ignores the temporal and spatial implications of conducting domestic and care work (Davies 2003).

As Silvia Federici (2004) documents, capitalism and patriarchy are interconnected; domestic work is a social construction of capitalism, and the invisible unpaid domestic and reproductive work that women undertake is an essential element for the organization of capitalist productive work. This FPAR illustrates how women nightshift workers disproportionately embody the consequences of the interconnections of the capitalist and patriarchal system, that devalues affective-sexual production: the emotional and care work that women nightshift workers develop on their double shifts (formal and informal, at home and in their workplaces, as cleaners, care takers or sex workers) (Mestre 2007). Their double and triple shifts hinder their opportunities and enjoyment of the city, in a society that continues assigning care and domestic work to women. Migrant women nightshift workers are even more deprived of the right to the city because of their race, migration status and economic struggles (Mestre 2010; Oso 2010; Ortiz Escalante and Sweet 2013; Parella Rubio 2010). Furthermore, these imbalances and injustices go largely unquestioned, ignored or unknown.

Previous research has documented the impacts of night work on women's health and family relations (Garey 1995; Lawson et al. 2013; Melbin 1987). This FPAR provides a more holistic analysis examining how women embody gender inequalities lived at work, at home and in the city, contributing to this emergent body of research (Buchanan and Koch-Schulte 2000; Patel 2010). Some face gender discrimination due to the dominant male culture at work and for choosing nightshift, which have been the cause of women nightshift workers' depression and medical leaves. Sexual harassment and violence linked to their race, social and economic status limit women's mobility and therefore their right to the city. Lastly, the lack of planning for night work also jeopardizes women's safety net that family members, friends and relatives provide, primarily affecting women's bodies.

Analyzing women nightshift workers everyday/everynight life reveals the negative and perverse consequences of living in a system and a city that does not serve women's needs. Women carry an unequal burden for being women, and the injustice of paying through their

health the gender inequalities of conducting unpaid care and domestic work, alongside the injustice of gender discrimination at work. As Ellen Woodsworth, President of Women Transforming Cities in Vancouver, often says “women work for the city, but the city does not work for women”. I think it is time for urban planning to make cities work for women, which will require the discipline to work towards breaking power hierarchies between trained planning staff and residents and embrace methodologies aimed to involve women’s active participation in all stages of the planning process. Planning can contribute to rethink public policies related to the organization of care, if we place the everyday/everynight life of people at the center of planning decisions and move from an approach that sees women as the “universal caretaker” and the abandonment of “private solutions” that are supported by the precariousness of specific collectives, such as migrant women from certain regions of the world, and by gender inequalities (Parella Rubio 2010) to an approach of planning services and cities that understand care as a social and public responsibility.

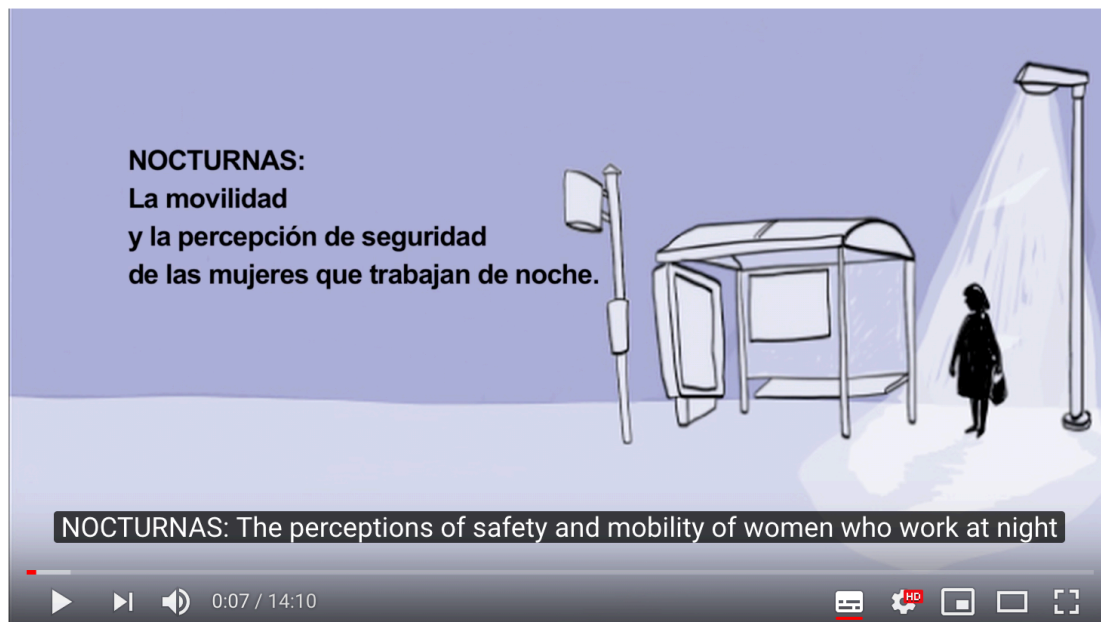
Chapter 6. Everyday/Everynight Mobilities

In this chapter, I analyze how mobility and the configuration of space shape women night workers' everyday/everynight life as they live, interact and move within and across their homes, workplaces, and other nodes within the city and the region of Barcelona. I also analyze how gender and other intersectional characteristics may condition women's night mobility. Night mobility is one of the greatest concerns for women night workers, especially for those who walk or depend on public transportation. Through this project, women co-researchers have exposed and analyzed the planning elements affecting their everyday/everynight life, night work, and night travel in the city and the metropolitan area.

The chapter has two sections. First, I describe women night workers' mobility as a puzzle of connections that women have to decipher as they move between mobility infrastructures. Decisions intimately related to fear and safety complicate this mobility puzzle. In the second section, I analyze how the physical and social configuration of spaces condition women's perception of fear and safety.

This chapter has a digital analog, in the form of the participatory video: "Nocturnas: the perceptions of safety and mobility of women who work at night", which gathers first-person testimonies of women co-researchers to complement the textual outputs of this FPAR project.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vp3EZiQufsA>, retrieved May 25, 2019



6.1 Women's mobility patterns in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area

In this section, I analyze women night workers' mobility patterns and experiences as well as how transportation planning policies and practices shape their everyday/everynight mobility decisions. I examine their commuting patterns over time and space, using the collective mobility map, the exploratory commuting routes, and a comparative table that highlights deficiencies of the transit system, pedestrian infrastructure and private vehicle infrastructures. Through women's testimonies, I discuss why mobility and transportation planning policies and practices do not respond to their everyday/everynight needs. In the analysis, I incorporate the recommendations made by the women co-researchers.

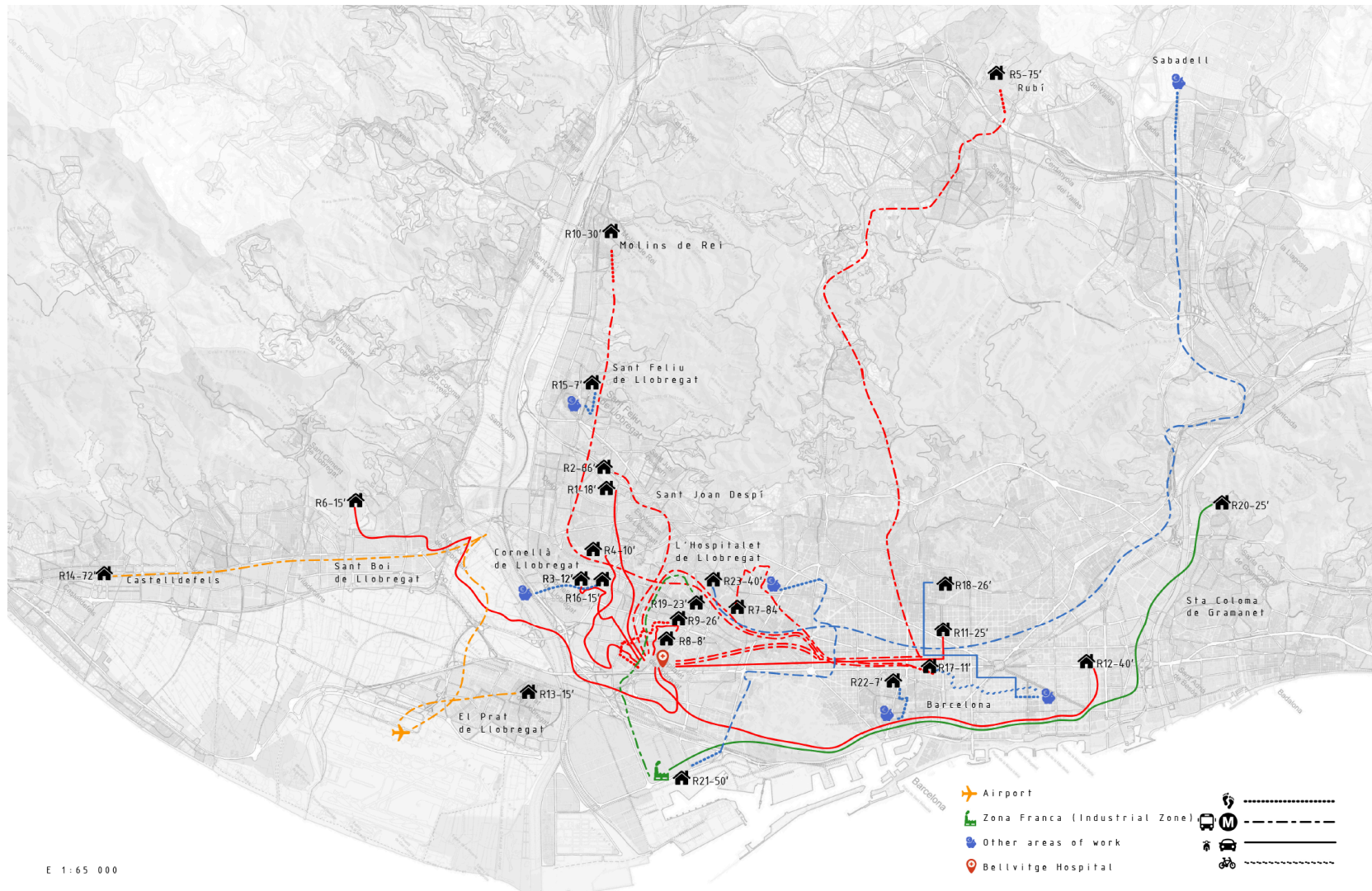
To illustrate the commuting routes graphically, the type of transportation, and the travel time invested, co-researchers mapped their commutes to work (Figure 41 on page 184). The map colours denote their commutes by work destination: to the airport (orange), Bellvitge Hospital (red), the industrial zone *Zona Franca* (green) and other work destinations (blue). The line type illustrates the mobility modes: pedestrian, private vehicle, motorcycle and public transportation. The travel time is shown in minutes.

To make visible women's mobility challenges according to time and connections on public transportation, we created a table that accompanies the night mobility map (Table 2, p. 185). The table highlights the routes that women usually take in dark blue and their primary alternative route is highlighted in light blue. This table allows one to compare their existing commute with the length of other mobility and transportation modes, mostly by car, but also walking, when distances from home to work are less than 5 km. We also include the bike routes of two women who use this mode for their commute. The times provided from official schedules represent a typical day with no remarkable incidents. Note that the rail system that depends on the Spanish Renfe company often presents incidents and delays; while the subway system (Metropolitan Region) and FGC trains (Catalan) are more reliable; and the buses depend on the time of day.

Table 2 compares the night-time workers' commute times using different modes and thereby highlights deficiencies in the public transit system. Driving a car or motorcycle is the fastest option, and the time difference can be very significant compared with using public transportation. The deficiencies in some public transportation lines show comparisons with

how long it would take women to walk. Women who live in cities in the Baix Llobregat county, such as Sant Joan Despí or Cornellà, and work at Bellvitge Hospital may arrive faster walking than by bus.

Figure 41: Mobility routes of women nightshift workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area



Source: Prepared by the author with the support of Mar Castarlenas and Magda Isart

Table 2: Commute times of women nightshift workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area

	ORIGIN	DESTINATION	HOURL	DAY	PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION	PRIVATE VEHICLE (CAR, MOTORCY- CLE)	WALKING	BIKING
R1	Hospital de Bellvitge	Sant Joan Despí – El Padró	05:00	Monday to Friday	69min Bus L10: 25min Wait + 44min Bus	18min Car – 7 km	64min – 5 km	–
				Weekend	89min Bus L10: 45min Wait + 44min Bus			
R2	Hospital de Bellvitge	Sant Joan Despí –Parc de la Fonsanta	05:00	Monday to Friday	66min Bus L10: 25min Wait + 4min Bus	15min Car – 6.6 km	68min – 5 km	–
				Fin de semana	86min Bus L10: 45min Wait + 41min Bus			
R3	Hospital de Bellvitge	Cornellà – Sant Ildefons	05:00	Monday to Friday	45min Metro L1 + L5 (goes to Barcelona and returns)	12min Car – 4.2 km	51min – 3.7 km	–
					55min Bus L10: 25min Wait + 8min walking + 22min bus			
				Weekend	45min Metro L1 + L5 (goes to Barcelona and returns)			
					75min Bus L10: 45min Wait + 8min walking + 22min bus			
R4	Hospital de Bellvitge	Cornellà – (Ctra. Esplugues – Montesa)	05:00	Monday to Sunday	35min Bus L10: 5min Wait + 30min bus	10min Moto – 6 km	55min – 4 km	–
R5	Hospital de Bellvitge	Rubí	08:00	Monday to Sunday	75min Metro L1 + FGC: 30min metro + 30min FGC + 15min walking	30–35min Car – 26 km	–	–
R6	Hospital de Bellvitge	Sant Boi	08:00	Monday to Friday	40min bus L72: 10min Wait + 30min Bus	15min Car – 9.7 km	–	–
				Weekend	40min bus L72: 10min Wait + 30min Bus			
R7	Hospital de Bellvitge	L'Hospitalet – Collblanc	05:00	Sunday	25min metro L1: 12min metro + 13min walking	18min Car – 5.7 km	53min – 4 km	–
				Route change because of fear	84min metro L1 + Bus N2: 37min metro to Plaza. Catalunya + Bus N2 42min + 5min walking			
R8	Hospital de Bellvitge	Bellvitge	05:00	Monday to Friday	18min metro L1: 13min metro + 5min walking	8min Car – 2 km	20min – 1.5 km	–
				Weekend				
R9	Hospital de Bellvitge	Bellvitge – Av. Europa	05:00	Monday to Sunday	25min metro L1: 5min metro + 20min walking	7min Car – 2 km	26min – 2 km	7min – 2 km
R10	Hospital de Bellvitge	Molins de Rei	08:00	Monday to Sunday	30min metro + train: 5min Wait + 6min metro L1 + 4min Wait + 10min train R4 + 5min walking	17min Car – 15 km	–	–

	ORIGIN	DESTINATION	HOUR	DAY	PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION	PRIVATE VEHICLE (CAR, MOTORCYCLE)	WALKING	BIKING
R11	Hospital de Bellvitge	Barcelona (Monumental)	08:00	Monday to Sunday	40min metro L1 and L2	20-30min Moto -10.5 km	-	-
R12	Hospital de Bellvitge	Barcelona - Barrio Sant Martí	08:00	Monday to Friday	60min: 5min Wait + 33min metro L1, 4min walking + 10min trolley + 8min walking	22-40min Car - 19 km	-	-
R13	Aeropuerto	El Prat - San Cosme	06:00	Monday to Friday	15min: 5min Wait + 7min Bus PR1 + 3min Bus 65 to San Cosme	9min Car - 5 km	39min - 3.2 km	-
R14	Aeropuerto	Castelldefels	06:00	Monday to Friday	72min: 10min Wait + 17min Bus L77 to Sant Boi + 41min Bus L96 to Castelldefels + 5min walking	14min Car -10.6 km	-	-
R15	San Feliu-Centre	San Feliu-La Salut	06:00	Monday to Friday	-	-	7min - 650 m	-
R16	Cornellà - Gavarrà	Cornellà - San Ildefons	07:00	Monday to Sunday	14min: 9min walking + 3min metro L5	5min Car - 1.5 km	15min - 1.5 km	-
R17	Barcelona-Poble Nou	Barcelona - Sant Pere i Santa Caterina	06:00	Weekend	30min: 12min walking + 18min metro L4	10-14min Car - 3.3 km	33min - 2.6 km	11min - 2.6km
R18	Barcelona-Poble Nou	Barcelona - Gràcia	06:00	Weekend	40min: 18min walking + 22 metro L4	16-26min Car: 6 km + 8min walking to parking	1h - 4.6 km	-
R19	Barcelona-Zona Franca	L'Hospitalet - La Florida	06:00	Monday to Friday	40min: 20min Bus 110 + 10min metro L1 + 10min walking	18min Car - 8.2 km	-	-
				Weekend	55min: 5min Wait + 25min Bus 109 to Pl. Cerdà + 15min metro L1 + 10min walking			
R20	Barcelona-Zona Franca	Santa Coloma de Gramenet - Can Franquesa	06:00	Monday to Saturday	1h 30min: 23min Bus 109 + 31min metro L1 + 22min Bus B80	25min Car - 20.5 km	-	-
				Sunday	1h 48min: 35min Wait + 20 Bus 37 + 31min metro L1 + 22min B80			
R21	Barcelona - Camp Nou	Barcelona-Zona Franca	05:00	Weekend	50min: 10min walking + 10min L3 + 30min Bus 109	10min Car - 10 km	-	-
R22	Barcelona - Raval	Barcelona - Raval	03:00	Monday to Sunday	-	-	7min - 500 m	-
R23	Sabadell	L'Hospitalet - Pubilla Casas	08:00	Monday to Sunday	55min: 11min walking+ 34' train R4 + 10' metro L5	30min Car - 30 km	-	-

Source: table elaborated with women co-researchers and included in Nocturnas 2017, 40-41

Most women nightshift workers (17 of 24 or 70%) in this FPAR commute on sustainable and active modes of transport: public transportation, walking and biking. They also have more sustainable patterns of mobility, as previous research in Catalonia and other European contexts have demonstrated (Miralles-Guasch 2010; Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016; Law 1999; Hanson 2010). Only seven women (30%) commute by car or motorcycle. They are a minority among the women co-researchers, as many cannot afford private vehicles due to economic reasons.

6.1.1. Access to a private motorized vehicle

The seven women who commute in private vehicles used to walk or travel on public transportation, but due to long commutes or fears of assault, they decided to drive a car or motorcycle. Class, migration status and income influence this decision since women with access to a motorized vehicle are in a better economic situation (four nurses, one social emergencies worker and two cleaners, and no migrant women).

Silvia (R12), one of the hospital nurses who lives in the Sant Martí neighbourhood of Barcelona, used public transportation when she started working at the hospital. However, due to difficulties navigating multimodal connections and her fear at the metro, she soon decided to drive to work:

“Igual que tardo para venir 15 minutos, la vuelta es 30 o 40 minutos. Si por ejemplo hubiera un autobús o metro que fuera más rápido, pues preferiría ir en metro, pero en metro me supone una hora y cuarto, me entraba el sueño y te daba miedo de dormirte y que te robaran o te hicieran algo, ... como que realmente no me ahorra tiempo, por eso vengo en coche.”

“Maybe it takes 15 minutes [by car] to get to work, and 30 or 40 minutes on the way back home. If there was a bus or metro that was faster, I would prefer to take the metro, but in the metro, it takes me an hour and fifteen minutes, and I would feel sleepy and I was afraid of falling sleep and getting robbed or that someone did something to me, ... it seemed not to save me any time, hence I decided to commute by car.”

-- Silvia, hospital nurse living in the neighborhood of Sant Martí, Barcelona

Others, like Ana (R4) and Núria (R11), the young hospital nurses who end their shifts at 8 am, decided to buy a motorcycle, a more affordable option and common transportation mode in Barcelona. Ana links her decision to buy a motorcycle to the deficiencies of public transit system:

“Nosaltres cap a casa triguem menys de 10 minuts en la moto, de fet vaig comprar la moto per aquest problema. Perquè hi ha un autobús que connecta directament i no hem de fer transbord però triga entre 30 i 45 minuts sinó hi ha tràfic, i si hi ha retencions triga més, perquè passa molts pobles i fa molta volta i si hi ha tràfic encara tarda més sobretot a l'hora que surto que són les 8. Lo positiu de la moto és que vaig molt més ràpid, no haig d'esperar a la parada d'autobús després de 10 hores de treballar. La moto em proporciona molta rapidesa cap a casa, les retencions no les faig perquè amb la moto pots anar sorteant els cotxe i independència de no dependre de l'autobús, comoditat, practicitat i autonomia.”

“It takes us 10 minutes to get home by motorcycle, in fact, I bought the motorcycle because of this problem. Because there is a bus that directly connects without transfers, but it takes between 30 and 45 minutes when there is no traffic. If there are traffic jams, it takes longer because it goes through many towns and it's much further, particularly when I leave work at 8 am. The positive part of the motorcycle is that I go faster. I don't have to wait at the bus stop after 10 hours of work. The motorcycle gives me speed, ... and independence of not depending on the bus, comfort, practicality and autonomy.”

-- Ana, hospital nurse

Only two hospital cleaners own a car, Toñi (R1) and Ángeles (R3). In contrast with the nurses, they used public transportation for many years before buying a car. When they had enough savings, they bought a second-hand car to gain autonomy. Ángeles (R3), one of the cleaners who lives in the neighboring city of Cornellà, a 12-minute drive from the hospital, spent an hour each way for 12 years commuting on public transportation before she was able to buy a car. She explains the inconveniences of the public transportation system and in particular, how the public transit route makes her first enter Barcelona then backtrack to the residential periphery where she lives:

“Llevo 18 años aquí y 6 años que tengo coche. Si te esperas al bus, hasta las 6 no pasa y luego pega una vuelta que llegas a tu casa a las 7, son dos horas y estoy aquí al lado. Si te vas en el metro tienes que coger la línea 1 y cambiar a la línea 5 en Plaça de Sants y vuelves para atrás, es mucho tiempo. Para venir no es tan complicado como para irte. A las 5 de la mañana sí que es fastidiado.”

“I've worked here for 18 years and 6 years ago I got a car. If you go with the bus, you have to wait until 6 am, and then it takes you much further and you arrive home at 7 am, two hours after you finished work, and I live very nearby. If you take the metro, I have to take line 1 and change to line 5 in Plaça de Sants [Barcelona] and go back, it is a lot of time. On the way to work is not as complicated than on the way home. At 5 in the morning, it is very annoying”.

-- Ángeles, hospital cleaner

Ángeles' reason to buy a car relates to long public transportation commutes and exposure to sexual harassment. It is notable that these issues were salient enough to motivate her to buy a vehicle even though she lives geographically close to her work. To get home by metro, she has to go east towards Barcelona to connect with the metro line that takes her home. By bus, she has to wait almost an hour in an isolated bus stop that many women nightshift workers feel unsafe because it is located outside the hospital precinct, in the boundary with the neighborhood of Bellvitge, an area with little vitality at 5 am in the morning.

Toñi, who lives 18 minutes driving from the hospital in the city of Sant Joan Despí, would spend more than an hour to get home on public transportation. Her city does not have access to the metro, only to bus and trolley, thus reducing her public transportation options and making her commute longer. She explains,

“En mi barrio está muy mal la comunicación, no tenemos metro, y el autobús tarda como una hora y pico del trabajo a casa El L10 da una vuelta exagerada casi una hora y para volver tienes que esperar a que salga el autobús de las 5:10 a las 5:40 o 5:45 y toda la gente que va en el L10 viene gente de todos lados, ... Sant Joan Despí no tiene metro, tengo que coger el Tram, ir a Barcelona primero para hacer transbordo y luego para llegar aquí.”

“In my neighborhood the connectivity is really bad, we don't have metro, and it takes more than an hour to go by bus from work to home. The L10 [bus] takes a circuitous route of almost an hour and to go home. You have to wait for the bus from 5:10 to 5:40 or 5:45, and on the L10 bus, there are people that come from everywhere, ... Sant Joan Despí does not have a metro, I have to take the trolley, go to Barcelona first and then transfer to come back here.”

-- Toñi, hospital cleaner

She bought an old car, the only option she could afford. When her car broke down, she had to depend on her dad's car or on public transportation.

“El coche de segunda mano me dejó tirada en un descampado en Cornellà y tuve que subir a Sant Joan Despí a todo pastilla a las 5:15 o así que no había ni un alma por todas esas fábricas vacías, yo no sé como llegué a mi casa, llegué sudando, con el frío que hacía y llegué sudando. He vuelto a ir en autobús, y ahora me traigo el de mi padre cuando no lo coge y con coche es diferente.”

“My second-hand car broke next to an empty lot in Cornellà and I had to walk up to Sant Joan Despí, as fast as I could around 5:15 am when there was nobody around that area of empty factories, I don't know how I got home, I arrived sweating, even though it was cold but I arrived sweating. Since then I have had to take the bus again, and now I use my dad's car when he does not use it and with a car it [the commute] is different”

-- Toñi, hospital cleaner

Toñi usually carpool with one of her co-workers, Pilar B. (R8), who lives in the Bellvitge neighborhood, an eight- minute drive from the hospital. Pilar B. used to take the metro for one stop and then walked home. However, one day one of her colleagues got robbed in one of the areas Pilar used to perceive as safe, she felt afraid and now takes the metro to work and depends on Toñi to drive her back home. Pilar B. shares,

“Yo vivo en Bellvitge, no vengo caminando. Cuando salgo a las 5 va a ser que no porque está oscuro. Antes venía caminando pero una vez atracaron a una compañera en la mejor zona donde hay una carretera muy ancha que pasan coches. Y a partir de ahí me da pavor. Me voy en el metro, que total es una parada. Para irme ahora me lleva una compañera o sea que mejor aun, más que nada porque gano tiempo, y me ahorro el trozo del metro. Y me viene superbién porque gano media hora.”

“I live in Bellvitge, and I don’t come walking. When I leave work at 5 I don’t walk because it is dark. Before I used to come walking but a colleague was assaulted in the best area where there is a wide road with cars circulation. And since then, walking terrifies me. I go by metro, which is only one stop. On the way back home, a co-worker drives me home, which is better, more than anything because I save time and I skip the walk from the metro. It works great because it saves me half an hour.”

-- Pilar B., hospital clenar

Pilar B. highlights the importance of taking into account the perception of fear and safety in urban safety and mobility studies. Women not only feel limited by the threat of experiencing an assault or a violent situation, but also the fear increases with knowledge of what happened to other women. As Anne Michaud (2006) argues, urban planning policies must acknowledge women’s perceptions of fear because they condition our use of and access to the city on a daily basis. Anne Michaud gives the example of a street where 100% of inhabitants are women, if a woman is raped, the physical sexual assault has happened against one woman, but 100% of the women increase their fear because they know this could happen to them. Women’s perceptions that this could happen to them have everyday repercussions even though they might not be always conscious of it (Michaud 2006). As in Pilar B’s case, she modified her route due to the perceived risk after a colleague was assaulted.

There are cases when women nightshift workers do not have the alternative option to drive to work. Lidia (R20), a street cleaner who lives in Santa Coloma, does not have public transportation alternatives; her only option is to drive. She is one of the women who could not access this job without driving. She lives in Can Parellada, one of the working-class housing estates neighbourhoods built in the 1960s and located on the mountain of Santa

Coloma de Gramenet, East of Barcelona on the other side of the Besòs River (Figure 42). The slope of the area has been a challenge to make this neighborhood accessible by foot or public transportation. In the last decade, the city of Santa Coloma installed a system of escalators and elevators to facilitate accessibility.

Figure 42: Pictures of Can Parellada and view of Barcelona from the neighbourhood



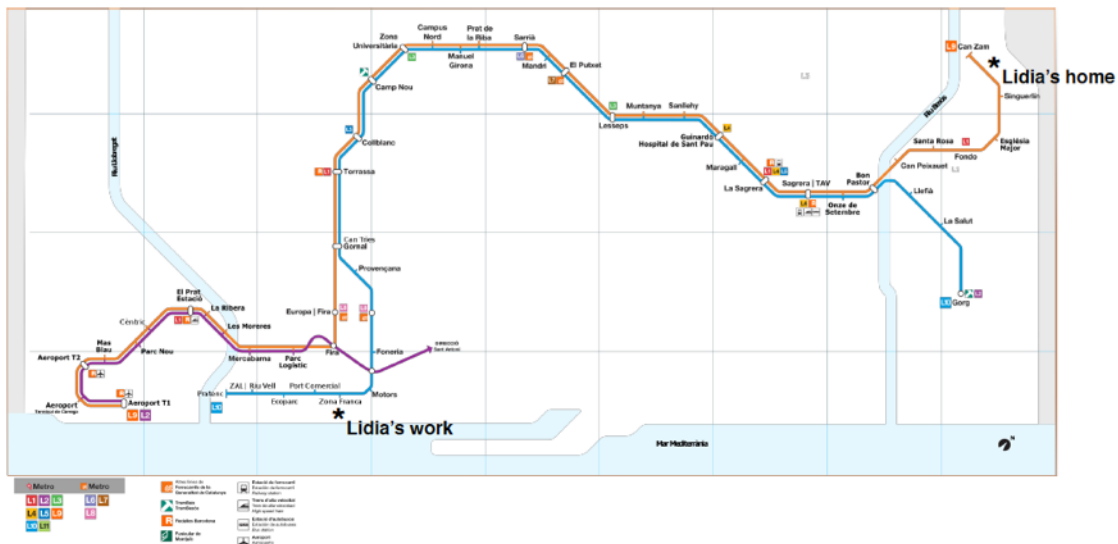
Photo credits: Sara Ortiz Escalante

The image illustrates that Can Parellada was built on the hill of Santa Coloma de Gramenet (bottom), stairs were built (top center) and later mechanical staircases installed to help pedestrian mobility (top right)

The new metro line L9 north, inaugurated in December 2009, also increased neighborhood connectivity with the metropolitan area. The L9 construction is supposed to connect Lidia's neighbourhood with her job in the industrial area, Zona Franca (Figure 43). However, the economic recession in 2008 halted the construction of the L9 and L10 (lines that connect the cities of Santa Coloma and Badalona on the East side of the Besòs River with Zona Franca

and the airport, next to the Llobregat River). Construction has resumed in 2018, but it will take years before Lidia can commute by metro.

Figure 43: Map of the L9 and L10 projects



Source: AMB (Barcelona Metropolitan Area Agency), www.amb.cat, retrieved May 25, 2019

Lidia's case confirms that mobility also interferes with women's access to job opportunities, since many women might decline some job offers due to the absence of better transportation options. Women of Bellvitge Hospital also explain how a new shift created in the Emergency Room, starting at 2 am, limits who can apply and access this job. People without access to private transportation would not consider applying for this position despite its better pay scale. As noted in the literature, the lack of mobility options and access to economic opportunities may exacerbate social exclusion (Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016; Preston and Rajé 2007; Angeles 2017).

Women nightshift workers view social exclusion from certain job opportunities as a question of both public transportation and night labour policies. They question the necessity of creating shifts that start in the middle of the night, and ask employers to rethink work schedules. Women propose a review of night shift schedules to make them compatible with public transportation schedules. For instance, by merely modifying some work shifts to begin at 11 pm or end at 6 am or to eliminate shifts that finish in the middle of the night (early morning) and require access to a private vehicle. This recommendation parallels an ongoing public

debate in Spain about reforming work schedules that do not fit with everyday life needs (day shifts end at 7 or 8 pm).

All these cases reflect how car access can shorten nightshift workers' commuting time, and improve their autonomy, independence and quality of life. Arriving earlier means sleeping more and reducing their anxieties because they do not have to wait for public transportation nor face circumstances that provoke fear while on the route or inside public transportation. Class, migration status and income also condition women's night mobility, since those in better economic circumstances have the option to invest in a private motorized vehicle. Thus, women who drive a car or motorcycle associate driving with autonomy, freedom and safety. Other studies also document this perception and conclude that access to a car provides freedom, as well as access to certain job opportunities (Angeles 2017; Dobbs 2005; Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016; Priya and Uteng 2009). Despite these advantages of automobile access, this mode remains an hegemonic male model of mobility that must be challenged (Miralles et al. (2016). Instead, transportation policies should account for women's sustainable mobility patterns to improve public transportation in the everyday/everynight continuum.

These cases also confirm that in the BMA, transportation policies have historically privileged motorized vehicles' infrastructures over public transportation. The cases of Silvia, Ángeles, Toñi, Ana and Núria exemplify that women's first options were walking and commuting by public transportation, but they have encountered challenges associated with long commutes or fear of sexual assault, pushing them to drive for autonomy and safety.

In the BMA, car dependency as a safe alternative contradicts current regional politics that seek to reduce traffic because of the high air pollution levels in the metropolitan area, especially NO₂ (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2018).

6.1.2. Unreliable night public transportation system

Improving transport connectivity at night seems a major challenge, since this public transportation system, in particular the metro and train system, have been designed in radial form with the city of Barcelona at the center (Miralles-Guasch 2002). In the BMA, the metro only provides 24-hour service on Saturdays and from 6 am to midnight the rest of days. Bus routes counterbalance this centrality through lines connecting municipalities outside of

Barcelona, but they become long routes in time and space. When someone commutes between two cities in the metropolitan region outside of Barcelona, the routes are less efficient, and users must travel into the city to move South-West to North, for example. Therefore, the public transportation system connecting the BMA periphery with Barcelona city and other municipalities, especially in Baix Llobregat county, is deficient. Routes are very long, in particular, the connections between L'Hospitalet and Cornellà, Sant Joan Despí, Sant Feliu, Molins de Rei, and Sant Boi de Llobregat. Sometimes, there is the option to take the metro instead of the bus, but this often requires going to Barcelona from L'Hospitalet or Cornellà to return to the Baix Llobregat region. As a result, geographically close cities and towns connect poorly through public transportation and people's everyday/everynight mobilities become a complicated puzzle, most detrimental to women night workers who rely on sustainable mobility modes.

In addition to the deficient design of the public transportation system, frequency and multimodal connections between train, bus and metro are also very inefficient. These make waiting times and commutes longer, especially outside of "peak hours" of 6:30 to 9:30 am and 5 to 8 pm. Metro service (with the exception of Saturdays) starts at 5 am and day buses at 6 am. Consequently, women nightshift workers often have to wait between 15 and 30 minutes. To transfer between modes of transportation (metro, bus or train), they have to run to get the connection and any schedule alteration combined with less frequency can make the commute longer, by at least half an hour. In sum, there is also a lack of reliability in public transportation in the region; people do not trust the bus or train will arrive on time. This forces people to continuously think about alternative strategies, which becomes challenging after the nightshift. Intermodal connectivity, longer commutes and intermodal transport entail increased wait times in places perceived as unsafe (bus, metro or train stations), issues further analysed in the second part of this chapter.

Women nightshift workers without private motorized vehicles experience on an everyday/everynight basis the deficiencies of the public transportation system. Rafaela (R2) lives 6.6 km from work in the city of Sant Joan Despí, where Toñi (R1) also lives. Yet, Toñi has less commuting time by car than Rafaela's 69 minutes on weekdays and one hour and 26 minutes on weekends to go back home by bus. The long commute back home and wait time increase her perception of fear,

“Yo creo que el tema del autobús para venir no tienes problemas, aunque tardes una hora, pero el problema es para volver de quedarse 20 minutos en una parada esperando, que no hay nadie, que estás ahí en invierno con el frío, que quien pasa te da miedo, aunque no te vaya a hacer algo, pero pasas un mal rato.”

“I believe that to go to work by bus is no problem, although it takes you an hour. But the problem is to go back home, you have to wait 20 minutes in the bus stop, there is nobody around, it’s cold in the winter, you are afraid of whoever walks by. Even if they don’t do anything to you, you have a hard time.”

-- Rafaela, hospital cleaner

Rafaela does not drive or own a car, given her salary and family situation as single household head with a dependent 20-year-old son living with her. Driving would take her 15 minutes. She shares how she wishes she could get a car or have better access to public transportation just after work:

“Yo económicamente no puedo, porque estoy sola con mi hijo de 20 años y tengo que aportar a casa. Podría haber autobuses que dieran servicio a gente que sale a las 5, que no tuvieras que esperar tanto rato en la parada... O tienes coche Pero tener coche es mucho dinero hoy en día. Para una persona que está sola, no puedes, es que el coche no es gratis”

“I can’t economically, because I am alone with my 20-year-old son and I have to bring money home. I wish there were buses that provide service to people who go out of work at 5 am, and avoid long waits on the bus stop... Or you must have a car. But having a car is a lot of money *nowadays*. For a person who is alone, you cannot afford it, because a car is not for free”

-- Rafaela, hospital cleaner

For Rafaela, walking home would take her 64 minutes, five minutes less than her bus commute. Evidently, this is not an option for multiple reasons I further analyse in the second section. The physical environment (industrial zones, highways, etc.) makes the route unpleasant to walk early morning in the dark and she would not feel safe walking alone at that time and in these environments. In addition, it would require an extraordinary physical effort after night work.

The table shows other cases where the commute is a huge burden. For example, the case of Karina (R19), a street cleaner whose company is located in the Industrial Area Zona Franca, demonstrates this problem.

“Voy con el bus hasta Bellvitge y luego metro a Florida. Los fines de semana cuando me voy con el 109 o 37 voy hasta Pl. España para coger metro y parar en Pubilla Casas, y no en Santa Eulàlia porque es más oscuro. Cuando cogemos el 109 los fines de semana hay bastante gente que viene en el autobús, porque entre semana hay más autobuses, pero los fines de semana viene mucha gente de Mercabarna, etc. a las seis menos cinco, está el 37 porque el 109 no sale hasta las 6:10 en sábado; y el domingo el 109 empieza a las 7 de la mañana y el 37 sale a las 6:05 y va para Pl. Cerdà o Pl. España...”

“I take the bus to Bellvitge and then I take the metro to Florida. On weekends, I take the [bus] 109 or 37 to Plaza España [Barcelona] to take the metro, and I stop in Pubilla Casas [L’Hospitalet] instead of in Santa Eulàlia [L’Hospitalet] because it is darker. When I take the 109 on weekends there are a lot of people who take the bus, because during the week there are more buses, but on weekends many people come from Mercabarna, etc. On Saturdays, you take the 37 at 5:55 but the 109 starts at 6:10; on Sundays, the 109 starts at 7:00, and the 37 at 6:05 and goes to Plaza Cerdà or Plaza España [Barcelona]...”

-- Karina, street cleaner

It is ironic that her company is located next to the parking place where all Barcelona Bus routes start. However, people cannot take the bus from this bus parking and only one bus stops at this location every half an hour. There are occasions when some companies located in industrial zones and with a large number of workers, offer collective transportation for their workers. Karina works for a street cleaning company with collective transportation services on the way to work, but not on the way home. She explains her convoluted route:

“A la ida cojo el transporte de la empresa, hay un autobús que pasa por Pl. Cerdà, el autobús es de ida, pero no de vuelta, les interesa que llegues temprano al trabajo pero que llegues a tu casa les da igual... Los Viernes, los Sábados y Domingos son los días que más tarde llego a casa, porque los otros días el compañero de Pineda de Mar que tiene moto me deja más cerca en el puente, yo cojo el metro y llego antes ...”

“On the way to work I take the company’s transportation, there is a bus from Plaza Cerdà [Barcelona], the bus is only one way, it does not work on the way back, the company is interested in you arriving on time to work but they don’t care when you get back home... Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays are the days that I arrive the latest at home, because the other days a coworker from Pineda de Mar who has a motorcycle take me to the metro and arrive home earlier...”

-- Karina, street cleaner

The company takes workers from Plaça Cerdà in Barcelona to the industrial area of Zona Franca. In the company headquarters, workers get their work uniform and get on the trucks that distribute workers to different Barcelona neighborhoods. At the end of the shift, the trucks drive street cleaners back to company headquarters from where workers go back home.

Karina's case exemplifies that companies' collective transportation could offer workplace solutions for two-way or return trips. Unfortunately, this service usually depends on the company's goodwill, because it is not a mandatory service. One of the recommendations women suggested in the collective report is the use of regulation and incentives for companies with a high number of nightshift workers who can benefit from collective transportation service.

Rafaela (R3) is another worker who depends on her sons after her shift on a Sunday or a holiday, because there is no public transportation until later in the morning.

"He ido en coche, cuando es un día normal y al día siguiente es fiesta cuando no hay transporte hasta en media hora, mis hijos, una vez le toca a uno y otra vez le toca a otro... que para mí también es agobiante que se tengan que desplazar."

"When I finish the shift on a holiday, the public transportation is every 30 minutes, and my sons take turns to pick me up; it is bothersome that they have to move to pick me up."

-- Rafaela, hospital cleaner

Rafaela and Karina encounter limitations in terms of routes, schedules, and frequency, making them dependent on other coworkers, family members or relatives, particularly on weekends and holidays, when service is limited.

Night worker Cristina M. (R7) changed her route because of fear of sexual assault, perceptions that shape women's mobility patterns. In chapter 5 we already analysed how Cristina M. embodied this issue. The anxiety and stress from her harassment experience provoked her to change her route. Instead of arriving home in 25 minutes with the fastest route, her alternative route takes an hour and a half to get home:

"Por ejemplo, el N2 que lo cojo en Pl. Catalunya no lo puedo coger en Av. Carrilet porque el último sale a y cuarto, si saliera a las 5:30 me daría tiempo y cambiaría un poco, por eso voy a Pl. Catalunya. Me parece que estuve un mes estudiando la ruta, los horarios, ..."

"For example, the [night bus] N2 that I take in Plaza Catalunya [Barcelona], I cannot take it in Av. Carrilet [L'Hospitalet] because the last bus leaves at 5:15. If it left at 5:30 instead I would have time to arrive and that would help my commute; for this reason, I go to Plaza Catalunya [Barcelona]. I think I studied the schedules for a month."

-- Cristina M., hospital cleaner

Walking would save Cristina 30 minutes of commute. However, she lives in a neighborhood where she fears walking at night. The physical configuration of the neighbourhoods she has to cross contributes to this perception of fear.

Karina, Rafaela and Cristina M. are women who suffer the consequences of a system designed and based on decisions mainly informed by quantitative data that privilege private motorized transportation and certain connections. Consequently, they have limited autonomy to move and make mobility decisions, adding to their stress and poorer quality of life.

6.1.3. Walking and biking

Five women in the study walk or bike to work: Conchi (R8), hospital cleaner who lives in the neighborhood of Bellvitge; Mayte (R15) the police officer who works and lives in Sant Feliu; Pilar C. (R16) an elder care-giver who lives and work in Cornellà; and Txell (R17) and Alejandra (R22) who live and work in Barcelona. Conchi, Mayte, Pilar C. and Alejandra live between 500 m and 2 km from work, a walkable distance. Living close to their workplace is preferred because it saves them time and money. However, as we will see in the next section, many experience fear on their commutes between 4 and 6 am and have developed strategies to feel safer and gain autonomy. For example, Txell, 32, the social emergencies psychologist, lives 2.6 km from work and bikes because it is the faster and safer option for her.

In documenting their mobility patterns, women nightshift workers have identified a multiplicity of urban planning and mobility elements hindering women's everynight mobility. Women identified issues related to routes, schedules, frequency, intermodal connections, and the urban design of pedestrian and public transit infrastructure. The most challenging commute time is between 5:00 and 6:30 am and some routes face greater challenges, in particular the connection between municipalities in the Baix Llobregat county, south west of Barcelona. The problems identified in public transportation routes and schedules add burden to everyday/everynight life of women that compounds fatigue from night work, and reduces their rest and sleep time.

Their testimonies illustrate their intricate and detailed knowledge of the public transportation system that helps them get home after work. Informing transportation public policy decisions through contextual qualitative data is not new, since feminist scholars for years have been

advocating for better listening skills and improved qualitative analysis of infrastructure systems and planning (Hanson 2010).

6.1.4. Mobility debates

This FPAR study suggests that even when women must move at night, they continue to prefer more sustainable mobility patterns and transport modes. Even among those who use a car or motorcycle, public transportation was their first preference, but they end up moving on private motorized vehicles to gain autonomy and safety. They would continue using the public transportation system if it was better connected. This result complements Carme Miralles-Guasch (2016) recent study on gender transportation patterns in Catalonia, whose quantitative analysis shows how gender cultural norms shape transportation choices. The study concludes that men's reason to drive is unrelated to the need to travel further or the lack of access to public transportation, but related to gender roles. Men drive as a cultural habit, exercising their male privilege. In contrast, women tend to choose more sustainable modes of transportation as data shows that women in Catalonia "travel more and make more intense use of different means of transport" (Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016, 15)⁴⁷.

This FPAR also documents that lower income nightshift workers were more likely to confront an unreliable night mobility system, have limited access to private motorized transportation, and live in working-class neighborhoods, such as the high-rise housing estates in the periphery of Barcelona. We see how gender, migration status, class and income intersect to condition women's mobility or immobility. Women's work at night for economic reasons and limited access to private motorized vehicles due to additional expenses vehicle ownership entails, makes them dependent on a deficient public transportation system, making them feel vulnerable, with limited freedom and autonomy. Thus, economic reasons limit access to reliable transportation, and the burden of the public transportation system falls on the shoulders of the already economically marginalized and vulnerable.

⁴⁷ A critique of this quantitative study is that it does not analyze income, migration status or disabilities. An intersectional analysis in these quantitative studies would allow a more nuanced analysis of gendered mobilities.

A dangerous political discourse about public transportation has permeated different layers of Spanish society, reinforcing the view that investing in public transportation leads to deficit spending- and is a huge waste of taxpayers' money. This discourse is perverse, since it rarely questions infrastructure investments that support private motorized vehicles and related amenities. This discourse has trickled down to justify the deficiency of public transportation in general, and of transportation services at night in particular, and to draw attention away from the lack of government investments in public transportation infrastructures over several decades, thus, favoring the private economic interests of the car lobby.

Public transportation decisions are based mostly on quantitative data that may omit, hide or ignore entirely an intersectional feminist analysis, and the consequences of these androcentric policies negatively impact women, above all migrant, low-income and working class women. Qualitative data such as the ones gathered here does not usually guide transportation policies, in a field where men dominate and there is little interest in changing mainstream androcentric discourses (Angeles 2017; Hanson 2010; Law 1999). Hence, the diverse experiences of women who work at night disappear from largely quantitative numbers, analysis and policies. For instance, one urban planner of a city in the metropolitan region argued that women night shift workers are a very small group and "policies cannot be made specifically for them". In that case, there is no room for policies for a particular minority. How do we manage discrimination policies then? How do we question the androcentric model of transportation?

6.2 Managing everynight fear and safety

This study on women's everyday/everynight mobility experiences confirms findings in previous studies: women are more likely to adapt and restrict their everyday life because of violence and even more so their everynight lives (e.g. Beebeejaun 2009; Koskela and Pain 2000; Ortiz Escalante and Sweet 2013; Pain 1991; Stanko 1988, 1995; Sweet and Escalante 2010; Valentine 1989; Whitzman et al. 2013). Txell, the shift psychologist working at the social emergencies center, describes how fear is an element that permeates, often in an implicit way, women's everynight life:

“La meva impressió és que si treballes de nit, i ets dona, el primer pensament que et ve és com aquesta sensació de perill... no estic tota l'estona sent conscient d'aquesta sensació, però està allà.”

“My impression is that if you work at night, and you are a woman, the first thought that comes to your mind is this feeling of danger... I am not always aware of this feeling, but it's there.”

-- Txell, social emergencies shift worker

In Chapter 5, we saw how women nightshift workers embodied fear and safety in their everynight lives and the consequences on their wellbeing and quality of life. In this chapter, we look at how urban design and transportation planning practices shape women's perception of fear and safety and as a result, condition their use, access, mobility and right to the city.

Most women who work at night talk about the fear during some of their trips, especially trips between 5 and 6 am. Women tend to fear sexual violence and rape, the type of violence that attacks their intimate body (Falú 2011; Pain 1991; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2015). Women nightshift workers' perception of fear is often based on social and cultural elements reproduced in women's socialization process (Dammert 2007; Koskela 2010; Maccoby 1992; Mackie 1987; Michaud 2006; Stockard 1999; Valentine 1992). Women are socialized to fear public space and the night, even though most forms of violence against women happen in the private sphere of home and by a known person. Toñi, one of the hospital cleaners, explains how messages received from her surrounding community condition her fear:

“La gente te mete miedo, por ejemplo, mis propios vecinos incluso me dicen, tu cuando vengas a las cinco de la mañana no gires la esquina pegada a la esquina, te sales de la acera y la giras... porque puede haber gente escondida ahí. Yo tengo que aparcar muchas veces el coche, a veces hasta en el cementerio que me da miedo, y cuando llego a la esquina pues ya estoy pensando en lo que me han dicho, y ahora ya voy con un miedo innecesario, que me han metido los propios vecinos... y luego piensas ¿quien va estar ahí en una esquina esperándote a las 5 de la mañana?”

“People make you feel fear, for example, my neighbors even tell me, ‘when you come home at 5 in the morning don't turn at the end of the corner, just get off at the sidewalk and then turn... someone might be hidden behind the corner. I sometimes have to park the car next to the cemetery and I am scared, and when I arrive to the corner, I begin thinking of what my neighbors told me, and now I have an unnecessary fear instigated by the neighbors... and then I think ‘who is going to be there in a corner waiting for me at 5 in the morning?’”

-- Toñi, hospital cleaner

In this study, cases of violence against women that happened in their everyday/everynight environments motivate women's fear ranging from fear of robberies while commuting, fear around parking areas in the work place; fear crossing underground tunnels; fear in single-use areas void of life; or fear of serious cases such as sexual assaults inside the work place. This section contributes to broadening the perspective of traditional crime prevention to incorporate how fear and gender violence condition women's everynight life. It also contributes to understanding gender violence in the private-public continuum because what happens in the private space of home influences women's perceptions of safety and vice versa (Falú 2011). In this FPAR, there are women nightshift workers who have lived intimate partner violence that affects how they move and feel at night because this type of violence extends beyond the home when their ex-partners harass them on the street or break their restraining orders.

A group of workers (5 of 24) say they do not feel fear of sexual assault, in part because they finish their shift later, at 8 am and they drive a car or motorcycle. Their fear relates more to falling asleep and potential accidents on the way home, after working 10- and 12-hour shifts.

Social, political and economic factors, the physical configuration of spaces, urban design and built environments condition fear and safety perceptions. This section focuses on the urban design and transportation planning aspects that influence women nightshift workers' perceptions of fear and safety. The perception of safety is also linked to women's mobility and public transportation options and lived experience while walking to public transportation, using mobility infrastructures (bus stops, metro access, wait times), as well as inside public transportation. Some women also highlight how their perception of fear is also present in the spaces where they work, either because they work on the street (street cleaners and sex workers) or due to the design of semi-public areas in and around the hospital and airport. After looking at photographs of the physical configuration of public and semi-public spaces, women co-analyze how the social configuration of spaces and heteropatriarchal cultural mandates also condition their perceptions of fear and safety. Finally, in this section we look at the safety strategies women nightshift workers have developed to gain autonomy and fight their fears.

6.2.1. Physical design and social configuration

Women nightshift workers identify design elements in the city and metropolitan area that shape their perceptions and experiences. These elements relate to the physical design and the social configuration of spaces. In particular, women nightshift workers highlight the following elements that condition their safety perceptions: the design of single-use working areas; design of mobility infrastructures; the lack of visibility; the monopolization of space by a homogenous group; the design of pedestrian routes; fear perceptions linked to the social messages women receive; and knowledge of sexual harassment that occurred in specific sites.

To explain these aspects, I analyze women's testimonies and present photographs illustrating the design deficiencies. I also include the recommendations for improvement from women nightshift workers.

Single-use areas and lack of activity

The design of single-use employment areas and their public and intermediate spaces, such as the industrial zone of Zona Franca and the Bellvitge Hospital, contribute to the perception of fear. Like many industrial areas around the globe, Zona Franca's design does not consider well the scale of pedestrians (Figure 44 and 45). These are zones with streets that prioritize motorized vehicles, have wide avenues, often poorly lighted, where nobody walks at night, and with public transit deficiencies. In general, these areas do not offer a diversity of activities, and often feel like deserts at night. In addition, Zona Franca, is located on the edge of Barcelona, between the mountain of Montjuic, the Mediterranean sea and the Llobregat River, making the area even more isolated and poorly connected through public transit.

Figure 44: Aerial picture of Zona Franca



Source: Consorci Zona Franca Barcelona, <https://elconsorci.es>, retrieved May 25, 2019

Figure 45: Map of Zona Franca



Source: Consorci Zona Franca Barcelona, <https://elconsorci.es>, retrieved May 25, 2019

Furthermore, the bus stops in Zona Franca (Figure 48) are not fully equipped, lacking shelter for protection from weather conditions, a map of the area, analog information about the service, an interphone or help button. Lastly, during the research period, the new metro line station was completed but service had not yet begun.

Figure 46: Bus stop in Zona Franca

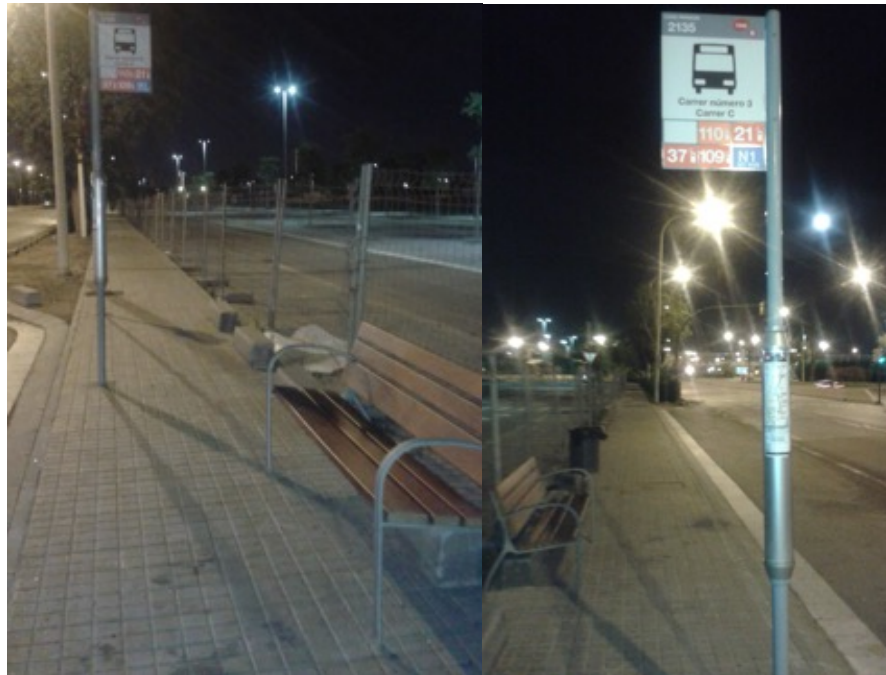


Photo credits: Sara Ortiz Escalante

Bus stop pictured from different angles. Karina, one of the street cleaners whose company is located in Zona Franca, waits in this bus stop after her nightshift

Women nightshift workers emphasize the importance of improved signage and public transportation infrastructures to increase the perception of safety.

The other single-use area in this study is the Bellvitge Hospital. Despite being located next to the Bellvitge neighbourhood, the separated street design contributes to the area's poor connections to its surroundings. This area is surrounded by highways, informal parking lots next to the river, athletic fields, and a hotel area – all of them are single use (Figure 47). The Bellvitge Hospital is part of a larger health complex that includes the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Barcelona, an Oncological Hospital and a rehabilitation center. The Faculty of Medicine is located next to Bellvitge Hospital. The Oncological hospital and the rehabilitation center are located on the other side of Gran Via Highway, which complicates the mobility of workers and other users of both areas. There are buses connecting the hospital area to both sides of Gran Via Highway, but both signage and schedule information are not clear and bus service ends between 9 pm and 8 am.

There is also disconnection between the mixed-use design of the Bellvitge neighborhood and the hospital area design. In the past, there was a shuttle connecting the neighborhood with

the hospital, but it was discontinued, limiting the access to health services of the elderly or those with mobility problems. The closest metropolitan bus stop to the hospital is outside its precinct. Women propose creating a new metropolitan bus stop within the hospital precinct, close to the Emergency entrance, since this would facilitate the mobility of hospital users and workers.

Figure 47: Views of surrounding areas of the Hospital of Bellvitge from the main building



Photo credits: Sara Ortiz Escalante

Clockwise, the Bellvitge neighborhood, Bellvitge pay parking lot and Gran Via Highway, and informal parking lots next to agricultural fields and adjacent sport complex and industrial area in Bellvitge.

Women nightshift workers of Bellvitge Hospital also consider that the intermediate spaces between buildings, which are semi-public, are perceived to be unsafe at night. There are several points in the precinct connecting areas and buildings with insufficient lighting, with corners, and hidden corners. The lack of signage also hinders people's orientation and movement within the precinct. In addition, while there is pedestrian traffic between the different buildings, the intermediate spaces are not pedestrian-friendly, but designed for service vehicles transit, which also conditions fear perceptions. Figure 48 shows the view of

the Hospital from the entrance to the metro station. It is a dark area, where vegetation often covers the lampposts. To arrive at the hospital, one must walk alongside a parking lot, one of the mobility infrastructures that women particularly perceive as unsafe.

Figure 48: View of the Hospital of Bellvitge from the metro station at night

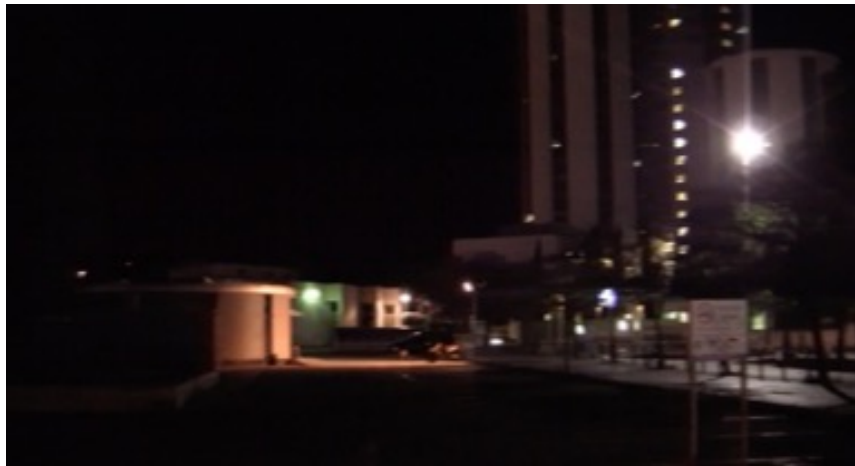


Photo credits: Sara Ortiz Escalante

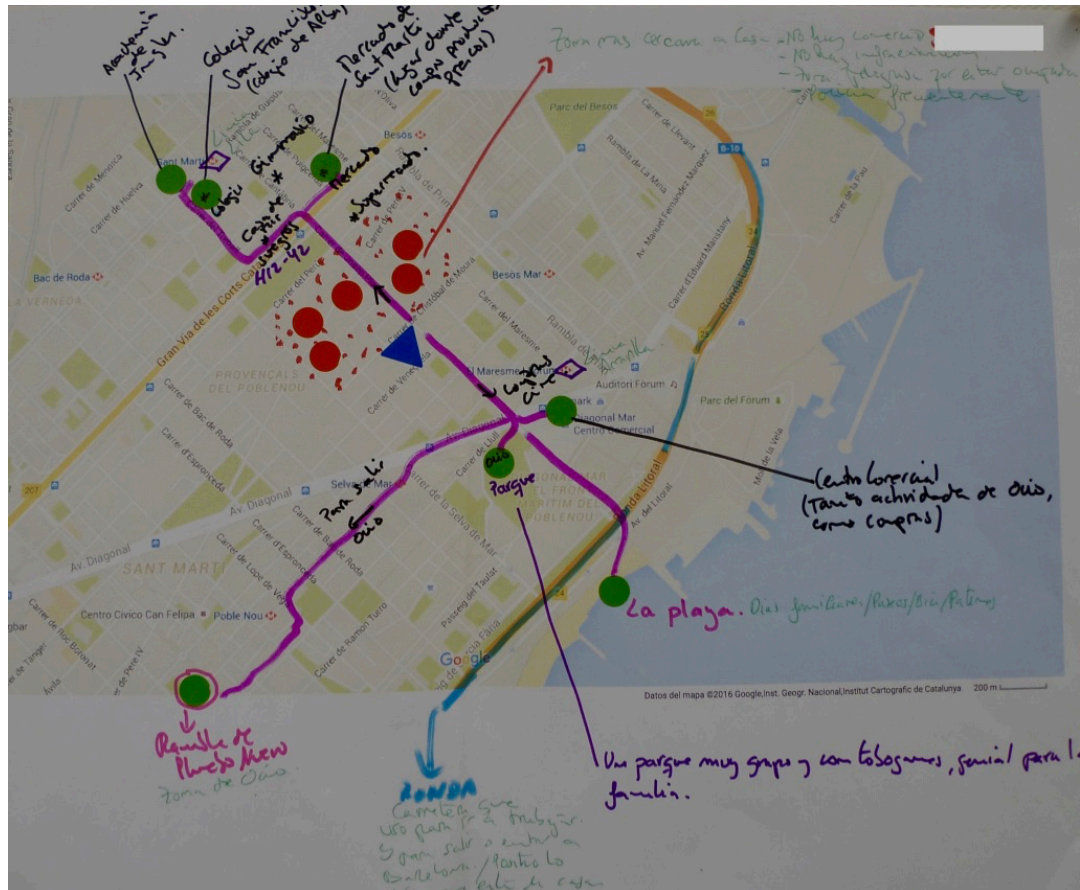
Women nightshift workers at Bellvitge Hospital propose improving signage within the entire precinct and making pedestrian-friendly intermediate spaces to improve mobility, orientation and perception of safety at night.

In addition to these two single use areas, there are also women who work and travel through other single-use areas in Barcelona. Such is the case of Txell and Zenobia, shift workers at the social emergencies center located in Poble Nou, and of Pepi, one of the sex workers using the parking lot at the intersection of the University Campus and Barcelona football field of Camp Nou. The Poble Nou area is a historical industrial area of Barcelona, where industrial activity declined and many factories closed, leaving the neighbourhoods with large unoccupied buildings and empty lots. Now Poble Nou is the location of the 22@district - an innovation district that combines high-tech companies with small workshops and industries during the day, and night clubs and bars after dark.

Silvia, one of the nurses at Bellvitge Hospital, lives in Poble Nou. She avoids spaces in her neighbourhood where she feels unsafe. In her everyday network map (Figure 49), she signals with red dots the spaces next to her home where she feels fear, including several industrial

abandoned lots that lack maintenance, diminishing perceptions of safety and vitality of the area (Figure 50).

Figure 49: Silvia's everyday network map



In this map, Silvia marks with red dots areas with lack of activity and empty lots close to her home, and where she feels unsafe for the lack of vitality, maintenance and visibility.

Figure 50: Picture of one empty lot in Poble Nou



Photo credits: Sara Ortiz Escalante

An empty lot located in the corner in front of Silvia's home. The lot is not maintained and this part of the street is not well illuminated; in addition, trees vegetation blocks street lamps.

The University Campus also functions as a single-use area, with the complexity that during the day the main public space users are university students, faculty and staff, but occupied by sex workers at night. The lack of mixed uses and activity types developed at night in these two areas (night entertainment and sex work) often make women feel unsafe when traveling through these areas. The nightshift workers who use these areas explain that there are no services and facilities open for refuge or help if needed during late night hours when they walk in these neighbourhoods.

In general, women nightshift workers point to the need to modify the multi-level urban planning policies in relation to the design of industrial parks and other single use areas, in order to integrate mixed-uses. They feel that urban planners should avoid reproducing “islands” and isolated zones that entail huge deficits in terms of mobility, quality of public spaces, safety perception, access to services, etc. In the case of Poble Nou, the city of Barcelona has conducted a participatory process to diversify the area usage, increase mixticty, and better respond to the everyday life needs of neighbours. Col·lectiu Punt 6 was hired to facilitate this participatory process, using a gender perspective placed at the centre of people's everyday life. The city is now in charge of implementing the recommendations.

The cases of women nightshift workers working in single use zones such as the industrial area Zona Franca or the hospital area of Bellvitge hospital demonstrate how the urban planning in single-use working zones has ignored public transportation access to these areas at different times of the day. This is related to the androcentric, patriarchal and capitalist view of planning imposed in many cities, which has supported the productive sphere of work, thinking of a normative “citizen type” who is often associated with a heteropatriarchal male model, and promoting zoning that signals disconnection between different life spheres (Hayden 1980; Muxí Martínez 2013). Urban planning historically has privileged public infrastructures and spaces for productive paid work during the day, while ignoring women’s everyday life needs, their domestic and care work, particularly night workers. The zoning focus on the productive sphere, leads to the disconnection of public spaces with other spheres (domestic, community, personal), thus determining who can access jobs in these industrial zones.

Design of mobility infrastructures

The design of mobility infrastructures also influences women’s perception of safety. Women nightshift workers discuss the design of parking lots, as well as walking connection between public transportation and work or home through sidewalks, tunnels, bridges and streets. Neus, one of the hospital nurses, usually drives to work, but she shares a car with her husband, and when she cannot use the car, she has to take the bus. She is very aware of the limitations of night public transportation:

“El tema del transport públic a l’hora d’anar a treballar, no està gaire ben pensat per la gent que treballa de nit, ja que els horaris i les condicions en que es troben moltes parades de bus, com el metro, com la gent que ha d’anar a peu o en bicicleta, almenys en el nostre cas, no està ben senyalitzat ni protegit. Perquè depèn de l’horari que surtis fa respecte anar pel carrer, fa por. I no hi ha tota la seguretat que hi hauria d’haver-hi tant per vigilants del metro com al carrer.”

“The issue of public transportation to go to work, it is not well thought out for those who work at night, because the schedules, and the conditions of the bus stops, the metro, and the infrastructures for people walking or cycling, are not well designed, or signalized. Depending on when you get out of work, you feel afraid. And there is no security where there should be. Not enough security personnel in the metro, or security agents on the street.”

-- Neus, hospital nurse

Women who drive to work, such as Silvia, a hospital nurse, or Zenobia, social emergencies worker, emphasize that parking areas are often perceived unsafe, given their physical configuration. Silvia had to park in the informal parking lots surrounding the hospital before getting an official hospital parking permit. She acknowledges that it was an unpleasant circumstance:

“Cuando aparcaba cerca del campo de futbol no me gustaba un pelo, es una zona poco iluminada [Hospital de Bellvitge]”

“When I parked close to the soccer field, I did not like it at all, it is a poorly lighted area [Bellvitge Hospital]”

-- Silvia, hospital nurse

Hospital cleaners also shared that they did not have access to official parking permits because they work for an external cleaning company. They often have to park in the informal park lots. They share stories of fear of assault since they know of cases that happened to others, including work colleagues. They also acknowledge that this is not only an issue women nightshift workers face, but also by hospital parking users.

Women often associate parking areas with violence and fear because cars end up obstructing their visibility and women cannot see what is behind them. Women nightshift workers who walk or use public transit also identify parking areas as spaces of fear. For example, Rafaela who commutes by bus, has to walk through several parking areas from the public transportation stop to her home (Figure 51).

Figure 53: Pictures of Rafaela's commuting route



Photo credits: Sara Ortiz Escalante

The parking lot next to Sant Feliu's train station (top) and one of the streets that arrives to the train station (bottom). Rafaela perceives these places as unsafe because cars obstruct visibility and she cannot see if someone is hidden behind the cars.

Conchi, one of the hospital cleaners who walks from Bellvitge neighbourhood to the hospital, explains in the video that she never walks on the sidewalks, she walks on the road because she has more visibility of the area. In the video, she also explains how she modifies her route to avoid dark areas and parking lots.

“Yo siempre no me meto por acera, sino que voy por la carretera. Y si pasan coches yo me aparto. Y hay más visibilidad que en la acera.”

“I always walk on the road, not on the sidewalk. And if cars pass by, I step aside. There is more visibility on the road than on the sidewalk.”

-- Conchi, hospital cleaner

Other mobility infrastructures that women avoid are underground passes and elevated bridges built to cross a highway or train tracks. As mentioned, women's perception of fear in this project relate to cases of violence against women that have happened in their everyday environments. Cases that produce more astonishment and rage are the aggressions and sexual assaults that happened in the tunnel across Gran Via highway. This tunnel connects Bellvitge Hospital with the Oncological Hospital and the Rehabilitation Center. It is the only pedestrian path to access Bellvitge Hospital for people coming by bus from the cities on the other side of the Llobregat River. These cities' hospital catchment is Bellvitge Hospital and include El Prat, Sant Boi, Gavà, Viladecans and Castelldefels. The stop is located on the other side of Gran Via highway and people have to cross a dark and isolated tunnel to arrive at Bellvitge Hospital (Figure 52 and [participatory video number 1](#), minute 3:47). Conchi dared cross the tunnel one night to document it through the video and some pictures she wanted to report in all the materials of this FPAR.

Figure 52: Pictures of the tunnel that crosses Gran Via

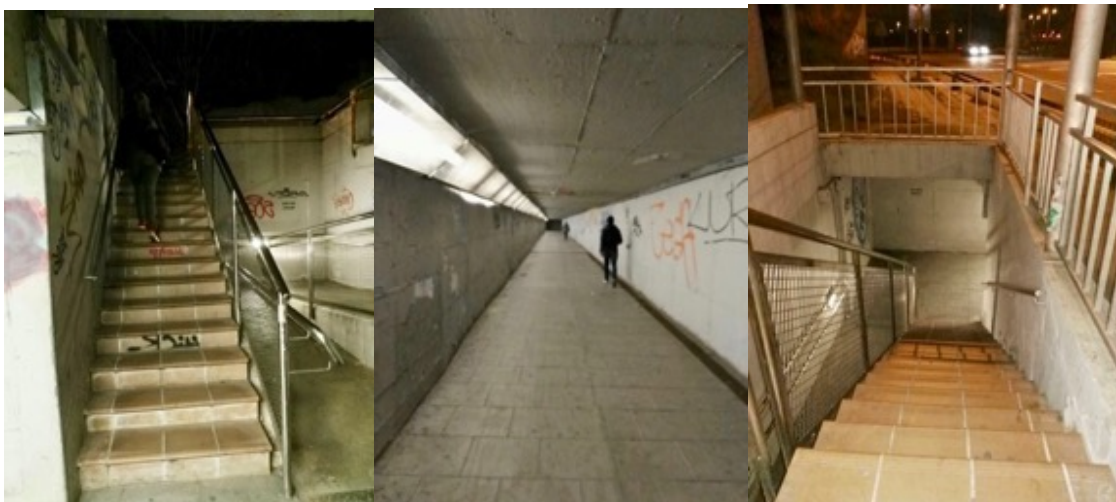


Photo credits: Conchi Braojos

These pictures show the entrance to the underground tunnel (right and left) and a view from inside the tunnel (center)

The assaults that happened in this tunnel have been documented and known for years. The different institutions involved in this mobility infrastructure are aware of this issue: the city of L'Hospitalet, the Barcelona Metropolitan Area authority and the hospital. In fact, the mobility planner interviewed from the Barcelona Metropolitan Area acknowledges that this well-known problem was not properly addressed for years to prevent more assaults or find an alternative to this mobility infrastructure.

Txell and Pilar share their experiences in relation to this tunnel:

“Jo havia fet el túnel que travessa la Gran Via per anar a l'Hospital de Bellvitge, i aquest túnel durant el dia ja no et dóna confiança, no el faria mai de nit”.

“I had used the tunnel that crosses Gran Via [highway] to go to Bellvitge Hospital, and I did not like the experience during the day, I would never cross it at night”.

-- Txell, social emergencies shift worker

“Ese túnel tiene que ser la pera... a una compañera casi la violan de día, yo he pasado de día y pienso que de noche debe dar un yuyu... es estrecho, oscuro, muy tétrico, un paso por debajo de la Gran Vía, ...”

“This tunnel is unbelievable... one coworker was almost raped during the day, I have crossed it during the day and I think that at night it must be so frightening... it is narrow, dark, and threatening; a passage under the Gran Via [highway], ...”

-- Pilar B., hospital cleaner

In the public presentation of the report and participatory videos on March 31, 2017, women in the audience applauded Conchi when she shared her experience crossing the tunnel and denounced the conditions. Despite these information dissemination efforts, public institutions have not done anything to remedy the problem. The new Urban Plan's goal is to put the highway underground, and under the jurisdiction of the municipality of L'Hospitalet and the Generalitat de Catalunya. This project would take years to complete.

Nightshift workers at Bellvitge Hospital recommend urgently improving or eliminating spaces with poor visibility, abandoned spaces, hidden areas, or underground passages in the hospital area. In particular, they have been advocating for a safe and accessible alternative to the underground passage that crosses the Gran Via highway.

Another mobility infrastructure that often hinders women's perception of safety are elevated bridges. In general, this study documents that those infrastructures that are not at street level represent accessibility and visibility problems that are often considered as traps perceived as unsafe and therefore, avoided. These infrastructures make women change the routes and trips in the search for alternatives such as Cristina M., who changed her route to avoid crossing a bridge connecting the Santa Eulalia stop with the Collblanc neighborhood. We did not take this route on the day I accompanied her commute back home. Cristina M. showed me the longer commute and documented in one of the participatory videos why she did not

want to take the shorter route even though I was with her. She told me “if you dare, you can cross the bridge after you leave me at home”. And I did. I went and crossed what she calls the “Bridge of fear”. From her home to the bridge that connects with the metro station of Santa Eulalia, it took me less than 5 minutes. I took pictures of the bridge (Figures 53). The bridge crosses the train tracks and it is the only pedestrian connection between the Collblanc neighborhood where Cristina M. lives and Santa Eulàlia, both in L’Hospitalet. It is the shortest route to reach the metro station from her home.

Figure 53: Pictures of the bridge that connects Santa Eulàlia with Collblanc

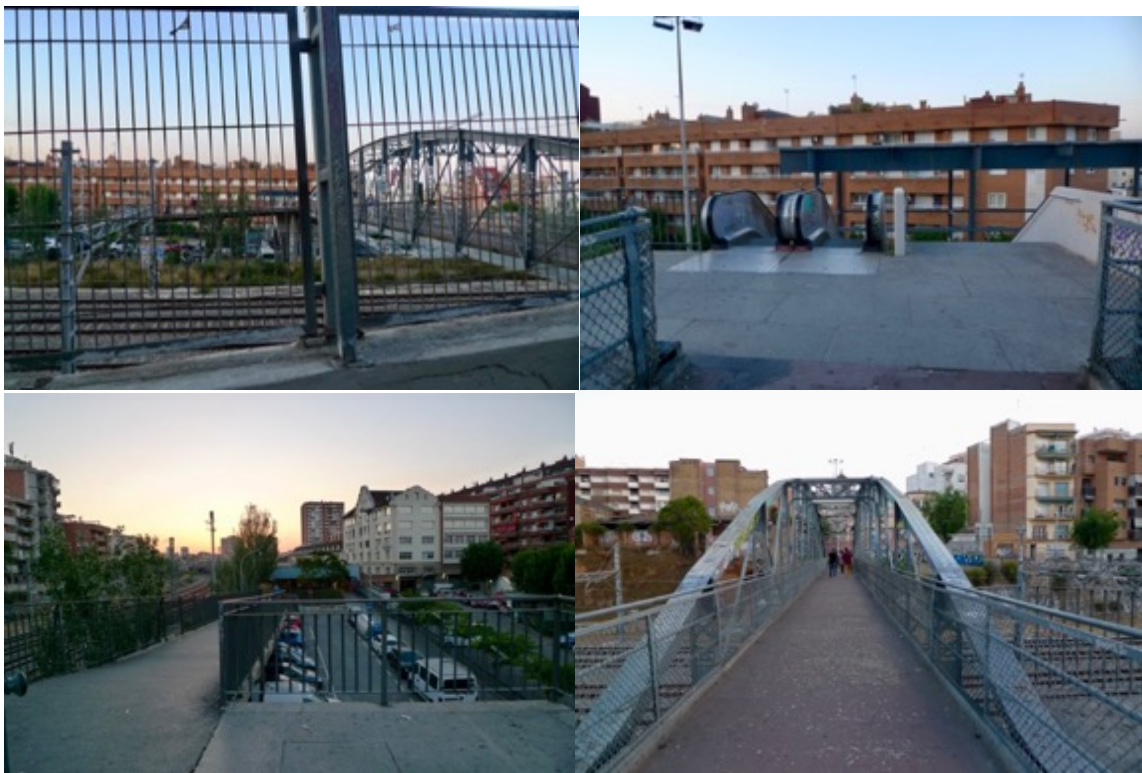


Photo credits: Sara Ortiz Escalante

Clockwise: the bridge from Collblanc's neighborhood, mechanical staircases from Sant Eulalia's neighborhood, access ramp from Sant Eulalia's neighborhood, and bridge from Santa Eulalia's neighborhood

Elevated bridges are infrastructure barriers for pedestrians. This bridge in particular is accessible through a ramp, but the access ramp and the bridge are long and it is difficult to identify the people who might be on the other end of the bridge (Figure 55-D). The bridge access is through staircases, but as Figure 55-B illustrates, one cannot see what happens on the staircases from the bridge, reducing the visibility. In addition, the Collblanc side of the bridge ends in a very narrow curved street that lacks visibility, and generates the sensation

that there is no escape. I understand why Cristina M. avoids using this bridge at night, above all, after having experienced an attempted sexual assault.

Visibility

Visibility during the commute is another factor that conditions safety perceptions and route selection. On one hand, there is the visibility related to the type of lighting. In certain areas, there is a lack of lighting, and in others despite lighting available, there are vegetation, trees, or other objects that block visibility (Figure 54A). Poorly maintained and overgrown vegetation can often block visibility. There is also the visibility related to the concept of seeing and being seen without obstacles in the route, such as walls, corners, bushes, or vegetation higher than a meter (Figures 54 B and C).

Figure 54 A, B, C, D: Pictures of routes with obstructed lighting, opaque fences and empty lots



Photo credits: Sara Ortiz Escalante

Clockwise: informal parking lot next to Bellvitge Hospital showing how trees vegetation blocks visibility, empty lot with high vegetation next to Rafaela's home, a blind fence in Poble Nou, and unmaintained lot in Poble Nou.

Space monopolization by a homogenous group

Studies on safety already highlight that the monopolization of a space by a particular group will condition the use of this space and the perceptions of fear (e.g. Green and Singleton 2006; Phadke 2007). Women nightshift workers who use public transportation, bike or walk agree that one of the elements that increases their fear perceptions the most is the presence of people under the influence of alcohol, in particular, inebriated men they encounter on Friday and Saturday nights. Several of them share stories where people who return from partying all night have been aggressive towards other public transportation users, such as women nightshift workers. Ángeles, a hospital cleaner who commuted 12 years by public transportation before buying a car, shares the fear this situation provokes:

“Miedo da porque ha habido intento de violación de compañeras. Cuando sales el sábado en la mañana vas en metro y en la Rambla Justo Oliveras, el trocito ese, tela marinera, es que salen borrachos perdidos y cuando van un montón, vas acojonada.”

“You feel fear because there have been attempts of rape to other colleagues. When you go out of work on Saturday morning and take the metro and at the Rambla Justo Oliveras, that area is complicated, because people are totally wasted and when they form a group, I am shit scared.”

-- Ángeles, hospital cleaner

The Rambla Justo Oliveras is a subway stop located at L'Hospitalet in an area with high concentration of bars and night clubs that close around five in the morning.

Karina, one of the street cleaners, and Laura, the sex worker who commutes by train, also explains the different situations they encounter when commuting on the nights when more people go out:

“La noche del jueves ya van cargaditos... y ahora en vacaciones y con el buen tiempo, peor aún... te encuentras de todo, tipos jalando coca, el otro haciéndose el porro, la chica subida encima del chico, y no puedes ni mirar ni decir nada, solo hacerte la loca porque si no te caen encima. En los andenes también la gente se queda dormida, porque va borracha... y entonces te quitan la carterita, el móvil...”

-- Karina, street cleaner

“En la noche es un lío, vienen borrachos, viene gente, una vez yendo a Sabadell en tren, en Sant Vicenç dels Horts vino un loco a acosar a una chica joven, a las 11 de la noche... nos tuvimos que bajar yo y la chica, y era el último tren.”

“On Thursday night they already consume ... and now during vacation and with the good weather, it’s worst... you find all kind of things, guys snorting cocaine, one rolling a joint, a girl on top of a guy, and you cannot even look at them or say anything, just ignore them since they can be violent to you. In the platforms people also fall asleep, because they are drunk... and then their wallets get stolen, or the cellphone...”

-- Laura E., sex worker

“At night it’s a mess, there are drunk guys, lots of people... once going to Sabadell by train in Sant Vicenç dels Horts a crazy man came to harass a young woman, at 11 at night... we had to leave the train, she and I, and this was the last train of the night.”

Laura described an instance when she was concerned about the safety of a fellow female passenger and decided to abandon the train with her to help her find an alternative transportation solution. The issue of sexual harassment associated with night life has been documented and denounced in the region in recent years. There are feminist organizations in different municipalities across the region that have started to document sexual harassments and assaults related to nightlife, partying and substance abuse⁴⁸. Feminist groups were the first to organize around this issue and draft safety plans at the community level to prevent and respond to sexual harassment and violence in the context of nightlife entertainment and local festivals. After some years of feminist activism, local governments in the region have also started to invest public resources and coordinate prevention and response strategies.

⁴⁸ See reports conducted in Barcelona, Madrid and other cities in Spain that document from a gender perspective the relationship between sexual harassment and violence with nightlife, drug use and alcohol consumption: <https://www.drogasgenero.info/noctambulas/>, retrieved May 25, 2019

Many women who use the metro choose the first wagon where they feel safer because of the driver. They say that on Friday and Saturday nights, the rest of wagons are full of people who come back from partying and who have consumed alcohol and other drugs. I was able to experience this myself when I accompanied women on their commutes. Subway drivers use cameras to monitor what happens in the convoys and they sometimes leave the cabin to warn people or give warnings on pickpocketing through the interphone. This highlights the important presence and access of staff in stations and convoys when designing mobility infrastructures. Some women who take the metro at Bellvitge Hospital value the recent increase of security guards on the metro platforms because it makes them feel safer while they wait for the metro in the first hours of the morning. Before, they were mostly alone waiting in this space. Susana is one of the hospital nurses that values this change:

“Han puesto un vigilante en la parada del metro... yo me siento más segura con un vigilante. Ya sé que no hará nada, tiene allí el perrito y ni se mueve, y seguro que va a venir alguien y no me va a hacer ni caso, pero bueno. Yo estoy más segura que cuando no estaba.”

“There now is a guard in the metro station... I feel safer with the guard. I know that he may not do anything, he is there with the dog and he does not move from his place, and it's likely that if someone comes to harass me he is not going to do anything... but I feel safer now than when he was not there.”

-- Susana, hospital nurse assistant

It is important to highlight that they value the human component more than the role of the security guard as a safety guarantee. However, the human component is often forgotten in the “smart city” discourse, seen in the design of the new metro lines in Barcelona that work without a driver. In addition, the new metro lines do not have staff on the stations and platforms nor cell phone signal. The metro stations follow a panoptic design: a longer distance between the surface and subsoil, the color scheme, the lack of vitality, long elevator connections (Figure 55).

Figure 55: Pictures of the new L9 metro stations



Photo credits: Sara Ortiz Escalante

Perhaps counter-intuitively for some, the design of these new stations can provoke a higher perception of fear. While they are high-tech designed, and have more cameras installed, women do not associate this with higher security. Women consider it is a mechanism to record the incident, but do not help in preventing aggression, which has been documented in other women's safety studies (Koskela 2002; Loukaitou-Sideris and Fink 2008).

In contrast to the panoptic approach, women recommended finding strategies to increase the perception of safety in public transportation at night, for example, with more staff in metro stations, and extending hours of operation of stores located in the metro and train stations (e.g., coffee shops, newsstands).

Walking between public transportation and home

Most women positively value the neighborhoods where they live, but some of them feel fear when walking home from public transportation stations at night. This perception of fear increases on days with high nightlife activity when there is more presence of men consuming alcohol and other drugs, particularly in neighborhoods known for nightlife, such as L'Hospitalet neighborhoods where Cristina M. and Karina live.

"El trabajar de noche para mí lo malo es el trayecto, o sea, cuando salgo del transporte y voy hacia mi casa, no me da miedo el metro, no me da miedo el bus... me da miedo cuando llego a mi barrio."

"The worst part about working at night, for me, is the commute, when I leave the public transportation and I go home, I don't fear the metro or the bus... I fear when I arrive to my neighborhood."

-- Cristina M., hospital cleaner

Karina, who lives in the La Florida neighborhood, describes the different elements of her walking route between the metro station and her home that condition her perception of fear:

“Está en una zona muy mala, antes era una zona de barracas y es peligroso, en Pubilla Casas allá arriba hay una zona de discotecas ... aquí no hay ni un alma en invierno... el panorama cambia mucho en invierno, nosotras salimos y este bar está siempre abierto cuando yo vengo... pero aquí hay toda la gente, hay muchos alcohólicos, que son la misma gente de siempre, y los chicos caen ahí a veces porque es el único bar abierto... esto es oscuro... ahora hace poco arreglaron las farolas, porque siempre las rompen,... esta calle es una trampa, el rato que te metes aquí ya no sabes para donde correr... Los fines de semana hay también una discoteca aquí arriba y esto es súper oscuro y vas como una loca para intentar llegar a la casa cuanto antes.”

“This is a very bad area; in the past, it was an area of informal settlements and it was dangerous in Pubilla Casas up there. There is an area of night clubs ... here there is not even a soul in the winter... the scene changes a lot in the winter. When I leave [the metro] this bar is always open when I arrive... but here and there are all kind of people, many alcoholic men, they are always the same, and the young guys come here sometimes because it is the only bar that's open... it is dark... recently they repaired the light poles, because they are often broken... this street is a trap, when you get in here you don't know where to escape.... On weekends, there is also a night club up there and this area is very dark and I am going crazy rushing to get home as soon as possible.”

-- Karina, street cleaner

Karina's testimony exemplifies the detailed knowledge women accumulate through their commutes and lived experiences about the planning elements that condition women's safety. In these accounts, these women also highlight the gender aspects that condition their sense of community in the neighborhoods where they live, especially influenced by sexual harassment. The physical configuration also influences the sense of community. These are working class and low income neighborhoods with a remarkable migration history. It is not by chance, that in this particular city, L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, there has been a lack of public investment in public space and housing in these neighborhoods. Institutional discrimination has contributed to their marginalization and abandonment, which conditions the safety perceptions in these spaces and contributes to their stigmatization. Fear and sexual harassment do not happen only in these stigmatized neighborhoods. As described below, this happens in public spaces independent of the social class characteristics of the neighbourhood. In fact, Karina, who cleans the street of the richest area of Barcelona, has been harassed and attacked in these neighbourhoods, for being a migrant woman who cleans the street.

Sexual harassment

Women's stories of sexual harassment suffered during their night and early morning commutes, exemplify our sexist society where men respond to a heteropatriarchal male model that sees women's bodies in public spaces at night as objects that can be harassed and abused. There are men who still have a misogynist conception that only "prostitutes" and "loose women" use the space at night (Patel 2010; Wilson 1991). Under this conception, men continue feeling they own the night territory and therefore are entitled to invade women's bodies and normalize sexual harassment.

Laura E., Toñi and Karina share stories of sexual harassment in their commutes. These stories are not exceptional, yet part of the everyday/everynight life, part of their routine. For example, Laura E., the sex worker who works in a flat in Sabadell, shares a story of harassment related to the planning layout of the area where she works:

"En Sabadell me bajo en la estación sur y es puro polígono. A la 11 de la noche un hombre viejito se va con el coche y pasa diciendo 'hola guapa ¿te alcanzo?' a cualquier mujer que pasa. Usted baja del tren y sale el bus que va al centro, pero yo estoy en una casa cerca de la zona hermética y hay cada loco, chalado ¡como está el panorama!"

"In Sabadell I got off at the south station and the whole place is an industrial area. At 11 pm an old man drives around saying to any woman he finds 'hi beautiful, can I give you a ride?' Some people get off the train and take the bus to the city center but I am in a house close to night clubs and there are crazy guys, what a scene!"

-- Laura E., sex worker

She walks through an industrial area lacking human activity, and commutes in urban spaces that are not pedestrian friendly, which facilitate male harassment on a regular basis. Although harassment happens in mixed use neighbourhoods too, the isolation, lack of vitality and the "male" character of these areas seem a perfect scenario for systemic harassment with impunity.

Toñi is another woman harassed several times by her ex-partner and strangers. In one of the stories, Toñi details harassment by a man who followed her three nights in a row:

“Hay hombres que son pesados, que vienen de trabajar o van a trabajar. Y sí que me pasó que, a mí, tres noches seguidas un hombre me siguió hasta aquí [el trabajo] desde la parada, me asusté un montón. A la tercera noche, que iba cagada de miedo, me bajé en mi parada empecé a andar más deprisa y se me puso al lado y le dije que quería y me dijo que era una mujer muy linda.”

“There are men who are offensive, men who come from or go to work. Once it happened to me that three nights on a row, a man followed me from the bus stop to work, I got very scared. The third night, I was scared shit, I got off at my bus stop and I started walking faster and he stood next to me. I asked him what he wanted and he told that I was a beautiful woman.”

-- Toñi, hospital cleaner

Toñi lived in fear during those three days, but when she finally confronted him, the man started to laugh and expected she took it as a compliment. This is disturbing proof that when men are not aware of the effects of their harassment, they normalize it and see it as a “seducing” strategy.

Karina’s story illustrates the vulnerability of experiencing sexual harassment in your neighborhood, when someone can control what you do and know where you live.

“Estaba muy constipada y estaba un hombre mayor sentado en la salida del metro, adentro, y me dijo buenos días y yo dije buenos días y, tratas de sonreír para que no te digan que eres maleducada y te vayan a caer. Yo me subí en el ascensor y él por las escaleras, salí y estaba sentado ahí y yo tenía que pasar por las escaleras, y me dice ‘estás muy constipada’, y le digo sí un poco, y me dice ‘pero esos constipados con un buen polvo se te curan’. Y era un hombre viejo... y no había ni un alma en la calle... y pensé ¿qué hago? Y veo que me sigue y se cruza como yo, yo pasé y crucé por el paso de peatones y él por abajo... y ya no me podía meter por el callejón, me fui a hacer el recorrido por allá arriba... A veces cuando te encuentras a este tipo de gente, te da miedo... ese día cambié el recorrido porque era la única manera que él no supiera el recorrido que yo hago y no sea que me espere otro día escondido... y me fui al cajero, y a la que voy a salir, lo vi sentado en un banco adelante... y entonces me dice: ‘¿te animas o qué al final?’. Y le dije que si me seguía un poco más llamaba a los Mossos que están ahí al frente, y me dijo ‘caminar puedo caminar, que soy libre en la calle’. Y yo me metí en una cafetería haciendo como si fuera a desayunar...”

“I had a big cold and an old man was sitting by the exit of the metro station, inside, and he told me ‘good morning’ and I answered ‘good morning’, and I smiled so he would not say I was rude and bother me some more. I got in the elevator and he took the stairs, I left and he was sitting there and I had to pass in front of the stairs, and he told me ‘did you get a cold?’, and I said ‘yes a little bit’, and he told me ‘these colds can be cured with good sex’. He was an old man... and there wasn’t a soul on the street... and I thought ‘what do I do?’ And I realized he was following me and he crossed the street like me, I crossed through the pedestrian crosswalk and he crossed too... and I was not able to take the alley, so I changed the route... When you find this type of people, you are scared... that day I changed the route because it was the only way he would not know my regular route unless he waited for me another day... and I went to the ATM, and when I was leaving, he was seating in a bench in front of the ATM ... and he told me: ‘do you want sex or what?’ I told him that if he follows me more I would call the police who were there, in front of us, and he told me ‘I can walk wherever I want because I am free on the street’. And I entered a coffee shop pretending I went to get breakfast...”

-- Karina, street cleaner

This story also relates to how the invasion of women’s personal and intimate space, from the body to the neighborhood, is often internalized and lived as an intricate part of women’s everyday/everynight life in a society that normalizes gender violence. This type of violence is not understood legally and socially as physical because he never touched her. Karina felt it as physical violence because it was an invasive attack on her body, her intimacy and her routine in her neighborhood. This case demonstrates that gender violence should be understood on a public-private continuum because this attack happened on the street but in

a very quotidian space for Karina, connecting the door to her neighborhood and the door of her house, therefore the extension of home.

Karina is a street cleaner who encounters harassment in her home community, and while working on the streets. The sexual harassment and violence suffered by women working as streets cleaners and sex workers in Barcelona is related to how women's bodies are conceived in the public space at night, and to the type of work they do, which is often socially undervalued [e.g., cleaning and sex work], but also to their migration status.

Karina, a street cleaner, has suffered harassment and aggression for being a migrant woman who cleans the streets. The low social value placed on cleaning the streets, as well as other domestic-like work sets the stage for women's treatment as objects, like urban furniture being pushed and attacked. This increases women night workers' perception of fear, particularly in city areas with high concentration of nightlife activity. When gender intersects with women's ethnic origins, race and class, the oppression they live multiplies. Karina cleans the streets of Barcelona's richest district, Sarrià-Sant Gervasi. As a migrant woman from Ecuador, she shares how she has been harassed for being a working class migrant woman, by young men partying at night in the area where she works:

"Empiezan a salir los niños, y luego a lo mejor... o van caminando y se empiezan a meter contigo, y yo me empiezo a poner así de lado, lo mismo que miro para adelante, tengo los ojos detrás. Claro, por si me sacan algún cuchillo, o me quieren robar, o me quieren hacer algo a última hora."

"When the lads go out, they walk by and start messing with you, and I start to walk sideways, and I look forward, but I have eyes on my neck. In case they show me a knife, or they want to rob me, or they want to attack me."

-- Karina, street cleaner

This feeling is also shared by cleaning workers at the airport. While it is not a public space like the streets, it is a large-scale facility with similar characteristics and circumstances. Yoli R.'s testimony also exemplifies how cleaning jobs are socially undervalued:

"¿Sabes también a lo que estamos expuestas? A la manera de los pasajeros de dirigirse a nosotras... La falta de respeto que tienen, que ellos se piensan que eso es suyo..."

"You know what we are exposed to? To the way passengers talk to us... the lack of respect they have, they think that the airport is theirs..."

-- Yoli R., airport cleaner

In the case of sex workers, fear and insecurity increases late at night when the number of people in the work areas diminishes, and there is higher risk of aggression because of the lack of activity and “eyes” in the street. Pepi shares this feeling:

“Me siento insegura a las dos y media de la mañana cuando se van las compañeras y me quedo sola y tengo que estar con los ojos para todos los lados.”

“I feel very unsafe at 2:30 at night when my co-workers leave and I am left alone and I have to be watching out everywhere.”

-- Pepi, sex worker

They feel vulnerable because they are sex workers on the streets and their bodies are seen as objects that can be abused and violated. Alejandra explains how male supremacy (power and control over women) and patriarchy manifest in the type of violence they live as street sex workers:

“A veces piensan que por ser trabajadora sexual tenemos que estar dispuestas a todo... El problema es el lugar donde estamos en la calle. La violencia a la que estás expuesta, robos, ... hay algunos que te controlan en la noche para robarte, y cuando te van a robar es cuando tú ya has trabajado, y ellos lo saben y cuando no pasa nadie lo planean.”

“Sometimes they think that as a sex worker you have to be predisposed to everything... The problem is the place where we are on the street. The violence we are exposed to, assaults... there are some men who watch you at night to rob you, and they assault you after working, and they know it and when there is nobody around when they plan it.”

-- Alejandra, sex worker

Sex workers also perceive police presence with ambivalent feelings of security/insecurity because the role of police is different depending on the area of work. It is sometimes perceived as a threat and sometimes as protection.

“La policía se queda en los sitios de trabajo. Esto es bueno y también malo, porque a veces está bien que esté la policía porque a veces pasan gente borracha, van mal... a veces está bien. Y a veces está mal porque no nos dejan trabajar.”

“The police stay in the workplaces. This is good and bad, because sometimes it’s good that the police are here because sometimes there are drunk people, and the police presence helps. But sometimes it’s bad because they don’t let us work.”

-- Alejandra, sex worker

Due to its tourist attractions, there is more police presence in the center of Barcelona. This affects women's work because they suffer police harassment and the police presence scares clients. Alejandra reflects the negative impact of police in her life when she made her everyday network map (Figure 56). When asked to identify the elements that negatively affect her everyday life, she only signaled police harassment, as the map in the picture shows red dots next to the word "Policia".

Figure 56: Alejandra's everyday life map

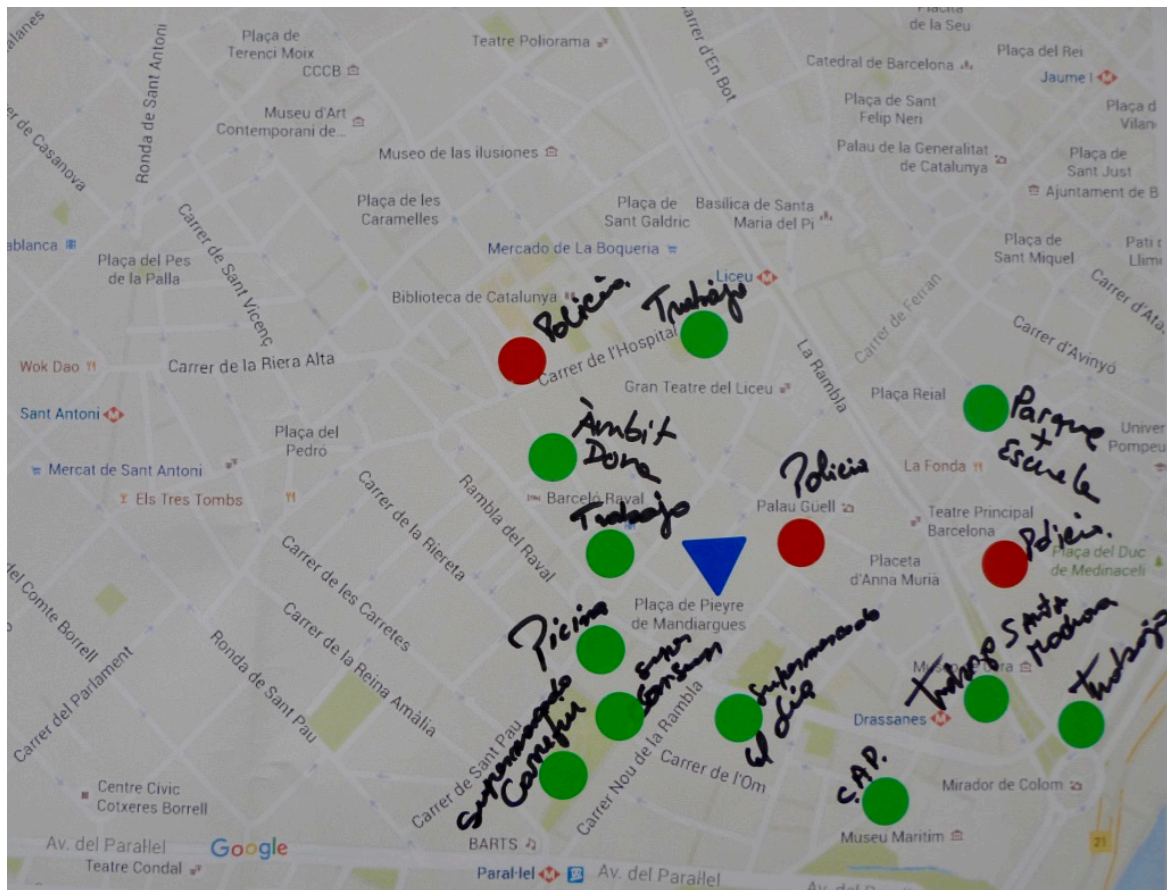


Photo credits: Sara Ortiz Escalante

Alejandra marks with red dots in a map of the Raval neighborhood where the Police harass street sex workers

However, in other areas in the periphery, such as Camp Nou, some women consider that police provide them company. In that sense, the role of police in security policies also responds to patriarchal mandates, where they either exercise their power over women by controlling their space of work, or have a more patronizing role of *pater* and controlling the status quo.

Sex workers recommended organizing workshops with the police, the organizations that offer support services to sex workers, and sex workers, with the goal to discuss the role of the police in the safety of sex workers and to avoid situations of criminalization and persecution of sex workers. In addition, sex workers made two recommendations that would improve their wellbeing at night. First, they propose installing public toilets in different areas of the city, and ensuring they are accessible, safe, and maintained. For sex workers, it is important to guarantee access to public toilets at any time of the day and night to support women who work at night in the public space. On the other hand, they value the organizations that deliver services to sex workers, for example, Fundació Àmbit Prevenció through the program Àmbit Dona. Sex workers feel that these programs should continue receiving support from the public administration to guarantee continued services. They would also like the services to expand with the creation of a night center in the Raval area to provide support, toilets, resting spaces, food, and overall help to night sex workers. The feasibility and practicality of these recommendations make them great specific action items for the city.

Women's testimonies confirm that fear continues to limit women's right to the city, above all at night, because threat of men's sexual harassment is a tool of women's exclusion from certain spaces at night (Beebejaun 2017; Fenster 2005). But women's forced mobility and immobility is still under-documented (Miralles-Guasch and Martínez Melo 2012; Whitzman 2013). The case of women nightshift workers is an example of forced mobility because they must go to work due to economic and family pressures since most women do not have alternative options. They have to manage fear and safety on a nightly basis, and these experiences are ingrained in their routines that normalize the fear of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment obliges them to change routes, not to leave a trace of their everyday life routes, and to avoid having men control their movements. Living with fear and implementing strategies to be safe are part of women's routines, assumed as an individual issue requiring response and strategies at the individual or family level. Most women end up normalizing and interiorizing the situations in public transportation and on the streets and must manage safety strategies continuously on a daily basis.

Women's safety strategies

The perception of safety is usually greater in mixed-use spaces with diverse activities, spaces, facilities, and people. When returning home from work, stores open and a larger,

more diverse mix of people are on the streets. The sense of belonging and knowledge of their neighborhood make them feel safer when they move at certain hours, confirming that women's routinized everyday practices increase their sense of belonging in the city (Beebejaun 2017; Fenster 2005). Zenobia explains that living all her life in the same neighbourhood and knowing the community makes her feel safe:

"No me siento insegura, he nacido y crecido en ese barrio. No puedo tener sensación de inseguridad porque me siento parte de la comunidad."

"I don't feel unsafe; I was born and raised in this neighborhood. I can't feel unsafe because I feel I belong to this community."

-- Zenobia, social emergencies shift worker

However, the perception of safety associated with the autonomy and freedom to move, enjoy, and participate in the city at any time of the day and night is still hard to achieve:

"Para mí la seguridad es estar tranquila. Y pienso, ¿cómo se podría hacer? ¿Cómo me podrían dar a mí esa tranquilidad, ese control que tienes durante el día? y otras, es que no sé, se me hace un poco difícil de imaginar. Sentirme protegida, lo único que me haría estar tranquila es ir con alguien. Es lo único, igual porque desconozco otras maneras de funcionar a nivel de ciudad, pero en realidad, a mí me cuesta mucho de imaginar."

"For me, to feel safe means to feel calm. And I think, how can we do it? How can we achieve this calmness, the same type of control that we have during the day? and damn it, I don't know, it is difficult for me to imagine it. To feel protected, the only way to feel calm is when someone accompanies me. This is the only way, maybe because I don't know other forms of living in the city, but in reality, it is very difficult for me to imagine it."

-- Txell, social emergencies shift worker

Therefore, women develop strategies at the personal level to feel safe. To feel safer or to avoid situations that cause them fear, some women carry a pepper spray or a small hair spray in case of an attack. Pepper sprays however are illegal to carry in public.

The case of the police officer was surprising as one might think that a police officer commuting to work would not experience fear at all, because she knows self-defence and how to react. However, she shared her strategies of changing routes and carrying a pepper spray because of the fear on her commute to work.

“Yo llevo un espray siempre en el bolso, y cuando camino sola lo llevo en la mano... Yo hago un recorrido diferente cada día, nunca hago el mismo, una es porque trabajo y vivo aquí...”

“I always carry a spray in my purse, and when I walk alone I carry it in my hand... I change the route every day, I never take the same, because I work and live here... [in the same town]”

-- Mayte, police officer

Other women who walk or take public transportation change routes to ensure that nobody controls them. As Karina explains,

“Realmente incluso cuando estás trabajando y vienes de noche, todas las mujeres que trabajamos de noche, es costumbre no hacer el mismo recorrido también, porque de repente alguien puede estar vigilando por ahí... lo que sí hago es el metro rigurosamente.”

“In reality, when we are working the night shift, all women who work at night don’t usually take the same route, because someone can be watching us out there... the only thing I take regularly is the metro.”

-- Karina, street cleaner

Some workers also change the route depending on the time of the year. Yoli R., an airport worker takes two buses in the summer when at 6 am it begins to dawn. In the dark winter, she lengthens her commute and takes the metro because she is afraid of waiting alone for the bus in an isolated bus stop located in an industrial park with few activities at these unholy hours.

“Aquí en invierno por las mañanas yo no lo suelo hacer este tramo, lo hago en el metro porque es muy de noche, ... Aquí tenemos muy buena combinación, pero en invierno no hay ni dios aquí.”

“Here in the winter mornings I don’t take this route, I take the metro because it’s darker outside, ... Here we have a good combination, but in the winter, there is no one there.”

-- Yoli R., airport cleaner

Yoli R. exemplifies how women develop safety strategies depending on the season, the amount of daylight, and their perception of fear associated with darkness.

Another strategy is a bike commute because it is faster and makes some feel safer. Conchi, who currently walks to work, explains her strategies to avoid feeling fearful:

“En la noche cuando empecé a emparanoyarme decidí venir en bici porque me daba más seguridad, decidí no ponerme reloj por si alguien me paraba y veía que no tenía reloj verían que soy una mindungui y si algún día me paraban a robar pues tenía mi historia de que mi marido se estaba muriendo en urgencias o alguna cosa que le impactara.”

“The night when I started getting paranoid, I decided to bike because I felt safer, I decided to stop using a watch in case someone stopped me would see that I do not wear a watch and they could realize I am worthless; and if someone wanted to rob me I also made up a story about my husband who was dying in the emergency room or something that could impact the assaulter.”

-- Conchi, hospital cleaner

Toñi, who often drives, shares the safety strategies she adopts while walking between the parking area and her home:

“Me da miedo en mi barrio cuando estoy llegando a la portería, por si viene alguien corriendo y se mete detrás mío o por si hay alguien dentro. Entonces sí que me da miedo... antes de bajar del coche siempre saco las llaves y las tengo preparadas, y además soy una persona súper torpe que cuando busco cosas en el bolso no encuentras, y me pongo nerviosa... las preparo y las llevo preparadas, y pienso que si me ataca alguien pues las llaves se las puedo clavar. Una vez, era más joven, tenía veinte tantos, se paró una furgoneta, se salieron dos tíos y me agarraron, y pude salir y meterme para dentro de la portería... sería una broma... deberían venir de fiesta por la noche...”

“I am afraid in my neighborhood when I arrive at my building’s entrance, I worry someone is running after me and gets behind me or whether someone is inside. Then, I am afraid... before leaving the car, I always take the keys and I have them ready, also because I am very clumsy and when I search things in my purse I never find them, and I get nervous... I prepare the keys and have them ready, and I think that if someone attacks I can nail the keys to them. Once, when I was younger, twenty something, a van stopped and two guys came out and grabbed me..., and I managed to escape and run into the building entrance ... maybe they were joking... I think they were returning from partying at night...”

-- Toñi, hospital cleaner

This FPAR shows that women nightshift workers’ fear is founded not only on social messages women receive, but on real sexual harassment and violence lived in the private-public continuum while they live, move and interact between the spaces of home, the neighborhood, the city, and the metropolitan area.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter pays close attention to gendered mobility and safety everynight experiences of women night workers. Through the study of women's mobility, this chapter contributes to previous research on planning the night by filling gaps in the literature regarding the role of transportation in how night workers organize their everyday/everynight life (Eldridge and Roberts 2013; Roberts and Eldridge 2012). Going beyond work-trip mobility, we look at how the links between the spheres and spaces of production and reproduction, work and home condition women's mobility, recognizing "the messy interwoven reality of daily life" (Law 1999, 571).

This FPAR also corroborates previous studies that document women's sustainable mobility patterns and accumulated knowledge of how sustainable mobility networks can better respond to everynight life. It goes beyond the big picture of women's sustainable mobility and generalizations from quantitative transportation studies "to construct more grounded social geographies of mobility" (Law 1999, 573). Using an intersectional feminist analysis, we analyse how gender, class and migration status affect women's sustainable mobility patterns. We also document that women night workers tend to work closer to home and make shorter trips. Our qualitative approach reveals that although women nightshift workers live close to home, their commutes are long. This suggests that the complexity of proximity could benefit from context-based analyses that intersect time, space and intermodal connections to better respond to gendered mobilities.

The study of women's everynight mobility also reveals that the public-private binary still applies in women's use of public space at night; while men are socially entitled to access and enjoy night-time-space, women's night mobility is still understood as a transgression (Hanson 2010; Law 1999; Patel 2010). Women are still seen as "out of place" when they use the space at night. When we mentioned that this project focuses on women who work at night, the most common reaction was to assume that the project was developed only with sex workers in mind. These deeply engrained imaginaries assume that women do not belong to the night public space. We hope that this study expands the vision and meaning of women's night work, helps change the meaning of women's use of the city (Patel 2010), and contributes to expand the meaning of "public women" and women's re-appropriation of everynight life.

This FPAR also furthers the analysis of how fear of sexual violence impacts women's forced mobility/immobility. In particular, it raises important issues regarding women's safety and risks when women have the obligation to move at night because of work. Research on fear and safety have illustrated that women are not passive victims but active agents who negotiate gender meanings on a daily basis, who actively cope with violence, produce and reclaim space and resist gender stereotypes and traditional roles (Koskela 2010; Wesely and Gaarder 2004). Women night workers are an excellent example of how women negotiate mobility and fear on a nightly basis. Some feminist researchers would refer to this negotiation of fear as women's "right to risk" (Green and Singleton 2006; Koskela 1997; Phadke, Khan and Ranade 2011; Phadke 2007; Wilson 1991). These authors make a claim to the right to take risks in public space rather than petitioning for safety, to allow women to decide whether they want to engage with risk or not. However, research on women's risk forgets to include those women who take risk, not because they choose to, but because their everyday/everynight lives force them to risk and because they do not have other choices. These include women who work at night and feel fear of moving through certain areas. Therefore, we should question whether risk is a right, a privilege, or an obligation.

Instead of advocating for women's right to risk, this FPAR advocates for women's right to take action. Through this study, women nightshift workers have had the opportunity to take action, raising awareness, disseminating the issues they face, and engaging "the public" in finding responses and solutions. Collectively, through the report and participatory videos, women have proposed several solutions that policymakers can implement to address this issue.

The challenge to guarantee women's full access to the city continues, finding ways where mobility and urban design policies can respond to women's everyday/everynight concerns. Although academic production on gender and transport has increased in recent decades, feminist context-based qualitative research can influence the field of transportation and policy implementation, which is largely male dominated, and uninterested in regarding gender as relevant issue (Greed 2008; Law 1999).

Chapter 7. Conclusions: Women planning the Everyday/Everynight

“Aquest estudi mostra moltes coses i servirà molt per a que els agents polítics i els ajuntaments facin ciutats més habitables, i no més habitables per la gent que té diners, que compra pisos i la gent que vol guardes de seguretat sinó per a que la gent pugui transitar pel carrer i sigui un espai lliure i de seguretat per a tothom i especialment per aquelles dones que han de sortir a treballar.”

“This study shows many things, and it will be useful for policy makers and city planning departments because it can help them to make cities more livable, not livable only for rich people, for property owners or for people that have security guards, but everyone, making sure that people can walk on the streets, making streets a free and safe space for everybody, especially for those women who have to work at night.”

-- Mercè, member of the advisory group

This dissertation in the form of a FPAR project sought to contribute to planning practice from the experience and action of women nightshift workers, a group of women who have been invisible in urban planning policies and practitioners. It has explored two research questions. First is the question on role of contemporary urban planning practices in shaping women night workers' everyday/everynight life as they live, interact and move within and across their homes, workplaces, neighborhoods, the city and the region. Second is the question on the transformational potential of Feminist Participatory Action Research to promote feminist urban planning for night use.

In this final chapter, I review the research findings' implications and recommendations in terms of mobility, urban design and safety perceptions, and night workers everyday/everynight wellbeing. I summarize key insights about the health and wellbeing impacts of night work on women workers. Then, in the second part of the chapter, I examine the potential of FPAR as an integrated part of urban planning methods and research. After more than five years of collective work with *Col·lectiu Punt 6*, *Fundació Àmbit Prevenció*, The Women's Secretariat of the CC.OO union, *Ca la Dona*, *Fundació Irídia* and 24 women co-researchers, and having witnessed the effects of night work on women, I am convinced that using FPAR has been transformative for all the women involved: night workers, members of the advisory group and myself. Moreover, as I demonstrate below, this FPAR has already influenced urban planning policies at different levels of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area.

This research has wider implications and lessons about night-time planning from an intersectional feminist perspective, which can influence other contexts beyond Barcelona, especially in the context of the current trend of appointing Night Mayors in cities around the globe, such as Amsterdam, Paris and Zurich (see O'Sullivan 2016). In this context, this dissertation is a call to move away from a neoliberal approach of planning the night-time economy to an intersectional feminist approach to planning the everyday/everynight life, and provides a specific example of how this can happen.

7.1 Urban planning influences in women nightshift workers everyday/everynight life

This dissertation highlights how intersectional gendered realities of everyday/everynight life have not been included in night-time planning policies. The study of women's everynight mobility reveals that the public-private binary still shapes women's use of public space at night. Women are still seen as "out of place" when they use public spaces at night. This study expands the vision and meaning of women's night work, helps change the meaning of women's use of the city (Patel 2010), and contributes to expanding the meaning of "public women" and women's re-appropriation of everynight life. I propose to change this paradigm and focus on the night-time economy to planning the everyday/everynight life. Focusing on the everyday/everynight life, this research fills gaps in the previous literature identified by prominent night-time experts (Eldridge and Roberts 2013; Roberts and Eldridge 2012) such as the roles of transportation in the diversification and accessibility to nightlife, the contributions of women night workers to night-time economy, and how women night workers organize their everyday/everynight life.

Through this dissertation, the women research participants and I have collected rich and contextual qualitative data on different areas of urban planning (mobility, urban design, safety), which often have been informed by quantitative and androcentric analysis, proving that it is possible to incorporate qualitative and participatory action research methods in urban planning policies from an intersectional feminist perspective. Below I highlight the contributions that this dissertation has made to night mobility, urban design and safety perceptions, and everyday/everynight life implications in terms of health and wellbeing.

7.1.1. Night mobility

This dissertation contributes to mobility studies by providing context-specific qualitative data on mobility, interconnecting different geographical scales: body, household, neighbourhood, city and metropolitan region (Hanson 2010; Law 1999) and on gendered spatial labour markets (Hanson and Johnston 1985; Hanson and Pratt 1995; Law 1999), making visible the complex and interwoven everyday/everynight life of women nightshift workers.

The masculinized and quantitative tradition of transportation planning has influenced the way mobility policies, services and infrastructures have been designed and implemented in Barcelona and many cities around the world. Through this FPAR, we have gathered qualitative data and made visible the mobility networks, needs and challenges from a gender and an intersectional perspective, still overlooked in the transportation field. The use of a participatory action research methodology from a feminist standpoint that takes women night workers everyday/everynight life as a source of knowledge has made visible women's intricate knowledge about mobility and transportation systems. We hope that this FPAR raises awareness of the richness of this knowledge and the potential to include this knowledge in the design of transportation and mobility plans and policies.

This FPAR expands day mobility studies and reveals that women at night, in particular working class, sex workers and migrant women in this study, also have sustainable mobility patterns, but as previous studies have documented, fear of sexual violence limits women's mobility after dark.

Studying the travel patterns and concerns of women nightshift workers reveals the challenges women face to gain autonomy in terms of mobility, as well as how gender roles influence their mobility decisions. Even though women face several issues while commuting by foot or public transportation within the Barcelona Metropolitan Area due to reduced frequency, irregular service, poor multimodal connections, and fear of sexual violence, women nightshift workers continue using more sustainable modes of transport. We see how class, gender, race/ethnicity, work status and migration status and income also condition women's mobility and immobility. This project documents how women night workers usually work closer to home, but their commutes are long. Women nightshift workers from lower class and income status, as well as racialized communities, have limited access to private motorized vehicles,

due to the costs that private vehicle ownership entails. They are dependent on the current deficient and gender-blind public transportation and pedestrian mobility systems, which limit their freedom and autonomy in the region, jeopardizing their wellbeing. This signals that mobility networks are planned without an intersectional gender perspective, ignoring the different patterns and barriers diverse groups of people encounter depending on their gender, race, class, ethnicity, language facility and sexuality, despite the decades of feminist calls for action.

This dissertation adds complexity to women's exclusion from night spaces, due to women nightshift workers' forced mobility and their need to move at night because of their job. I argue that knowledge of women nightshift workers regarding their night mobility is essential to improve mobility networks that can better respond to everyday/everynight life. To improve intermodal mobility, we need to include the complexity of proximity from context-based analyses that intersect time, space and intermodal connections to respond better to gendered mobilities. In the Barcelona Metropolitan Area, planners are moving towards policies to reduce car use in the city, based on environmental and health concerns, but this dissertation argues that they still need to include their contextualized gender implications and women's mobility patterns to create a sustainable model.

I argue that the more fundamental question is about shifting the dominant discourse of the current private, motorized centered transportation system that responds to patriarchal and capitalist dynamics and reproduces gender inequalities to a feminist, sustainable, pedestrian-oriented public transportation system focused on people's everyday/everynight life. We hope that projects like this FPAR contribute to this shift and serve to advocate for more context-specific qualitative data (Hanson 2010; Law 1999; Miralles-Guasch, Martínez Melo, and Marquet 2016) at different scales (neighbourhood, work area, district, city and metropolitan area) that include women's complex knowledge and expertise of mobility systems.

7.1.2. Urban design and safety perceptions

This dissertation documents how women continue experiencing restricted public space access and differentiated right to the city, mainly but not only because of fear of sexual

violence, especially at night-time, as a consequence of current hetero-patriarchal and gender, race and class oppressive structures.

Women nightshift workers' fear is motivated by sexual harassment and violence lived in the private-public continuum of the body-home-street-transportation-workplace. This fear is often associated with social messages women receive, but also with the urban design and physical configuration of space that condition safety perceptions. Thus, this dissertation confirms the importance of including the perception of fear in the analysis and evaluation of safety for public policies implications, from an intersectional feminist perspective, to move beyond the crime prevention approach, and respond to how gender violence influences the exercise of women's right to the city. Using an intersectional feminist perspective allows us to document and respond to the different gendered perceptions of fear, privileges and oppressions, acknowledging that the use and right to the city of migrant working-class women working at night continues being limited by racialized, classist, colonial and sexist oppressions, in contrast to the use and right to the city of young White middle-class women who drive to work.

This FPAR documents the knowledge women nightshift workers accumulate about the physical and social configuration of spaces that conditions their perceptions of fear. Their management of fear and safety considerations on a nightly basis are part of women's routines and thus, they have detailed knowledge about what urban design elements can be improved to increase safety perceptions.

Another contribution of this FPAR is the participation of sex workers and street cleaners as co-researchers. Their detailed knowledge of the public space is invaluable, but rarely included in urban planning research and practice. Three of the five women working on the street are Latin American migrants who have experienced sexist and racist aggressions on several occasions, and their knowledge of these oppressive dynamics in the use of public space is essential for an intersectional analysis in planning.

This research has also highlighted how the coexistence of night work with night partying increases women's perception of fear when commuting, because of their association of partying events with higher exposure to sexual harassment and violence. It is in this aspect that the leisure and alcohol consumption promoted through neoliberal night-time economic

policies clashes with the everyday/everynight life continuum women workers experience. We live in a society that associates night leisure with alcohol and drugs, but also with a leisure culture that promotes hetero-patriarchal, sexist and racist behaviors, that often involves sexual harassment and violence. Shifting from planning the night-time economy to planning the everyday/everynight life should involve actions that challenge this oppressive night culture and work for making night spaces inclusive for diverse groups of people: for women in their diversity, people of color, different gender and sexual identities, and cultural and religious backgrounds. The current night-time entertainment culture is so focused on alcohol consumption and heteronormative sexual behaviours that it excludes other forms of night-time leisure.

Through this FPAR, I argue that women research participants have moved away from understanding fear of violence as an individual or family issue to becoming active agents beyond merely negotiating and coping with violence on a nightly basis (see also Koskela 2010; Wesely and Gaarder 2004), reclaiming spaces, and demanding responsive actions, policies and plans. In sum, this FPAR has promoted women's right to take action, moving beyond the analysis of the painful elements of social realities to the desire of change (Tuck 2009b). Through this study, women nightshift workers have had the opportunity to raise awareness of and disseminate the night life related issues they face, and take action and engage public agents in finding responses and solutions to reclaim and renegotiate their right to the city.

7.1.3. Night worker's health and wellbeing

This FPAR provides a holistic analysis of how women embody gender inequalities at work, at home and in the city. Women carry an unequal burden of domestic and reproductive work simply for being women, and the injustice of paying through their health, the gender inequalities of conducting unpaid care and domestic work, alongside the injustice of gender discrimination at work. Some face gender discrimination due to the dominant male culture at work and for choosing the nightshift, which are the cause of women nightshift workers' depression, poor health, and medical leaves. Others feel and suffer from a lack of family and social understanding about the health and wellbeing implications of nightwork, which is also based on sexist social mandates that diminish women's work and deny women's need for

time of rest. Through using body mapping as a research tool, this dissertation reveals the physical, emotional and social effects of night work on women's bodies. The use of the body-mapping tool has the potential to break the public-private divide and understand the impacts of planning policies in gendered and racialized bodies.

This study also highlights that night shift work exacerbates gender discrimination at work and home. The reproduction and systematization of women's work precariousness, enforced by capitalist, patriarchal, colonial and racist mandates, is worst for women nightshift workers, because they must simultaneously manage double and triple shifts detrimental to their health and wellbeing. Racialized migrant women workers, especially those doing sex work, with precarious migration and work status are particularly vulnerable to poorer health and wellbeing outcomes. Their double and triple shifts hinder their leisure and recreation opportunities and overall enjoyment of the city, in a society that continues assigning care and domestic work to women, and devalues women's paid and unpaid work. This is exacerbated among working class, migrant women and women of colour, who are more exploited.

7.1.4. Everyday/everynight planning

This FPAR contributes to previous research on planning the night by making visible the night as a space of everyday/everynight life, a space of work, care and reproduction by challenging the oppressions that women live for using the space at night. The results of this FPAR provide examples of how to plan the everyday/everynight life of people and how to respond to the gendered experiences of night-time mobilities.

This research expands previous research on planning the night by analyzing the continuum of the productive-reproductive side of the night economy from an intersectional feminist perspective. This analysis moves beyond downtowns to other neighbourhoods, working centers, towns, and homes by breaking away from the male centered and hetero-patriarchal night culture; making visible night workers everyday/everynight needs; and analyzing how planning can contribute to improve their quality of life and right to the city.

Taking previous feminist planning work that proposes the use of everyday life as a source of knowledge (Gilroy and Booth 1999; Healey 1997b), this FPAR also advances this field of research a step further. Until now, many feminist studies have focused on everyday life, but through this FPAR, we have been able to make visible the everynight. This FPAR builds upon

all the aspects that previous planning researchers have documented as the advantages of using the framework of 'everyday life' as a source of knowledge (Gilroy and Booth 1999; Healey 1997; Muxí Martínez et al. 2011). Specifically, this FPAR provides data on the 24-hour cycle of everyday/everynight life.

Using the definition of everyday life discussed in Chapter 2, by taking women nightshift workers' everyday/everynight life as a source of knowledge, this dissertation contributes to everyday life studies by:

- *Giving equal value to all the spheres of life (the productive, reproductive, community, and personal):* we reveal that women choose to work at night to be able to take care of domestic and care work during the day, which left them little time for personal time to take care of themselves and leisure time becomes non-existent. Above all, this is the case of working class and migrant women who are the main providers of goods and care in single-head households. At the same time, this FPAR should serve to value and facilitate women's participation in the community sphere, because their active participation in the community is essential and their complex knowledge of everyday/everynight life should be included in urban planning processes.
- *Recognizing the social value of the unpaid work and advocate for a more equitable gender division between spheres:* we show the effects of having a paid work at night and developing unpaid care work during the day. We hope this FPAR raises awareness that reproductive work should be a public and social responsibility and not exclusively women's work. Without removing this burden to women, which is heavier in the case of working class and migrant women of single-head households, they will not be able to have full right to the city: to access, use and participate in city building.
- *Acknowledging that the current design of urban spaces makes it challenging to develop and organize all paid and unpaid activities in a daily and nightly basis, and women carry most of the burden:* women nightshift workers' health and wellbeing carry the consequences of a city and transportation system that do not plan for the everynight life. The exclusion of the everynight in planning implies women have to invest more time commuting and under negative circumstances, being exposed to sexual harassment and violence.

- *Understanding the emotional and material implications that shape women's aspirations and expectations, and making visible women's coping strategies and social supports:* combining a variety of experiential qualitative methods such as body mapping, the everyday life network, collective mobility maps, and participatory video we have captured these implications at different planning scales: personal, community, neighbourhood and metropolitan. We have also documented the lack of social support that women nightshift workers experience, because of lack of understanding by family members and relatives. But we have also raised visibility about the need for advocacy and rights-based organizations such as Fundació Àmbit Prevenció, which sex workers, particularly migrant sex workers who cannot rely on family networks, valued as an essential social support in their lives. This organization also plays an essential role in promoting sex workers participation in participatory action projects like this one, that push the boundaries and question who should be involved in urban analysis and policy making.

In sum, this FPAR is a call to urban planning to include the analysis of the everyday/everynight life as a continuum, examining the city's time in its 24-hour cycle, as feminist experts on city's time-space policies propose (Boccia 2013; Davies 2003; Leccardi 1996; May and Thrift 2003), and using the everyday/everynight framework to reformulate social time in the urban world.

7.1.5. Recommendations

The knowledge generated from the collective FPAR project motivated women co-researchers to make specific recommendations to improve everynight mobility, women's safety and women's health and wellbeing. These recommendations were taken from the collective FPAR report that informs this dissertation (Nocturnas 2017)⁴⁹.

Night mobility recommendations

- Conduct studies in the BMA municipalities with areas of night work to document the profile of workers, their mobility needs (including location of public transportation stops, distance

⁴⁹ I have not added to the recommendations, because I wanted to respect their collective essence, although I acknowledge they might lack depth and intersectional analysis.

and walking disconnections), unsafe areas and points, isolation of industrial zones, etc., to inform urban planning and mobility policies and prevent unequal gender impact.

- Elaborate and place maps of the everynight transit, services and facilities network at the district and city level in different cities of the BMA with high-use night activity. This would allow night shift workers to locate their work areas, but also private and public facilities, accessible and safe routes, even alternative routes, as well as information about the mobility network and public transportation stops.
- Review the travel schedules and frequencies of bus lines connecting areas with high volume of night work to expand and improve the service.
- Improve and guarantee the access to information in the mobility and transportation system, by reviewing the existing signage and maps. Also, increase the visibility and maintenance of maps covering the whole transportation network, including: connections, schedules, times of routes, accessible routes as well as detailed maps of the surrounding area in relation to the everyday life network.
- Adapt bus stops to make them safer, better lit, with transparent material for improved visibility, equipped with an emergency phone, and with clear information on schedules, routes and bus frequencies.
- Include qualitative data on policy analysis that influences mobility and transportation plans, because night mobility disappears if we only base these decisions on quantitative data.

Women's safety recommendations:

- Improve lighting on sidewalks and intersections, as well as on the areas with heavily used pedestrian routes, by ensuring that pedestrian lighting is distributed homogenously and without obstructions. Elements that block the streetlights (vegetation, advertisement, ornamentation) should be avoided in public spaces as well as in the entrances of residential buildings and work areas. Continuous street lighting should be installed on main pedestrian paths that connect working areas with public transportation and surrounding neighbourhoods. The operation and maintenance of street lighting should be guaranteed, particularly at night-time.

- Improve or eliminate spaces with sharp corners, hidden areas, poor visibility or abandoned lots, through the creation of other activities or features in the surrounding areas. For example, improving the lighting and the lines of sight, or installing mirrors on the corners. Also, avoiding setbacks in the entrances of residential, office and facilities buildings where people could hide and commit assaults. Lastly, when designing new spaces, they suggest allowing for open spaces without sharp corners or blind walls and to mitigate the emergence of abandoned lots.
- Review the installation and maintenance of urban furniture, vegetation, ornamentation, signage, and advertisement elements to ensure that they do not block the vision of pedestrians so they can be seen from vehicles. For example, large recycling containers, fences, bushes or other elements with a height greater than one meter should be avoided as they divide public spaces in sections and obstruct visibility.
- Increase the care, cleaning and maintenance of public spaces: The lack of maintenance of public spaces conditions the perception of safety. These spaces transmit a sense of abandonment, are not often used, and hinder the vitality of the area. The same is true for private empty lots. Therefore, it is necessary to increase the maintenance of these spaces to increase the diversity of uses and activities at different times of the day and night.
- Raise social awareness about sexual harassment on the street and public transportation. Women's collective recommendation is a sexual harassment awareness campaign in the public transportation (metro, bus, train, FGC, trolley, as well as transportation stops), including information on services available for women in the BMA.

Health and Wellbeing recommendations:

- Increase of night staff in particular sectors of work, such as elder senior homes, cleaning services, or police, where the staffing is falling at night due to the notion that there is less work then. Women nightshift workers propose to highlight and reclaim the needs of particular sectors to ensure that staff needs are covered under labour agreements.
- Use a gender perspective in labour agreements and contracts to respond to the everyday needs of nightshift workers. Most labor agreements and contracts address the nightshift in economic terms, a higher pay for working at night. But there is a lack of awareness on how the nightshift impacts the everyday life, health, work, and family reconciliation.

Therefore, women nightshift workers propose to review labor agreements and contracts that respond to everyday life needs, adapting the rights that day workers have to the reality of nightshift workers. For example, it needs to review vacations and leaves of absence for health reasons, family illness, lactation, as well as maternity and paternity leaves. Also, the number of annual working hours could be reviewed, reducing it to 1,700 hours per year.

- Review night shifts to be compatible with public transportation schedules. An option to reduce the impact of night mobility on women nightshift workers is to review night work schedules. It would be positive to review and modify some work shifts from 11 pm to 6 am, as well as to change some shifts that finish in the middle of the night and make it essential to have a private vehicle. In sum, reviewing the work shifts to match them with public transportation schedules, to avoid lack of transportation.
- Leverage nursing and medical conferences to raise awareness about gender inequalities in nightshift jobs. Organize panels in health conferences to raise awareness not only about the different impacts of night work on the health of women and men, but also about the inequalities in other aspects of everyday life: mobility, safety, work and family reconciliation, social relations, etc.
- Foster social co-responsibility of reproductive work. Create and promote campaigns to foster co-responsibility (collective as opposed to individual responsibility) in the development of reproductive and care work. These campaigns can be accompanied by reviewing the working hours of facilities and public services in order to allow for the reconciliation of the different spheres of life for people who work day or night.

7.2 Feminist Participatory Action Research as a tool for feminist transformative planning

In this section, I argue that Feminist Participatory Action Research is an essential methodology to complement feminist urban planning. I interrogate the consequences of using FPAR on the different agents involved in the process. In particular, I examine how this project has influenced local and metropolitan planning policies and actors, as well as the impact on women co-researchers and the organizations involved.

This dissertation illustrates that engaging the everyday/everynight users of cities and spaces, particularly diverse women, in planning analysis is essential to incorporate grounded knowledge that is often absent in institutional urban planning policies. I argue that planning research and practice should integrate FPAR, and that planning policies without a feminist participatory action-oriented process are incomplete. Planning should acknowledge that top-down decision structures are partial and limited, increase regulatory transaction costs in the longer term, and have limited political legitimacy (Healey 1997b). FPAR should be a central form or method for planning research and practice. This entails working towards breaking hierarchical power structures within the discipline of planning, and challenging the divide between the “experts” and the “residents”, the “researcher” and the “participants”.

Using FPAR to de-hierarchize planning research and practice entails depatriarchalizing and decolonizing planning, through the practice of cultural humility, as “a practice of and ongoing commitment to self-evaluation and self-critique by professionals for the purpose of rebalancing power inequities” (Sweet 2018, 4). A FPAR process entails reflexivity, reciprocity and accountability, which can allow a more sustained and continued engagement with residents/co-researchers who are the experts of their everyday/everynight lives. From this perspective, I argue that “trained” planners should take the role of facilitators, accompanying communities in analyzing their everyday/everynight life needs and designing policies, projects and programs that better respond to these needs.

This FPAR has led to implementation of a ‘planning from below’ approach (Beard 2002; Friedmann 1979, 1987; Sandercock 2003; Sanyal 2005) that has valued community-building at the grassroots level, and acknowledged the role of women nightshift workers in the planning process as active agents of transformation (Sandercock 1998a). I argue that the approach of planning from below of this FPAR has been gender-transformative (Kabeer 2005) because we have valued and included women’s intersectional experiences in the different spheres of life (productive, domestic and care work, community work). We have also analyzed the consequences of having a sexualised female body in public space, and including the time-space dimension of everyday/everynight life in the home-work-street-city continuum (Ortiz Escalante and Valdivia 2015) and fostered direct political pressure towards policies and decisions that respond to women’s needs.

Following the analysis of the four phases of this project defined in Chapter 3, I examine in more detail the contributions of FPAR to planning research and practice.

7.2.1. Fostering collective ownership

An essential element for breaking hierarchies in planning is revisiting university-driven ethics protocols, and moving away from a condescending ethical position to a relational ethics approach, as discussed in Chapter 3. This FPAR has incorporated an “ethics of care” (Gilligan 1982; Edwards and Mauthner 2002; Engster 2004; Robinson 1997; Tronto 1993) through the elaboration of collective ethics and safety protocols with co-researchers. I understand the ethics of care as taking care of the research process and all those involved, taking the concrete needs of co-researchers as the starting point for what must be done (Tronto 1993). In this dissertation, the ethics of care with women nightshift workers involved:

Placing women’s needs at the center: Defining the ethics and safety protocol allowed us to set the expectations, limits and goals of the project. Women co-researchers decided their role in the research and planning process, choosing what role they wanted to take, in which parts they wanted to be involved, how they took self-care and collective care. In this sense, one important element of this project was to find the most comfortable and least disruptive communication channel, knowing how night work impacts rest time. For this reason, we communicated through Whatsapp messages, both individual and group messages, which facilitated the communication and allowed us to be in touch after in-person activities finished.

Responding to unequal time and work share: Women’s participation in community planning often entails adding yet another shift to their duties, which is even more challenging when trying to include women who work at night. Planning processes that promote women’s active participation need to be aware of these limitations so that women can exercise their right to participate (Casanovas et al. 2013). This means that planning should question the patriarchal structures ingrained in its foundations that have limited planning participation to a realm of mostly White middle-class men (in the context of this study) or middle-aged men from social or dominant majority groups, and excluded the majority of the population, and the diversity of identities, needs, and opportunities within society. To address this diversity in participation, decisions about days, numerous possible times and spaces to meet were negotiated with women co-researchers. The different activities were spaced over time, with at most one

participatory activity per month. Women also often participated with their children. When needed, we had an external collaborator to take care of children during the participatory activity, and we also engaged children in the activity, for example, the day we did the body-mapping activity, children wanted to produce their body maps too.

Compensation and comfortableness: It was key to have funding to compensate for the time that each woman invested in the project (total of 16 hours in activities, excluding travel time and participation in collective report and participatory videos revision), to cover transportation expenses, and accompany each collective activity with food and drinks. Active and transformative participation in these types of processes should not be based on voluntarism, since women, and more often, those who work at night, do not have the same time availability as other population groups, due to the double and triple shifts that women still carry out. Compensation was given at the beginning of each activity, in case someone had to leave earlier, and per activity, in case a woman could not continue participating in the project.

Doing home-work instead of field-work: Doing “home-work” in a familiar space enabled me to find people and organizations that supported the project institutionally and logistically. For example, we never paid to rent a meeting space. In all the settings, we found a person or organization willing to provide us a space, including the television set. At the same time, home-work in terms of self-reflexivity about the research process, the role of the main researcher, the awareness of power relations and dynamics, acknowledging women nightshift workers as the experts of their realities and being careful about any decision we made, to make sure it was a collective decision and not an individual one.

Flexibility and comfort with messiness: FPAR entails being flexible with times, workshop agendas and responding to contextual and personal situations of co-researchers. For example, on different occasions with sex workers, we changed the workshop agenda because for that day, the most important thing was to have a time to share and get support from the group. We valued the contribution of this flexibility to the knowledge production. One of the goals of this ethics approach was to guarantee that women feel free to leave the project at any time, giving them the opportunity to withdraw, or to keep in touch and participate again if they want.

Collective ownership and reciprocity: The “ethics of care” approach sought to move from an individual dissertation to a collective project with collective authorship, where women co-researchers were part of the decision-making process in every phase of this FPAR. I understood this as reciprocity and accountable responsibility with co-researchers, recognizing and valuing their work and contribution to this project and the collective nature of this FPAR.

7.2.2. Describing and analyzing the everyday/everynight life

In this FPAR, the study of the everyday/everynight life challenged the capitalist and patriarchal view of urban planning that focuses its efforts on improving the city for paid employment and benefiting the capitalist system through the exploitation of women’s paid employment and unpaid domestic work. Thus, describing and analyzing women’s everyday/everynight life has challenged status quo conceptions of planning, and advocated for feminist urban planning that places people’s lives at the center of decisions. The use of FPAR has also opened possibilities of using different methods to gather different types of information, as discussed in the first section of this concluding chapter. Every method has contributed with new knowledge and data about women’s everyday/everynight life at the individual and collective level and within the public-private space continuum. In this sense, I have aimed to embrace an ‘epistemology of multiplicity’ (Sandercock 1998b), in which we learn and know through dialogue, from experience, from local knowledge, and learn by doing.

7.2.3. Sharing the experience

The third phase of the project focused on sharing the experience and knowledge accumulated with a larger audience. On one hand, women co-researchers worked on the publication of a report (Nocturnas 2017) with the project results and on three participatory videos⁵⁰. On the other hand, the publication of these products had media coverage: newspaper articles, a Spanish radio show and on television.⁵¹

⁵⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LvKxqeAJRTY>, retrieved May 25, 2019

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vp3EZiQufsA>, retrieved May 25, 2019

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JC2oJY2OERc>, retrieved May 25, 2019

⁵¹ <https://directa.cat/actualitat/treball-nocturn-femeni-millor-sou-pero-mes-soledat-aillament-inseguretat>, retrieved May 25, 2019

The use of participatory video

Participatory video has been used for recording the research process as well as producing materials for documenting local knowledge (Kindon 2003). If used within carefully negotiated relationships, it has the potential to destabilize hierarchical power relations and create spaces for transformation, community engagement, and public policy dialogues (Kindon 2003, Sandercock and Attili 2010). In this FPAR, the creation of the participatory videos was a transformative process and a turning point for the collective appropriation of the project by co-researchers.

Developing the participatory videos, from the script-writing workshop to their dissemination, was a powerful experience for all of us. Women co-researchers actively involved in the script-writing workshop, images and individual testimony recording, and the editing of the final videos. It was in this collective activity where all women co-researchers met for the first time, and the only activity that I did not facilitate. As documented elsewhere, participatory video is a democratizing method that reduces the distance between researchers and participants (Kindon 2003). The methodology of the script-writing workshop and the external facilitation triggered women's active involvement in analysing the data and increased the appropriation of the project.

I argue that in the FPAR, the participatory video process of elaboration had transformative effects on women's project appropriation and collective engagement. The participatory videos were the materialization of their experience and a powerful tool that has helped them to share with others in their immediate surrounding, as well as gain a broader understanding of what it entails to be a woman nightshift worker. My secondary (but not passive) role in the process of participatory video production enabled women's empowerment. Women co-researchers collectively decided that this will be one of the dissemination methods, and they created collectively the script without my direct intervention. The collaboration with a film cooperative with experience in producing feminist participatory videos was key in that

<https://www.lavanguardia.com/vida/20170331/421345995003/mujeres-que-trabajan-de-noche-sufren-problemas-salud-movilidad-y-seguridad.html>, retrieved May 25, 2019
<http://www.lavanguardia.com/local/barcelona/20170803/43263654976/miedo-de-ir-a-trabajar-cuando-barcelona-duerme.html>, retrieved May 25, 2019

process. It allowed me to take a learning role in this FPAR, which helped to break power hierarchies and at the same time, gave women the freedom of voicing their experiences, becoming the main characters of the story. Although this process is a humble contribution to film in planning in comparison with the work of Leonie Sandercock (see Sandercock and Attili 2010a, 2010b; Sandercock, Moraes and Frantz 2017) and other digital planners researchers such as Giovanni Attili and Johnathan Franz, for me, it was a powerful learning experience. It showed me the potential of participatory video in urban planning and its inclusion in further Feminist Participatory Action Research.

7.2.4. Working towards action

After presenting the project results, women co-researchers' continued to disseminate the project outcomes and recommendations. They met with authorities, institutions and organizations to present the report and look for ways to implement the project recommendations. Over the last three years, we have continued working together towards action through public presentations in conferences and seminars, as well as the presentation of the report to institutions, such as the hospital, the labour unions, the Barcelona Metropolitan Area authority, among others. This action has influenced institutions and pushed them to seek solutions that respond to intersectional gender realities.

The impact of media coverage

The attention that we received from the media has helped us disseminate the project results. It is also part of working towards concrete action and increasing the public visibility of the issues we raise through FPAR.

- **Newspaper and magazine articles:** Journalists have written articles in the mainstream media about our work⁵² and we published an article in a magazine sponsored by the City of Barcelona that featured issues of Urban Planning from a gender perspective⁵³. In these newspaper articles, women co-researchers were interviewed to explain their testimony and experience.

⁵² https://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/Movilidad-genero_0_827667537.html, retrieved May 25, 2019

⁵³ http://www.punt6.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/BCNmetropolis_nocturnes-amb-portada.pdf, retrieved May 25, 2019

- **Television coverage:** In February 2018, I was interviewed on a morning show of the Catalan Television (TV3)⁵⁴, to talk about the “Request a Stop at Night” program. The interview had a round table format with other women: a city council member of the City of Terrassa where they wanted to implement the “Request a Stop” program and an expert on gender violence. This public presentation had an impact on mobility agencies. In particular, with the Catalan rail company “FGC” (*Ferrocarrils de la Generalitat de Catalunya* / Government of Catalonia Railway), who soon thereafter called me (as part of Col·lectiu Punt 6) to participate in an expert group to improve the inclusion of an intersectional gender perspective in the FGC railway mobility system. More recently, while writing this concluding chapter, one of the Catalan Television divisions that produces documentaries, contacted us for a special program that will be released on March 8, 2019. This special program will showcase gender issues in different areas: science, education, employment, activism, etc. They want to interview four women co-researchers who have volunteered to share the issues women nightshift workers face.

The impact on collaborative work between the organizations involved

- **Women’s Secretariat of the CC.OO. labour union:** In September 2017, we won the Aurora Gómez Award (*Premi Aurora Gómez*)⁵⁵. One of the co-researchers and member of the advisory group, presented the project to this award that the CCOO labour union in Spain gives annually to projects and programs that work to advance women’s labour rights. This helped increase the visibility of the project in the labour movement beyond the BMA, since the news of the award was included in the union magazine subscribed by over one million union affiliates across the country. In addition to this award, we have continued collaborating with the Women’s Secretariat of the CC.OO. union on raising awareness about workers’ mobility from a gender perspective. I have presented in two seminars at the union, in September 2017 and 2018, where this FPAR was highlighted. The project was also included in a series of videos that the union made in 2017 about gendered mobilities and work places.

⁵⁴<https://www.ccma.cat/tv3/alacarta/els-matins/la-seguretat-de-les-dones-al-transport-public/video/5729372/>, retrieved May 25, 2019

⁵⁵ <https://www.ccoo.cat/ciprianogarcia/noticia/211241/liurament-del-premi-aurora-gomez-2017>, retrieved May 25, 2019

- **Project “Illa Robadors” with sex workers in El Raval:** As a result of the synergies and collaboration created between Col·lectiu Punt 6 and Fundació Àmbit Prevenció, in 2017, we collaborated on a grant proposal to the City of Barcelona to conduct an assessment with sex workers. This project was conducted in one of the major areas of sex work in Barcelona, “Illa Robadors”, in the Raval neighbourhood. The goal of the project was to include sex workers’ experience and knowledge of this area through a participatory assessment of sex workers’ everyday life in the Illa Robadors and raise awareness about their rich qualitative knowledge of public spaces. Twenty women and transgender sex workers participated. The groups sent their assessment report to the District of Ciutat Vella.

The impact on public institutions

- **City of Barcelona Award:** In November 2015, the project received special mention in the Award for the International Day Against Gender Violence (November 25th) that supports feminist projects that advance women’s right to public space and prevent sexual harassment. This was one of the first dissemination activities of this FPAR, since this special mention in the Award competition gave visibility to the project, which later received a small grant from the City of Barcelona to support the development of additional research activities.
- **Barcelona Metropolitan Area Agency:** In March 2017, just before we presented the report and videos to the public, I met with two mobility engineers at the BMA agency to present the project results and recommendations. In this meeting, the engineers were interested in the project, particularly in how to improve the inclusion of an intersectional gender perspective in their policies. At one point of the conversation, we were sharing strategies and recommendations and I explained the “Request a Stop at Night” initiative already implemented in bus lines of Canadian and Latin American cities. They were unaware of this approach, but showed immediate interest in conducting a pilot project in bus lines in the BMA. One year later, in February 2018, the BMA started this pilot project in two nightbus lines, one connecting the industrial area of Zona Franca with the center of Barcelona and the other connecting the night entertainment area of “Marina” with towns in Barcelonès Nord County, on the other side of the Besòs River. Although not mentioned officially anywhere, I am certain that this government policy was a result of this FPAR. In

addition, the BMA asked Col·lectiu Punt 6 to review one of the surveys the BMA conducts with bus users, to make sure the survey includes an intersectional gender perspective when evaluating the perception of safety in the bus system.

- **City of Barcelona Bylaw on Urban Planning from a Gender Perspective:** In March 2017, the City of Barcelona enacted a bylaw to include an intersectional gender perspective in all urban planning projects and policies at the city level. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Col·lectiu Punt 6 worked with the Urban Planning Department to draft the bylaw. This is not a direct impact of this FPAR, but of the previous experience of Col·lectiu Punt 6. However, we were able to include the night component in several actions of the bylaw, for example, on the development of exploratory walks in different neighborhoods of the city, as well as in the revision of transportation and mobility services and infrastructures, and the improvement of the city's single-use areas.
- **City of L'Hospitalet:** The Gender Equity Department of the City of L'Hospitalet included this project in a conference organized in 2017 as part of the events for International Day Against Gender Violence. That year, the main theme of the conference was "Urban space and sexual violence". Although I think this did not have much impact on the municipal planning policies, this was another opportunity to report publicly the mobility and safety barriers women nightshift workers face in the city of L'Hospitalet, above all regarding the underground tunnel of Gran Via, the elevated bridges in different parts of the city as well as other mobility infrastructures.
- **Catalan public railway company FGC:** After my appearance on television in February 2018, the FGC company contacted Col·lectiu Punt 6 to collaborate with the agency to improve the inclusion of a gender perspective in their transportation policies. First, the FGC company organized an expert panel on gender and mobility where one of the women nightshift workers and myself participated. As a result of this collaboration, Col·lectiu Punt 6 will be conducting safety audits from an intersectional gender perspective in FGC train stations to elaborate criteria and recommendations to improve the perception of safety.
- **Bellvitge Hospital:** In July 2018, one co-researcher and I met with the head of human resources at Bellvitge Hospital to share the report and the project's results and recommendations, particularly those that affected hospital workers. The head of human resources committed to review the report, to thank hospital co-researchers for being

active participants in this FPAR and to invite them to have representation in one of the hospital working groups that advise the hospital management team.

In addition to the impacts we have been already seen on policies and institutions, I believe that the ongoing media coverage will continue to influence urban planning, mobility and labour policies in the Barcelona region. It shows the power of media, but above all the power of transformative feminist participatory processes, where people, and in this case, women nightshift workers, become the protagonists for change.

The impact on women co-researchers (including myself)

The involvement, commitment and testimonies gathered through the different parts of this FPAR illustrate that this project has not left anyone indifferent, including myself. The high and continuous participation of women through the different activities of the project (18 of 24 participated in all the activities) was evident. The increasing collective appropriation of the project clearly started with the script workshop. There was the collective analysis, draft and elaboration of the public report and participatory videos; the collective public presentation in March 2017, where six of us presented the project and results. These and the still ongoing participation and involvement in the “action” part of this FPAR, are clear evidence of the impact of FPAR on all of us.

Paraphrasing women co-researchers’ words, this project has opened the opportunity to “voice” and “make visible” the problems women nightshift workers face, as well as raise awareness that the day is not over when the sun goes down. For women co-researchers, this was the first time that they felt that the problems they face on a nightly basis were valued and addressed.

Women night-workers as co-researchers, before this FPAR did not self-identify as a particular community of interest or community of practice. However, I argue that this project has led to the self-identification and creation of a community throughout the course of this research – the women night workers community. Even though they live and work in different cities and have different occupations and intersecting identities, they have shared the struggles of being women nightshift workers. Therefore, Participatory Action Research can also build and strength community relations.

I knew of the potential of FPAR but never imagined that this project would have all the consequences and impacts it has engendered. Usually the hardest part is to engage policy makers and planners to acknowledge, validate and include this type of research in programs and policies. It is evident that the systemic sexism, racism and classism documented in this FPAR will continue. However, I believe that FPAR is a powerful tool of radical planning. Building from John Friedmann's definition of radical planning (Friedmann 2011), I argue that this FPAR has:

- Enabled collective self-empowerment and organizing and increased women's participation in planning processes and decision-making.
- Challenged the barriers of hierarchy, academic disciplines, and the theory/practice divide: valuing women's diverse everyday/everynight lives as experiential and grounded knowledge.
- Mediated theory and practice in social transformation; through the use of PAR, community knowledge has the transformative potential to build and challenge planning theory.
- Built coalitions and trust relationships among the different groups of women nightshift workers, the organizations involved, but also with institutions at the local and regional level.
- Influenced existing relations of power exercised by the state and other institutions: I argue that this FPAR is influencing planning and mobility policies, through small changes that trickle down.

In other words, using FPAR as a radical planning tool has resulted in 'a thousand tiny empowerments' (Sandercock 1998b).

7.3 Limitations, challenges and silences

This dissertation has been a powerful FPAR experience. Certainly, as with all dissertations and research projects, it has **limitations**. I identify two main limitations. First, the intersectional analysis would have been more robust with more participation of co-researchers from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Three of the 24 women co-researchers are non-EU migrant women. It is known that many migrant women work at night

in care jobs. Many migrant women come from countries that were invaded and colonized by Spain. For example, historically, Philippine women have been working as domestic workers and hospital care workers. And in the last two decades, migrant women from different Latin American countries are working in very precarious and exploitative conditions at home elder care and domestic work. There are also many migrant women among sex workers, with a higher representation of Nigerian and Eastern European women. Despite the efforts of the advisory group and myself to engage more migrant women, only three participated. On several occasions, I contacted two organizations that provide services to migrant women working in these occupations, but I was not successful in engaging them in this FPAR. As explained in Chapter 3, I also did outreach with migrant sex workers from Nigeria and East European countries, but they did not want to participate. In part, this is due to migrant women's precarious work and migration conditions that make their everyday/everynight lives even more complicated, and therefore, they are unable to engage in these types of processes because research participation can jeopardize meeting their basic needs.

Further research on migrant women from different origins, gender identities (transgender), women working on other night occupations (women bus, train, subway and taxi drivers, other transportation workers, midwives, at-home elder care workers, among others) and in other working areas and regions (comparing rural-suburban-urban) would definitely expand the planning the everyday/everynight life body of research.

The main **challenge** of conducting this FPAR has been acknowledging the struggles to break researcher and co-researchers power dynamics. During the whole process, I have been constantly checking my positionality and role coordinating, facilitating, and making decisions about the project. However, despite the commitment of breaking power dynamics between co-researchers and myself, it is impossible to achieve an equal position in this type of process. Hierarchical power structures are very ingrained in our lives. This project did not emerge from a demand that came directly from women nightshift workers, but a gap identified by myself and the organization where I work. As a result, the process of collective appropriation took longer. In addition, many women nightshift workers have already complicated and complex lives and did not have more time to engage in this project beyond the activities proposed. However, both elements, the challenge to break power structures

and the willingness to transformative participation, can be transformed in future opportunities to continue working in breaking power differentials in research and participatory processes.

Finally, I want to conclude by sharing the frustration of **silencing** my fellow co-researchers when writing this dissertation, having to write a single-author dissertation, when the results come from a participatory action research project, which is part of the UBC Public Scholar Initiative. I am grateful to my committee and UBC for supporting the use of FPAR in my dissertation and allowing me to integrate non-traditional forms of research dissemination, such as participatory video. However, I think we are still in the infant stage of rethinking the PhD Program and democratizing academia. The UBC Public Scholar Initiative was created to reimagine

“doctoral education in ways that facilitate purposeful social contribution, the production of new and creative forms of scholarship and dissertations, and support graduate students' broader career perspectives” and has two goals: “(1) Contributing more overtly to the public good through extending and deepening doctoral students' engagement with multiple sectors, fostering innovation and enhancing understanding within the public and the academy and (2) Diversifying potential PhD pathways through embracing broadened concepts of scholarship and scholarly outputs; and deliberately preparing scholars for a wide range of career pathways.”⁵⁶

I think we are definitely moving the first goal forward, since there is an increasing number of students engaging with public agencies and non-profit institutions outside academia. However, the frustration arrives when trying to implement the second goal, in particular, broadening *concepts of scholarship and scholarly outputs*. The PSI supports “an integrative approach to doctoral education that supports diverse forms of collaborative scholarship and new innovative forms of scholarly products as components of the PhD qualification itself.”⁵⁷ If contributing to public scholarship entails engaging with public and non-profit agents, and therefore we are asking increased public involvement and participation, we, as scholars and academic gatekeepers, have to think about how to reflect this in our scholarship and scholarly

⁵⁶ <https://www.grad.ubc.ca/psi/about>, retrieved May 25, 2019

⁵⁷ *ibid*

outputs accurately and effectively. There are several PSI students, like me, who have engaged communities in our dissertations, in such an active way that they deserve to be coauthors on all the dissertation outputs. Co-authorship and recognition of collective work can ensure the rigor of PhD research expected from the university and the PSI program. However, we are still unwilling to recognize that research is not only an individual process, rather it is often, if not always, a collective project, especially in Participatory Action Research dissertations. We might never see this radical, feminist and decolonizing process. This dissertation is my small contribution to this grassroots revolution.

References

- Ackelsberg, Martha A. 2000. *Mujeres Libres: El Anarquismo y La Lucha Por La Emancipación de Las Mujeres*. Virus.
- Ajuntament de Barcelona. 2017. "Reglament de Participació Ciutadana." Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Amid, Atefeh. 2013. "Night, Space and Urban Design: Case Study of Mashhad, Iran." University of Westminster.
- Andreu, Marc. 2016. *Les Ciutats Invisibles: Viatge a La Catalunya Metropolitana*. L'Avenç.
- Angeles, Leonora C. 2011. "Feminist Demands, Dilemmas, and Dreams in Introducing Participatory Action Research in a Canada-Vietnam Capacity Building Project." In *Feminist Community Research: Case Studies and Methodologies*, edited by Gillian Creese and Wendy Frisby, 36–57. UBC Press.
- . 2017. "Transporting Difference at Work. Taking Gender Intersectionality Seriously in Climate Change Agendas." In *Climate Change and Gender in Rich Countries. Work, Public Policy and Action*, edited by Marjorie Griffin Cohen.
- Angeles, Leonora C., and Penny Gurstein. 2000. "Planning for Participatory Capacity Development: The Challenges of Participation and North-South Partnership in Capacity Building Projects." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 21: 37–41.
- Angeles, Leonora C., and Kaurina Jeeris-Warder. 2000. "Using Gender-Aware Participatory Research Methods in Community Poverty Profile, Project Planning and Policy Assessment." In *Gender and Participation Workshop*. Thau Nguyen, Vietnam: Center for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia.
- Antón-Alonso, Fernando, and Sergio Porcel. 2017. "La Vulnerabilitat Urbana a La Barcelona Metropolitana: La Dinàmica de La Persistència." In *Anuari Metropolità de Barcelona 2017*, edited by IERMB and AMB. Barcelona.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. 1987. *Borderlands: La Frontera*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute.

- Arias, Daniela, and Zaida Muxí. 2018. "Aportaciones Feministas a Las Arquitecturas y Las Ciudades Para Un Cambio de Paradigma." *Hábitat y Sociedad* 11 (Aportaciones feministas a las arquitecturas y las ciudades para un cambio de paradigma): 5–12. doi:10.12795/HabitatySociedad.2018.i11.01%0AL.
- Atkins, Stephen. 1989. "Women, Travel and Personal Security." In *Gender, Transport, and Employment: The Impact of Travel Constraints.*, edited by R. Grieco, M., Pickup, L., & Whipp. Gower Publishing Company.
- Bastia, Tanja. 2014. "Intersectionality, Migration and Development." *Progress in Development Studies* 14 (3): 237–48. doi:10.1177/1464993414521330.
- Batalla i Fonoll, M. Dolors. 2014. "El Treball a Torns i El Treball Nocturn." *Full Monogràfic 4. Ergonomia*. Barcelona.
- Beard, Victoria A. 2002. "Covert Planning for Social Transformation in Indonesia." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 22 (1): 15–25.
- Beebeejaun, Yasminah. 2009. "Making Safer Places: Gender and the Right to the City." *Security Journal* 22 (3): 219–29. doi:10.1057/sj.2009.4.
- — —. 2017. "Gender, Urban Space, and the Right to Everyday Life." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 39 (3). Routledge: 323–34. doi:10.1080/07352166.2016.1255526.
- Beer, Chris. 2011. "Centres That Never Sleep? Planning for the Night-Time Economy within the Commercial Centres of Australian Cities." *Australian Planner* 48 (3): 141–47. doi:10.1080/07293682.2011.581245.
- Bianchini, Franco. 1995. "Night Cultures, Night Economies." *Planning Practice and Research* 10 (October 2014): 121–26. doi:10.1080/02697459550036667.
- Boccia, Teresa. 2013. "Time Policies and City Time Plans for Women's Everyday LifeTitle." In *Fair Shared Cities: The Impact of Gender Planning in Europe.*, edited by M. Sánchez de Madariaga, I. and Roberts, 33–48. Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- — —. 2016. "Habitat III: Theories and Practices of the Women Facing the Global Challenges in Cities." *Territorio Della Ricerca Su Insediamenti e Ambiente. Rivista*

Internazionale Di Cultura Urbanística 16: 17–20.

- Bofill, Anna. 2005. *Planejament Urbanístic, Espais Urbans i Espais Interiors Des de La Perspectiva de Les Dones*. Barcelona: Quaderns de l'Institut núm. 6, Institut Català de les Dones, Departament de Política Territorial i Obres Públiques, Generalitat de Catalunya.
- Bonet i Martí, Jordi. 2012. "El Territorio Como Espacio de Radicalización Democrática . Una Aproximación Crítica a Los Procesos de Participación Ciudadana En Las Políticas Urbanas de Madrid y Barcelona." *Athenea Digital. Revista de Pensamiento e Investigación Social* 12 (1): 15–28.
- — —. 2014. "Cuando Cómo Participar Importa . Análisis de Los Impactos de La Participación Ciudadana En Las Políticas de Regeneración Del Centro Histórico de Barcelona." *URBS. Revista de Estudios Urbanos y Ciencias Sociales* 1 (1): 4–26.
- Boogaarts, Simone. 2008. "Claiming Your Place at Night: Turkish Dance Parties in the Netherlands." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34: 34 1283–1300.
- Borja, Jordi. 2003. "Barcelona y Su Urbanismop. Éxitos Pasados, Desafíos Presentes, Oportunidades Futuras." In *Urbanismo En El Siglo XXI*, edited by Jordi Borja and Zaida Muxí Martínez. Edicions UPC.
- — —. 2007. "Revolución y Contrarrevolución En La Ciudad Global: Las Expectativas Frustradas Por La Globalización de Nuestras Ciudades." *Eure* XXXIII (100): 35–50.
- — —. 2010. *Luces y Sombras Del Urbanismo En Barcelona*. UOC.
- Brah, Avtar, and Ann Phoenix. 2004. "Ain't I a Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 5 (3): 75–86. doi:10.1016/j.physletb.2016.07.003.
- Brenan, Gerald. 1995. *The Spanish Labryinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Spanish Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bromley, Rosemary D F, Andrew R Tallon, and Colin J Thomas. 2003. "Disaggregating the Space - Time Layers of City-Centre Activities and Their Users." *Environment and Planning A* 35 (10): 1831–51. doi:10.1068/a35294.

- Brownlow, Alec. 2005. "A Geography of Men's Fear." *Geoforum* 36 (5): 581–92. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2004.11.005.
- Brydon-miller, Mary. 2008. "Ethics and Action Research: Deepening Our Commitment to Principles of Social Justice and Redefining Systems of Democratic Practice." In *The SAGE Handbook of Action Research. Participative Inquiry and Practice*, edited by P. Reason and H. Bradbury, 199–210.
- Brydon-Miller, Mary, Davvyd Greenwood, and Olav Eikeland. 2006. "Conclusion Strategies for Addressing Ethical Concerns in Action Research." *Action Research* 4 (1): 129–31.
- Buchanan, Ruth, and Sara Koch-Schulte. 2000. "Gender on the Line: Technology, Restructuring and the Reorganization of Work in the Call Centre Industry, Policy Report." Ottawa: Status of Women Canada
- Buckle, Jennifer L., Sonya Corbin Dwyer, and Marlene Jackson. 2010. "'Qualitative Bereavement Research: Incongruity between the Perspectives of Participants and Research Ethics Boards.'" *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 13 (2): 111–25.
- Cabnal, Lorena. 2010. "Acercamiento a La Construcción Del Pensamiento Epistémico de Las Mujeres Indígenas Feministas Comunitarias de Abya Yala." *Feminismos Diversos: El Feminismo Comunitario*.
- Caldeira, Teresa, and James Holston. 2015. "Participatory Urban Planning in Brazil." *Urban Studies* 52 (11): 2001–17.
- Carbin, Maria, and Sara Edenheim. 2013. "The Intersectional Turn in Feminist Theory: A Dream of a Common Language?" *European Journal of Women's Studies* 20 (3): 233–48.
- Carter, Miranda. 2005. "Gender Differences in Experience with and Fear of Crime in Relation to Public Transport." *Research on Women's Issues in Transportation* 2. <http://onlinepubs.trb.org/Onlinepubs/conf/CP35v2.pdf#page=126>.
- Casanovas, Roser, Adriana Ciocoleto, Blanca Valdivia, Marta Fonseca, Zaida Muxí

- Martínez, and Sara Ortiz Escalante. 2013. *Women Working. Urban Assessment Guide from a Gender Perspective*. Col·lectiu Punt 6.
- Chatterton, Paul, and Robert Hollands. 2003. *Urban Nightscapes: Youth Cultures, Pleasure Spaces and Corporate Powerle*. Psychology Press.
- Chávez, Vivian, Bonnie Duran, Quinton E Baker, Magdalena M Avila, and Nina Wallerstein. 2008. "The Dance of Race and Privilege in CBPR." In *Community-Based Participatory Research for Health: From Processes to Outcomes*, edited by N. Minkler M. and Wallerstein, 91–105. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Chilisa, Bagele. 2011. *Indigenous Research Methodologies*. SAGE.
- Clifton, Kelly J., and Andrea D. Livi. 2005. "Gender Differences in Walking Behavior, Attitudes About Walking, and Perceptions of the Environment in Three Maryland Communities." *Transportation Research Board of the National Academies. Research on Women's Issues in Transportation 2*: 79–88.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought. Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- — —. 1998. *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.
- Consortis Sanitari de, Barcelona. 2017. "Contaminació Atmosfèrica i Salut." Barcelona. <https://www.aspb.cat/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Contaminacio-atmosferica-i-salut-2017.pdf>.
- Cooke, Bill, and Uma Kothari, eds. 2001. *Participation: The New Tyranny?* Zed books.
- Cornwall, Andrea. 1992. "Body Mapping in Health RRA/PRA." *RRR Notes* 16: 69–76.
- Costa, Giovanni. 1996. "The Impact of Shift and Night Work on Health." *Applied Ergonomics* 27 (1): 9–16.
- Crawford, Adam, and John Flint. 2009. "Urban Safety, Anti-Social Behaviour and the Night-Time Economy." *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 9 (4): 403–13.

doi:10.1177/1748895809343390.

Creese, Gillian, and Wendy Frisby. 2011. *Feminist Community Research: Case Studies and Methodologies*. UBC Press.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 14: 538–54.

— — —. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review*, 1241–99.

Dammert, Lucia. 2007. "Entre El Temor Difuso y La Realidad de La Victimización Femenina En América Latina." In *Ciudades Para Convivir: Sin Violencia Hacia Las Mujeres, Debates Para La Construcción de Propuestas*, edited by Ana Falú, Olga Segovia, and M. Alonso. Ediciones Sur.

Davies, Karen. 2003. "Responsibility and Daily Life. Reflections over Timespace." In *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality.*, edited by J. May and N. Thrift. Routledge.

de Certeau, Michel. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life. Contemporary Sociology*. Vol. 17. University of California Press. doi:10.2307/2069486.

de Solà-Morales, Manuel. 2008. *Ten Lessons on Barcelona*. Barcelona: Association of Architects of Catalonia.

Doan, Petra. 2010. "The Tyranny of Gendered Spaces - Reflections from beyond the Gender Dichotomy." *Gender, Place & Culture* 17 (5): 635–54. doi:10.1080/0966369X.2010.503121.

Dobbs, Lynn. 2005. "Wedded to the Car: Women, Employment and the Importance of Private Transport." *Transport Policy* 12 (3): 266–278.

— — —. 2007. "Stuck in the Slow Lane: Reconceptualising the Links between Gender, Transport and Social Exclusion." *Gender, Work & Organization* 14 (2): 85–108.

Docot, Dada. 2017. "Negative Productions during Fieldwork in the Hometown."

- GeoHumanities* 3 (2). Routledge: 307–27. doi:10.1080/2373566X.2017.1370385.
- Douglas, Mike, and John Friedmann. 1998. *Cities for Citizens: Planning in the Rise of Civil Society in the Global Age*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Duncan, Nancy. 1996. “Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces.” In *BodySpace. Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*. Routledge.
- Dyck, Isabel. 2005. “Feminist Geography, the ‘Everyday’, and Local–Global Relations: Hidden Spaces of Place-making*.” *Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe Canadien* 49 (3): 233–43. doi:10.1111/j.0008-3658.2005.00092.x.
- Edensor, Tim. 2013. “The Gloomy City: Rethinking the Relationship between Light and Dark.” *Urban Studies*. doi:10.1177/0042098013504009.
- Edwards, Rosalind, and Melanie Mauthner. 2002. “Ethics and Feminist Research: Theory and Practice.” In *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, 14–31.
- Eldridge, Adam, and Marion Roberts. 2013a. “Re-Populating the Nighttime City: Hospitality and Gender.” In *Space–Time Design of the Public City*, 49–60. Springer Netherlands.
- — —. 2013b. “Space–Time Design of the Public City.” Edited by Dietrich Henckel, Susanne Thomaier, Benjamin Könecke, Roberto Zedda, and Stefano Stabilini. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 49–60. doi:10.1007/978-94-007-6425-5.
- — —. 2014. “A Comfortable out ? Alcohol , Drunkenness Night and Inclusive Town Centres” 40 (3): 365–74.
- Engster, Daniel. 2004. “Care Ethics and Natural Law Theory.” *Journal of Politics* 66 (1): 1–37.
- Epstein, Dora. 1998. “Afraid/Not: Psychoanalytic Directions for Insurgent Planning Historiography.” In *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, edited by Leonie Sandercock.
- Evans, Graeme. 2012. “Hold Back the Night: Nuit Blanche and All-Night Events in Capital Cities.” *Current Issues in Tourism* 15 (1–2): 35–49.

- Fainstein, Susan, and Lisa J. Servon. 2005. *Gender and Planning: A Redear*. Rutgers University Press.
- Fals-Borda, Orlando, and Mohammad Anisur Rahman. 1991. *Action and Knowledge. Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action Research*. Apex Press.
- Falú, Ana. 2009. *Mujeres En La Ciudad: De Violencias y Derechos*. Red Mujer y Hábitat de América Latina. Ediciones Sur.
- — —. 2011. “Restricciones Ciudadanas: Las Violencias de Género En El Espacio Público.” In *Feminismo, Género e Igualdad*, edited by Amelia (Coord) Lagarde, Marcela & Valcárcel, 320. Pensamiento Iberoamericano.
- — —. 2016. “Contribuciones de Género Para La Implementación de La Agenda Urbana de Habitat III.” *Territorio Della Ricerca Su Insediamenti e Ambiente. Rivista Internazionale Di Cultura Urbanística* 16: 11–16.
- Farrow, Heather, Pamela Moss, and Barbara Shaw. 1995. “Symposium on Feminist Participatory Research.” *Antipode* 27 (1): 71–74. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.1995.tb00262.x.
- Federici, Silvia. 2013. *El Calibán y La Bruja. Historia*. Vol. 53. doi:10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.
- Fenster, Tovi. 2005. “The Right to the Gendered City: Different Formations of Belonging in Everyday Life.” *Journal of Gender Studies* 14 (3): 217–31. doi:10.1080/09589230500264109.
- Fernández, Vivienda. 2014. “Promoviendo Un Diseño Urbano Participativo: Experiencias Desde La Práctica y La Docencia 1.” *Revista AUS* enero-juni (15): 22–27.
- Fine, Michelle, María Elena Torre, Kathy Boudin, Iris Bowen, Judith Clark, Donna Hylton, Migdalia Martinez, et al. 2003. “Participatory Action Research: From Within and beyond Prison Bars.” In *Qualitative Research in Psychology: Expanding Perspectives in Methodology and Design*, edited by P. Camic, J.E. Rhodes, and L. Yardley, 173–98. Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.

- Fine, Michelle, and María Elena Torre. 2006. "Intimate details: Participatory action research in prison." *Action Research* 4(3): 253-269.
- Finnegan, Ruth. 1992. *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts. A Guide to Research Practices*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Friedmann, John. 1979. "Basic Needs, Agropolitan Development, and Planning from Below." *World Development* 7 (6): 607–13.
- Friedmann, John. 1987. *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action*. Princeton University Press.
- — —. 2011. "The Mediations of Radical Planning." In *Insurgencies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Frisby, Wendy, Patricia Maguire, Colleen J. Reid, Wendy Frisby, and Patricia Maguire. 2009. "The 'f' Word Has Everything to Do with It: Howe Feminist Theories Inform Action Research." *Action Research* 7. doi:10.1177/1476750308099595.
- Fundació TMB. 2017. "Barcelona, Ciutat i Transport Públic Urbà." https://es.slideshare.net/TMB_Barcelona/barcelona-ciutat-i-transport-pblic-urb.
- Ganjavi, Ozhand, Rolland Lebrasseur, and Robert Whissell. 2000. "Night Walking Safety and Overall Satisfaction with Police Services." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 23 (1): 22–36.
- Garcia-Ramon, Maria Dolors, and Abel Albet. 2000. "Pre-Olympic and Post-Olympic Barcelona, a 'Model' for Urban Regeneration Today?" *Environment and Planning A* 32 (8): 1331–34. doi:10.1068/a3331.
- Garcia-Ramon, Maria Dolors, Anna Ortiz, and Maria Prats. 2004. "Urban Planning, Gender and the Use of Public Space in a Peripheral Neighbourhood of Barcelona." *Cities* 21 (3): 215–23. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2004.03.006.
- Garey, Anita Ilta. 1995. "Constructing Motherhood on the Night Shift: 'Working Mothers' as 'Stay-at-Home Moms.'" *Qualitative Sociology* 18 (4): 415–37. doi:10.1007/BF02404489.

- Gastaldo, Denise, Lilian Magalhães, and Christine Carrasco. 2012. "Body-Map Storytelling as Research: Methodological Considerations for Telling the Stories of Undocumented Workers through Body Mapping." <http://www.migrationhealth.ca/undocumentedworkersontario/%0Abody-mapping>.
- Gatenby, Bev, and Maria Humphries. 2000. "Feminist Participatory Action Research: Methodological and Ethical Issues." *Women's Studies International Forum* 23 (1): 89–105. doi:10.1016/S0277-5395(99)00095-3.
- Generalitat de Catalunya. 2017. "Dades Sobre Violència Masclista 2017." Barcelona. http://interior.gencat.cat/web/.content/home/030_arees_dactuacio/seuretat/violencia_masclista_i_domestica/estadistica_sobre_violencia_masclista_i_domestica/dades_violencia_masclista_dones/dades_dones_anys_anteriors/anys_anteriors/Dades-VM-2017.pdf.
- Gibson, Chris, and Ben Gallan. 2011. "New Dawn or New Dusk? Beyond the Binary of Day and Night." *Environment and Planning A* 43 (April): 2509–15. doi:10.1068/a44386.
- Gilligan, Carol. 1982. *In a Different Voice*. Harvard University Press.
- Gilroy, Rose, and Chris Booth. 1999. "Building an Infrastructure for Everyday Lives." *European Planning Studies* 7 (November 2014): 307–24. doi:10.1080/09654319908720520.
- Gordon, Margaret T., Stephanie Riger, Robert K. LeBailly, and Linda Heath. 1980. "Crime, Women and the Quality of Urban Life." *Signs* 5 (3): 144.
- Greed, Clara. 1994. *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities*. Psychology Press.
- . 2008. "Are We There Yet? Women and Transport Revisited." In *Gendered Mobilities*, edited by T. P. Uteng and T. Cresswell. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Green, Eileen, and Carrie Singleton. 2006. "Risky Bodies at Leisure: Young Women Negotiating Space and Place Key Words." *Sociology* 40 (5): 853–71.
- Grieco, Margaret, Laurie Pickup, and Richard Whipp. 1989. *Gender, Transport and Employment. The Impact of Travel Constraints*. Aldershot, UK: Gower Publishing.

Company, Ltd.

Grieco, Margaret, and McQuaid Ronald. 2012. "Gender and Transport: An Editorial Introduction." *Research in Transportation Economics* 34 (1–2).

Guillemin, Marilys, and Lynn Guillam. 2004. "Ethics, Reflexivity, and 'Ethically Important Moments' in Research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 10 (2): 261–80.

Hadfield, Phil. 2014. "Special Collection Studies Special Collection." doi:10.1177/0042098014552934.

Hanson, Susan. 2010. "Gender and Mobility: New Approaches for Informing Sustainability." *Gender, Place & Culture* 17 (September 2014): 5–23. doi:10.1080/09663690903498225.

Hanson, Susan, and Perry Hanson. 1980. "Gender and Urban Activity Pattern in Uppsala Sweden." *American Geographical Society* 70 (3): 291–99.

— — —. 1981. "The Travel-Activity Patterns of Urban Residents: Dimension and Relationships to Sociodemographic Characteristics." *Economic Geography* 57 (4): 332–47.

Hanson, Susan, and Ibipo Johnston. 1985. "Gender Differences in Work, Travel Length: Explanations and Implications." *Urban Geography* 6 (3): 193–219.

Hanson, Susan, and Geraldine Pratt. 1995. *Gender, Work and Space*. London: Routledge.

Harding, Sandra. 1996. "Gendered Ways of Knowing and the 'Epistemological Crisis' of the West." In *Knowledge, Difference, and Power. Essays Inspired by Women's Ways of Knowing*, edited by N. Goldberger, J. Tarule, B. Clinchy, and M. Belenky, 431–54. New York: Basic Books.

Harrington, J. Malcolm. 2001. "Health Effects of Shift Work and Extended Hours of Work." *Occupational and Environmental Medicine* 58 (1): 68–72.

Hayden, Dolores. 1980. "What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work." *Signs* 5 (3): S170-S187.

- — —. 1986. *Redesigning the American Dream*. N. New York: W.W. Norton and Co.
- Healey, Patsy. 1997a. "Chapter 4: Everyday Life and Local Environments." In *Collaborative Planning. Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*. Macmillan Press.
- — —. 1997b. *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*. UBC Press.
- Hernandez-Araque, Mary Johana. 2016. "Urbanismo Participativo. Construcción Social Del Espacio Urbano." *Redaluc* 18 (1): 6–17.
- Herr, Kathryn, and Gary L Anderson. 2012. "What Does an Action Research Dissertation Look Like?" In *The Action Research Dissertation: A Guide for Students and Faculty*, 89–111. Thousand Oaks, CA. doi:10.4135/9781452226644.
- Hickey, Samuel, and Giles Mohan. 2004. *Participation -- from Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development*. Zed books.
- Hjorthol, Randi. 2008. "Daily Mobility of Men and Women – A Barometer of Gender Equality?" In *Gendered Mobilities*, edited by T. P. Uteng and T. Cresswell. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 2017. "Place, Nature and Masculinity in Immigrant Integration: Latino Immigrant Men in Inner-City Parks and Community Gardens." *Norma* 12 (2). Taylor & Francis: 112–26. doi:10.1080/18902138.2017.1341450.
- Hooks, Bell. 1989. *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*. South End Press.
- Hooper, Barbara. 1998. "The Poem of Male Desires." In *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, edited by L. Sandercock. University of California Press: 227.
- Hormias, Emili, and Sandra Bestraten. 2015. "Bellvitge, 50 Años Después." In *I Congreso Internacional de Vivienda Colectiva Sostenible*, 226–31. Barcelona: Máster Laboratorio de la Vivendadel Siglo XXI.
- Hubbard, Phil. 1998. "Sexuality, Immorality and the City: Red-Light Districts and the Marginalisation of Female Street Prostitutes." *Gender, Place & Culture* 5 (September 2014): 55–76. doi:10.1080/09663699825322.

- Hubbard, Phil, and Rachela Colosi. 2013. "Taking Back the Night? Gender and the Contestation of Sexual Entertainment in England and Wales." *Urban Studies* 52(3): 589-605. doi:10.1177/0042098013504006.
- Hubbard, Phil, and Teela Sanders. 2003. "Making Space for Sex Work: Female Street Prostitution and the Production of Urban Space." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27 (1): 75–89. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.00432.
- Hughes, Robert. 1992. *Barcelona*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Idescat. 2011. "Enquesta de l'ús Del Temps." Barcelona.
- Ijaz, Sharea., J. Verbeek, A. Seidler, M. L. Lindbohm, A. Ojajärvi, N. Orsini, and K. Neuvonen. 2013. "Night-Shift Work and Breast Cancer—a Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis." *Scandinavian Journal of Work, Environment & Health*, 431–447.
- Innes, Judith E., and David E. Booher. 1999. "Consensus Building and Complex Adaptive Systems: A Framework for Evaluating Collaborative Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 65 (4): 412–423.
- Kabeer, Naila. 2005. "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal 1." *Gender & Development* 13 (1): 13–24.
- Kindon, Sara. 2003. "Participatory Video in Geographic Research: A Feminist Practice of Looking?," *Area* 35(2): 142-153.
- Koskela, Hille. 1997. "'Bold Walk and Breakings': Women's Spatial Confidence versus Fear of Violence." *Gender, Place & Culture* 4 (3): 301–19.
- — —. 1999. "'Gendered Exclusions': Women's Fear of Violence and Changing Relations to Space." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 81 (2): 111–24.
- — —. 2002. "Video Surveillance, Gender, and the Safety of Public Urban Space: 'Peeping Tom' Goes High Tech?" *Urban Geography* 23 (3): 257–78. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.23.3.257.
- — —. 2010. "Fear and Its Others." In *The SAGE Handbook of Social Geographies*, edited

- by S. J. Smith, R. Pain, S. Marston, and J. P. Jones. London: SAGE. 389-408.
- Koskela, Hille, and Rachel Pain. 2000. "Revisiting Fear and Place: Women's Fear of Attack and the Built Environment." *Geoforum* 31 (2): 269–80. doi:10.1016/S0016-7185(99)00033-0.
- Koskela, Hille, and Sarpi Tani. 2005. "'Sold out!' Women's Practices of Resistance against Prostitution Related Sexual Harassment." *Women's Studies International Forum* 28: 418–29. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2005.05.004.
- Krieger, Nancy. 1999. "Embodying Inequality: A Review of Concepts, Measures, and Methods for Studying Health Consequences of Discrimination." *International Journal of Health Services* 29 (2): 295–352. doi:10.2190/M11W-VWXE-KQM9-G97Q.
- Laub, Claudia. 2007. "Violencia Urbana, Violencia de Género y Políticas de Seguridad Ciudadana." In *Ciudades Para Convivir: Sin Violencia Hacia Las Mujeres, Debates Para La Construcción de Propuestas*, edited by Ana Falú, Olga Segovia, and M. Alonso. Ediciones Sur.
- Law, Robin. 1999. "Beyond 'Women and Transport': Towards New Geographies of Gender and Daily Mobility." *Progress in Human Geography* 23 (4): 567–88. doi:10.1191/030913299666161864.
- Leavitt, Jacqueline. 2003. "Where's the Gender in Community Development?" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 29 (1): 207–31.
- Leccardi, Carmen. 1996. "Rethinking Social Time: Feminist Perspectives." *Time & Society* 5: 169–86. doi:10.1177/0961463X96005002003.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1971. *Everyday Life in the Modern World*. London: Allen Lane.
- Levy, Caren. 2013. "Travel Choice Reframed: 'Deep Distribution' and Gender in Urban Transport." *Environment and Urbanization*, March. doi:10.1177/0956247813477810.
- Liamputtong, Pranee. 2010. *Performing Qualitative Cross-Cultural Research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Listerborn, Carina. 2008. "Who Speaks? And Who Listens? The Relationship between Planners and Women's Participation in Local Planning in a Multi-Cultural Urban Environment." *GeoJournal* 70 (1): 61–74. doi:10.1007/s10708-007-9114-8.
- Little, Jo, Linda Peake, and Pat Richardson, eds. 1988. *Women in Cities: Gender and the Urban Environment*. Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Lopes DeSouza, Marcelo. 2006. "Together with the State, despite the State, against the State." *City* 10 (3): 327–342. doi:10.1080/13604810600982347.
- López Díaz, Jesús. 2002. "La Vivienda Social En Madrid, 1939-1959." *Espacio Tiempo y Forma. Serie VII, Historia Del Arte* 15.
- Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia. 2005. "Is It Safe to Walk Here?" In *Research on Women's Issues in Transportation*, 102.
- — —. 2006. "Is It Safe to Walk? Neighborhood Safety and Security Considerations and Their Effects on Walking." *Journal of Planning Literature* 20 (3): 219–32. doi:10.1177/0885412205282770.
- Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia, and Camille Fink. 2008. "Addressing Women's Fear of Victimization in Transportation Settings: A Survey of U.S. Transit Agencies." *Urban Affairs Review*. Vol. 44(4): 554–587. doi:10.1177/1078087408322874.
- Lowson, Elizabeth, Benita Middleton, Sara Arber, and Debra J Skene. 2013. "Effects of Night Work on Sleep, Cortisol and Mood of Female Nurses, Their Husbands and Children." *Sleep and Biological Rhythms* 11 (1): 7–13. doi:10.1111/j.1479-8425.2012.00585.x.
- Lykes, M. Brinton, and Alison Crosby. 2014. "Feminist Practice of Action and Community Research." In *Feminist Research Practise: A Primer (2nd Eds.)*, edited by S. Hesse-Biber, 145–81. SAGE.
- Lykogianni, Rouli. 2008. "Tracing Multicultural Cities From the Perspective of Women's Everyday Lives." *European Urban and Regional Studies* 15: 133–43. doi:10.1177/0969776407087546.
- Lynch, Gary, and Susan Atkins. 1988. "The Influence of Personal Security Fears on Women's

Travel Patterns.” *Transportation* 15: 257–77.

Maccoby, Eleanor E. 1992. “The Role of Parents in the Socialization of Children: An Historical Overview.” *Developmental Psychology* 28 (6): 1006.

Mackie, Marlene. 1987. *Constructing Women and Men: Gender Socialization*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada.

Macquarie, Julius-Cezar. 2017. “Invisible Denizens: What Possibilities Are Left for Solidarity Amongst Migrant Night Workers in the Nocturnal City of London.” *Euxenios* 22: 63-79.

Maguire, Patricia. 1987. *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts.

— — —. 2001. “Uneven Ground. Feminism and Action Research.” In *The Handbook of Action Research*, edited by Hilary Reason, Peter and Bradbury. SAGE.

Maiter, Sarah, Laura Simich, Nora Jacobson, and Julie Wise. 2008. “Reciprocity: An Ethic for Community-Based Participatory Action Research.” *Action Research* 6 (3): 305–25.

Martí Valls, J., Carme Valls Llobet, Clara Mestres Miserachs, Marc Homs Vallès, Helena Fusté i Munné, Pilar Parra Barrachina, and Albert Ferris Pellicer. 2011. “La Contaminació i La Salut. Anàlisi Dels Determinants Ambientals de La Salut: Contaminació Química Interna, Radiacions No Ionitzants, La Contaminació de l’aigua, La Producció Industrial d’aliments i La Salut, Patologies Emergents i Càncer de Mama.” http://www.caps.cat/images/stories/caps/LA_CONTAMINACIO_I_LA_SALUTdef.pdf.

Massolo, Alejandra. 2007. “Análisis y Propuestas Para La Acción de Los Gobiernos Locales En La Seguridad de Las Mujeres En Las Ciudades.” In *Ciudades Para Convivir: Sin Violencia Hacia Las Mujeres, Debates Para La Construcción de Propuestas.*, edited by Ana Falú, Olga Segovia, and M. Alonso. Ediciones Sur.

May, Jon, and Nigel Thrift. 2003. *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality*. Routledge.

McIntyre, Alice. 2003. “Through the Eyes of Women : Photovoice and Participatory Research as Tools for Reimagining Place Through the Eyes of Women : Photovoice and Participatory Research as Tools for Reimagining Place.” *Gender, Place & Culture* 10

(1): 37–41. doi:10.1080/0966369032000052658.

Melbin, Murray. 1987. *Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World after Dark*. New York: Free Press.

Mestre, Ruth M. 2007. “Trabajo Sexual, Igualdad y Reconocimiento de Derechos.” In *Prostitución y Trata: Marco Jurídico y Régimen de Derechos*. Tirant lo Blanch.

— — —. 2010. “Mujeres, Nueva Ciudadanía y Trabajo: ¿ de Qué Mujeres Hablamos.” In *Dones Migrades Treballadores: Anàlisi i Experiències Locals Contra La Desigualtat*, edited by Encara Bodelón and Maria De la Fuente. Barcelona: Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials.

Meth, Paula. 2003. “Rethinking the ‘Domus’ in Domestic Violence: Homelessness, Space and Domestic Violence in South Africa.” *Geoforum* 34 (3): 317–27. doi:10.1016/S0016-7185(03)00005-8.

Michaud, Anne. 2006. “Seguretat i Convivència: Un Flux Amb Enfocament de Gènere En l’espai Urbà.” In *Urbanisme i Gènere. Una Visió Necessària per a Tothom*, edited by Diputació de Barcelona. Barcelona.

— — —. 2007. *Guide d’aménagement Pour Un Environnement Urbain Sècuritaire*. Femmes et ville. Ville de Montreal. www.montreal.qc.ca/femmesetville.

Miraftab, Faranak. 2016. *Global Heartland: Displaced Labor, Transnational Lives, and Local Placemaking*. Indiana University Press.

Miralles-Guasch, Carme. 1998. “Modelos de Movilidad En La Barcelona Contemporánea.” In *La Ciutat Sostenible*, edited by Salvador Rueda.

— — —. 2002. “Barcelona: La Ciudad Policéntrica.” In *Ciudad y Transporte: El Binomio Imperfecto*.

— — —. 2010. *Dones, Mobilitat, Temps i Ciutats*. Barcelona: Col· lecció Quaderns de l’Institut 14, perspectives des del feminisme. Institut Català de les Dones.

Miralles-Guasch, Carme, and Montserrat Martínez Melo. 2012. “Las Divergencias de Género

En Las Pautas de Movilidad En Cataluña, Según Edad y Tamaño Del Municipio.” *Revista Latino-Americana de Geografia e Gênero* 3 (2): 49–60.

Miralles-Guasch, Carme, Montserrat Martínez Melo, and Oriol Marquet. 2016. “A Gender Analysis of Everyday Mobility in Urban and Rural Territories: From Challenges to Sustainability.” *Gender, Place and Culture* 23 (3): 398–417. doi:10.1080/0966369X.2015.1013448.

Miranne, Kristine B., & Young, Alma H. (Eds.). 2000. *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Molinero Ruiz, Emilia (coord.). 2012. “Segona Enquesta Catalana de Condicions de Treball.” Barcelona.

Molyneux, Maxine. 1985. “Mobilization without Emancipation? Women’s Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua.” *Feminist Studies* 11 (3): 227–54.

Mongil Juárez, David. 2012. “Planificación Urbana , Regeneración Urbana Integral y Participación Ciudadana En Cataluña: Balance y Retos de Futuro.” *Hábitat y Sociedad* May (4): 73–91.

Montaner, Josep Maria. 2003. “La Evolución Del Modelo Barcelona (1979-2002).” In *Urbanismo En El Siglo XXI*, edited by Jordi Borja and Zaida Muxí Martínez. Edicions UPC.

Montaner, Josep Maria, and Zaida Muxí Martínez. 2002. “Los Modelos Barcelona: De La Acupuntura a La Prótesis.” *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 6: 263–68. doi:10.1353/hcs.2011.0296.

Morey, Patricia. 2007. “Introducción: Violencia de Género: Hacia Una Comprensión Global.” In *Ciudades Para Convivir: Sin Violencia Hacia Las Mujeres, Debates Para La Construcción de Propuestas.*, edited by Ana Falú, Olga Segovia, and M. Alonso. Ediciones Sur.

Moss, Pamela. 1997. “Spaces of Resistance, Spaces of Respite: Franchise Housekeepers Keeping House in the Workplace and at Home.” *Gender, Place and Culture* 4 (2): 179–

96. doi:10.1080/09663699725422.

Mosse, David. 1994. "Authority, Gender and Knowledge: Theoretical Reflections on the Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal." *Development and Change* 25 (3): 487–526.

Muxí Martínez, Zaida. 2013. *Postsuburbia*. Barcelona: Comanegra.

Muxí Martínez, Zaida, Roser Casanovas, Adriana Ciocchetto, Marta Fonseca, and Blanca Valdivia. 2011. "¿Qué Aporta La Perspectiva de Género Al Urbanismo?" *Feminismo/s* 17: 105–29. doi:10.14198/fem.2011.17.06.

Muxí, Zaida, and Adriana Ciocchetto. 2009. "Catalonian Neighbourhood Development Law: The Gender Perspective as a Planning Tool." In *4th Conference of International Forum on Urbanism*, 1331–38.

Muxí, Zaida, and Tania Magro. 2009. "Urban Social Movements: Gender Approaches." In *4th Conference of International Forum on Urbanism*, 1117–24.

Nash, Jennifer C. 2008. "Re-Thinking Intersectionality." *Feminist Review* 89: 1–15.

Nocturnas. 2017. "Nocturnas: The Everyday Life of Women Nightshift Workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area." Barcelona.

O'Sullivan, Feargus. 2016. "A 'Night Mayor' Is Transforming Amsterdam After Dark." *CityLab*.

Observatori iQ. 2017. "Observatori IQ." <http://iqobservatori.org/temps/>.

Ortiz Escalante, Sara, and Elizabeth L. Sweet. 2013. "Migrant Women's Safety." In *Building Inclusive Cities: Women's Safety and the Right to the City*, edited by C. (Ed.) Whitzman.

Ortiz Escalante, Sara, and Blanca Gutiérrez Valdivia. 2015. "Planning from below: Using Feminist Participatory Methods to Increase Women's Participation in Urban Planning." *Gender & Development* 23 (1): 113–26. doi:10.1080/13552074.2015.1014206.

Oso, Laura. 2010. "Trayectorias de Movilidad Ocupacional de Las Mujeres Latinoamericanas

En España.” In *Dones Migrades Treballadores: Anàlisi i Experiències Locals Contra La Desigualtat*, edited by Encarna Bodelón and Maria de la Fuente. Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials.

Pain, Rachel. 1991. “Space, Sexual Violence and Social Control: Integrating Geographical and Feminist Analyses of Women’s Fear of Crime.” *Progress in Human Geography* 15: 415–31. doi:10.1177/030913259101500403.

— — —. 1997. “Social Geographies of Women ’ s Fear of Crime.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22 (2): 231–44.

— — —. 2001. “Gender, Race, Age and Fear in the City.” *Urban Studies* 38 (5–6): 899–913. doi:10.1080/00420980120046590.

— — —. 2004. “Social Geography : Participatory Research.” *Progress in Human Geography* 28 (5): 652–63.

Palmer, Bryan D. 2000. *Cultures of Darkness: Night Travels in the Histories of Transgression (from Medieval to Modern)*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Paolucci, Gabriella. 1996. “The Changing Dynamics of Working Time.” *Time & Society* 5 (2): 145–67. doi:10.1177/0961463X96005002002.

Papantoniou, Kyriaki, G. Castaño-Vinyals, A. Espinosa, N. Aragonés, B. Pérez-Gómez, E. Ardanaz, and D. Muñoz. 2016. “Breast Cancer Risk and Night Shift Work in a Case–Control Study in a Spanish Population.” *European Journal of Epidemiology* 31 (9): 867–78.

Parella Rubio, Sònia. 2007. “Diversitat de Les Dones III. Dones Immigrades.” In *Diccionari - Mapa de Recursos Dona i Àmbit Local*, edited by Encarna Bodelón and Maria De la Fuente. Barcelona: Projecte CIP, ICPS. <http://www.icps.cat/diccionari.asp>.

— — —. 2010. “Dones i Migració.” *Col·leccions CiP. Articles Feministes*. Barcelona.

Patel, Reena. 2010. *Working the Night Shift: Women in India’s Call Center Industry*. Stanford University Press.

- Pavalko, Eliza K., Krysia N. Mossakowski, and Vanessa J. Hamilton. 2018. "Does Perceived Discrimination Affect Health? Longitudinal Relationships between Work Discrimination and Women's Physical and Emotional Health." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 44 (1): 18–33.
- Peake, Linda. 1993. "'Race' and Sexuality: Challenging the Patriarchal Structuring of Urban Social Space." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11 (4): 415–32. doi:10.1068/d110415.
- Pérez-Rincón, Socorro, and Rosa Tello i Robira, eds. 2012. *Iniciativas Locales Para La Participación Femenina*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Phadke, Shilpa. 2007. "Dangerous Liaisons: Women and Men: Risk and Reputation in Mumbai." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1510–18.
- Phadke, Shilpa, Sameera Khan, and Shilpa Ranade. 2011. *Why Loiter?: Women and Risk on Mumbai Streets*. Penguin Books India.
- Ponic, Pamela, and Natasha Jategaonkar. 2012. "Balancing Safety and Action: Ethical Protocols for Photovoice Research with Women Who Have Experienced Violence." *Arts & Health* 4 (3): 189–202. doi:10.1080/17533015.2011.584884.
- Porter, Libby. 2010. *Unlearning the Colonial Cultures of Planning*. Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Preston, John, and Fiona Rajé. 2007. "Accessibility, Mobility and Transport-Related Social Exclusion." *Journal of Transport Geography* 15 (3): 151–60.
- Priya, Tanu, and André Uteng. 2009. "Dynamics of Transport and Social Exclusion: Effects of Expensive Driver's License." *Transport Policy* 10: 10–16.
- Pugh, Jonathan, and Robert B. Potter. 2003. *Participatory Planning in the Caribbean-Lessons from Practice*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Rahder, Barbara, and Carol Altília. 2004. "Where Is Feminism in Planning Going? Appropriation or Transformation?" *Planning Theory* 3: 107–16. doi:10.1177/1473095204044777.

- Reardon, Ken. 1998. "Participatory Action Research as Service Learning." *New Directions for Teaching and Learning* 73: 57–64.
- Reid, Colleen J. 2002. "'We Don't Count , We're Just Not There ': Using Feminist Action Research to Explore the Relationship between Exclusion, Poverty and Women's Health." University of British Columbia.
- — —. 2004. "Advancing Women's Social Justice Agendas: A Feminist Action Research Framework." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3 (3): 1–15. doi:10.1177/160940690400300301.
- Reid, Colleen J., and Wendy Frisby. 2008. "Continuing the Journey: Articulating Dimensions of Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR)." In *SAGE Handbook of Participatory Action Research. Participatory Inquiry and Practice*, edited by P. Reason and H. Bradbury. SAGE.
- Reid, Colleen J., Pamela Ponc, L. Hara, R. Ledrew, C. Kaweesi, and K. Besla. 2011. "Living an Ethical Agreement: Negotiating Confidentiality and Harm in Feminist Participatory Action Research." In *Feminist Community Research: Case Studies and Methodologies*, edited by Gillian Creese and Wendy Frisby. UBC Press. 189-209.
- Reid, Colleen J., Allison Tom, and Wendy Frisby. 2006. "Finding the 'action' in Feminist Participatory Action Research." *Action Research* 4: 315. doi:10.1177/1476750306066804.
- Reinharz, Shulamit. 1992. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Riaño-Alcalá, Pilar. 2000. "Dwellers of Memory: An Ethnography of Place, Memory and Violence in Medellin, Colombia." University of British Columbia.
- — —. , ed. 2013. *Recordar y Narar El Conflicto. Herramientas Para Reconstruir Memoria Histórica*. Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica y University of British Columbia. <https://blogs.ubc.ca/construyendomemoriahistorica/>.
- Roberton, Jen. 2016. "LGBTQ2+ Experiences of Public Safety: Theorizing Violence in the

- Queer City.” *TRIA-TErritorio Della Ricerca Su Insediamenti e Ambiente* 9 (1): 79–90.
- Roberts, Marion. 2006. “From ‘Creative City’ to ‘No-Go Areas’ – The Expansion of the Night-Time Economy in British Town and City Centres.” *Cities* 23 (5): 331–38. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2006.05.001.
- — —. 2013. “Gender, Fear and the Night-Time City.” In *Fair Shared Cities: The Impact of Gender Planning in Europe.*, edited by M. De Madariaga, I. S., & Roberts. Ashgate Publishing Limited. 49-64.
- Roberts, Marion, and Adam Eldridge. 2012. *Planning the Night-Time City*. Routledge.
- Robinson, Fiona. 1997. “Globalizing Care: Ethics, Feminist Theory, and International Relations.” *Alternatives* 22: 113–33. doi:10.4324/9780429500183.
- Rodó-de-Zárate, Maria. 2014. “Developing Geographies of Intersectionality with Relief Maps: Reflections from Youth Research in Manresa, Catalonia.” *Gender, Place & Culture* 21 (8): 925–44. doi:10.1080/0966369X.2013.817974.
- Ross, Becki L. 2010. “Sex and (Evacuation from) the City: The Moral and Legal Regulation of Sex Workers in Vancouver’s West End, 1975–1985.” *Sexualities* 13 (2): 197–218.
- Ross, Becki L. 2013. “Bumping and Grinding On the Line: Making Nudity Pay.” *Labour/Le Travail* 46 (Fall): 221–50.
- Rovira, Elisenda, and Sònia Fuertes. 2016. “La Feminització de La Pobresa. Reivindicant Una Mirada de Gènere.” Barcelona. http://www.tercersector.cat/sites/www.tercersector.cat/files/dossier_feminitzacio_pobresa_web_0.pdf.
- Sandberg, Linda, and Malin Rönnblom. 2014. “‘I Don’t Think We’ll Ever Be Finished with This’: Fear and Safety in Policy and Practice.” *Urban Studies* 52(14): 2664-2679. doi:10.1080/00420988420080881.
- Sandercock, Leonie. 1998a. *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*. University of California Press.

- — —. 1998b. *Toward Cospopolis. Planning for Multicultural Cities*. New York: Wiley.
- — —. 2002. "Difference, Fear and Habitus: A Political Economy of Urban Fears." In *Habitus: A Sense of Place.*, edited by E. (Eds.) Hillier, J., & Rooksby, 203–218. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- — —. 2003. *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Sandercock, Leonie, and Giovanni Attili. 2010a. "Digital Ethnography as Planning Praxis: An Experiment with Film as Social Research, Community Engagement and Policy Dialogue." *Planning Theory and Practice* 11 (1): 23–45. doi:10.1080/14649350903538012.
- — —. 2010b. *Multimedia Explorations in Urban Policy and Planning: Beyond the Flatlands*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- — —. 2010c. "Digital Ethnography as Planning Praxis: An Experiment with Film as Social Research, Community Engagement and Policy Dialogue." *Planning Theory & Practice* 11 (1): 23–45. doi:10.1080/14649350903538012.
- Sandercock, Leonie, and Ann Forsyth. 1992. "A Gender Agenda: New Directions for Planning Theory." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 58 (1): 49–59.
- Sanyal, Bishwapriya. 2005. "Planning as Anticipation of Resistance." *Planning Theory* 4 (3): 225–45.
- Sarasa, Sebastià, Lara Navarro-Varas, and Sergio Porcel. 2016. "Escenari Post-Crisi i Estructura Social Metropolitana: Vulnerabilitats i Cobertura de Necessitats Des d'una Mirada de Classe Monogràfic Enquesta de Condicions de Vida , 2016." Barcelona.
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. 1988. *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*. University of California Press.
- Schlör, Joachim. 1998. *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London 1840-1930*. Reaktion Books.
- Schwanen, Tim, Irina van Aalst, Jelle Brands, and Tjerk Timan. 2012. "Rhythms of the Night:

- Spatiotemporal Inequalities in the Nighttime Economy.” *Environment and Planning A* 44 (9): 2064–85. doi:10.1068/a444494.
- Shah, Meera Kaul. 1998. *The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development. I*. TGD Publishing.
- Sheard, Laura. 2011. “‘Anything Could Have Happened’: Women, the Night-Time Economy, Alcohol and Drink Spiking.” doi:10.1177/0038038511406596.
- Smith, Dorothy E. 1990. *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge*. University of Toronto Press.
- — —. 1992. “Sociology from Women’s Experience: A Reaffirmation.” *Sociological Theory* 10 (1): 88–98.
- Spivak, Gayatri C. 1990. *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. Routledge.
- Stanko, Elizabeth A. 1988. “Fear of Crime and the Myth of the Safe Home.” In *Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse*, edited by K. Yellö and M. Bograd. Sage, Newbury Park, CA.
- — —. 1995. “Women, Crime and Fear.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 539: 46–58. doi:10.1177/00027162505276734.
- Stanko, Elizabeth A., and Kathy Hobdell. 1993. “Assault on Men.” *British Journal of Criminology* 33 (3): 400–415.
- Stanley, Liz. 1990. “Feminist Praxis and the Academic Mode of Production: An Editorial Introduction.” In *Feminist Praxis: Research, Theory and Epistemology in Feminist Sociology*, edited by Liz Stanley, 3–19. London: Routledge.
- Stockard, Jean. 1999. “Gender Socialization.” In *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*, edited by Janet Saltzman Chafetz, 215–27. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York, (pp.).
- Su-Jan, Yeo, Hee Limin, and Heng Chye Kiang. 2012. “Urban Informality and Everyday

- (Night)Life: A Field Study in Singapore.” *International Development Planning Review* 34 (January 2011): 369–90. doi:10.3828/idpr.2012.22.
- Sundberg, Juanita. 2014. “Decolonizing Posthumanist Geographies.” *Cultural Geographies* 21 (1): 33–47. doi:10.1177/1474474013486067.
- Sweet, Elizabeth L. 2018. “Cultural Humility: An Open Door for Planners to Locate Themselves and Decolonize Planning Theory, Education, and Practice.” *EJournal of Public Affairs* 7 (2): 1–17. <http://www.ejournalofpublicaffairs.org/cultural-humility/>.
- Sweet, Elizabeth L., and Sara Ortiz Escalante. 2010. “Planning Responds to Gender Violence: Evidence from Spain, Mexico and the United States.” *Urban Studies* 47 (10): 2129–47. <http://usj.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0042098009357353>.
- — —. 2015. “Bringing Bodies into Planning: Visceral Methods, Fear and Gender Violence.” *Urban Studies* 52 (10): 1826–45. doi:10.1177/0042098014541157.
- — —. 2017. “Engaging Territorio Cuerpo-Tierra through Body and Community Mapping : A Methodology for Making Communities Safer.” *Gender, Place & Culture* 24 (4): 594–606. doi:10.1080/0966369X.2016.1219325.
- Tadié, Jérôme, and Risa Permanadeli. 2014. “Night and the City: Clubs, Brothels and Politics in Jakarta.” *Urban Studies*.
- Talbot, Deborah. 2007. *Regulating the Night: Race, Culture and Exclusion in the Making of the Night-Time Economy*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Thomas, Colin J, and Rosemary D F Bromley. 2000. “City-Centre Revitalisation: Problems of Fragmentation and Fear in the Evening and Night-Time City.” *Urban Studies* 37 (8): 1403–29. doi:10.1080/00420980020080181.
- Torns, Teresa, Vicent Borrás, Sara Moreno, and Carolina Recio. 2012. “El Trabajo de Cuidados: Un Camino Para Repensar El Bienestar.” *Papeles de Relaciones Ecosociales y Cambio Global*, no. 119: 93–101. https://www.fuhem.es/media/cdv/file/biblioteca/revista_papeles/119/Trabajo_cuidados_repensar_el_bienestar_T._Torns_y_otros.pdf.

- Torns, Teresa, and Pilar Carrasquer. 1999. "El Perquè de La Reproducció." *Papers: Revista de Sociologia* 59: 99–108.
- Tronto, Joan C. 1993. *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. Psychology Press.
- Tuck, Eve. 2009a. "Re-Visioning Action: Participatory Action Research and Indigenous Theories of Change." *Urban Review* 41 (1): 47–65. doi:10.1007/s11256-008-0094-x.
- . 2009b. "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities." *Harvard Educational Review* 79 (3): 409–28. doi:10.17763/haer.79.3.n0016675661t3n15.
- Tuhiwai Smith, Linda. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed.
- Unió General de Treballadors de Catalunya (UGT). 2008. "Quadern Preventiu: Treball per Torns i Nocturn." Barcelona.
- Valdivia, Blanca, Adriana Ciocchetto, Sara Ortiz Escalante, Roser Casanovas, and Marta Fonseca. 2016. *Entornos Habitables. Auditoría de Seguridad Urbana Con Perspectiva de Género En La Vivienda y El Entorno*. Barcelona: Col·lectiu Punt 6. https://issuu.com/punt6/docs/entornos_habitables_cast_final.
- Valdivia, Blanca, and Sara Ortiz Escalante. 2018. "Reassembling the City through Intersectional Feminism: Subversive Responses to the Economic Crisis in Barcelona." In *Disassembled Cities: Social and Spatial Strategies to Reassemble Communities in Cities Across the Globe*, edited by Elizabeth L. Sweet. Routledge Press.
- Valentine, Gill. 1989. "The Geography of Women's Fear." *Area* 21 (4): 385–90.
- . 1992. "Images of Danger: Women's Sources of Information about the Spatial Distribution of Male Violence." *Area* 24 (1): 22–29.
- Valls Llobet, Carme. n.d. "Riscos Invisibles per a La Salut de Les Dones." In *Jornada Dones, Salut i Treball*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia.
- . 2013. *Mujeres, Salud y Poder*. Ediciones Cátedra.

- van Liempt, Ilse, Irina van Aalst, and Tim Schwanen. 2014. "Introduction: Geographies of the Urban Night." *Urban Studies* 52(3): 407-421.
- Vargas, Virginia. 2009. "La Violencia de Género: Pistas Para Un Análisis." In *Ciudad: De Violencias y Derechos. Red Mujer y Hábitat de América Latina.*, edited by Ana Falú. Ediciones Sur.
- Venn, Susan, Sara Arber, Robert Meadows, and Jenny Hislop. 2008. "The Fourth Shift: Exploring the Gendered Nature of Sleep Disruption among Couples with Children." *The British Journal of Sociology* 59 (1): 79–97.
- Verdaguer Viana-Cárdenas, Carlos, and Isabela Velázquez Valoria. 2012. "La Ciudad de Abajo Arriba. Aportaciones Para La Práctica y La Teoría Del Urbanismo Participativo." *Habitat y Sociedad* Mayo (4): 7–11.
- Wahab, Stéphanie. 2003. "Creating Knowledge Collaboratively with Female Sex Workers: Insights from a Qualitative, Feminist, and Participatory Study." *Qualitative Inquiry* 9 (4): 625–42. doi:10.1177/1077800403252734.
- Waite, Louise, and Cath Conn. 2011. "Creating a Space for Young Women's Voices: Using 'Participatory Video Drama' in Uganda." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18 (1): 115–35. doi:10.1080/0966369X.2011.535297.
- Waitt, Gordon, Loretta Jessop, and Andrew Gorman-Murray. 2011. "'The Guys in There Just Expect to Be Laid': Embodied and Gendered Socio- Spatial Practices of a ' Night out ' in Wollongong , Australia." *Gender , Place & Culture : A Journal of Feminist Geography* 18 (2): 255–75.
- Wesely, Jennifer K., and Emily Gaarder. 2004. "The Gendered 'Nature' of the Urban Outdoors: Women Negotiating Fear of Violence." *Gender & Society* 18: 645–63. doi:10.1177/0891243204268127.
- Whitzman, Carolyn. 2002. "Feminist Activism for Safer Social Space in High Park, Toronto: How Women Got Lost in the Woods." *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 11 (2): 299-322.

- — —. 2007. "Stuck at the Front Door: Gender, Fear of Crime and the Challenge of Creating Safer Space." *Environment and Planning A* 39 (11): 2715–32. doi:10.1068/a38449.
- — —. 2013. "Women's Safety and Everyday Mobility." In *Building Inclusive Cities: Women's Safety and the Right to the City*, edited by Carolyn Whitzman, Crystal Legacy, Fran Klodawsky, Margaret Shaw, and Kalpana Viswanath. Abingdon and New York: Routledge. 35-52.
- Whitzman, Carolyn, Crystal Legacy, Caroline Andrew, Fran Klodawsky, Margaret Shaw, and Kalpana Viswanath. 2013. *Building Inclusive Cities: Women's Safety and the Right to the City*. Routledge.
- Williams, R. 2008. "Night Spaces: Darkness, Deterritorialization, and Social Control." *Space and Culture* 11: 514–32. doi:10.1177/1206331208320117.
- Wilson, Elizabeth. 1991. *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women*. University of California Press.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13 (3): 193–209. doi:10.1177/1350506806065752.

Appendix 1: Collective Ethics and Safety Protocols

BELLVITGE HOSPITAL GROUP (6 cleaners and 4 nurses)

1. We want to be co-authors of the study
2. When identified as a group, we want to be named “Group of night workers at Bellvitge Hospital”.
3. We give individual and collective consent to be voice and video recorded and to appear in pictures
4. How can we break hierarchies between researcher and co-researchers?
 - Being co-authors
 - Sharing tasks
 - Actively participating in the project
 - Contributing collectively to the project
 - Companionship
 - Treating us as equals
 - Acknowledging the contributions of all members of the group
5. What role do we want to have in data gathering and analysis?
 - Participating in the workshops
 - Choosing pictures for the dissemination of results
 - Ana wants to help on data analysis
 - Conchi and Ángeles want to participate in all the activities
 - Núria and Rafaela want to participate in the workshops and help with the video
6. How can we deal with the ownership and the dissemination of results?
 - Collective ownership
 - Disseminating the results through poster presentations and journal articles
 - Reaching out to public transportation agencies and the hospital’s director
 - Disseminating through non-profit and neighborhood organizations, women’s groups, social media, local and regional television, nursing conferences and unions.
7. How can we create a respectful and trustful environment acknowledging the diversity of ideas and experience?
 - Being respectful and maintain confidentiality of conversations held in the group
 - Acknowledging the diversity of views and opinions
 - Not interrupting when someone talks
 - Not being judgmental
8. How can we preserve our wellbeing and safety?
 - Being honest and support the project
 - Being empathetic
 - Being responsible of what we say and do
 - Active listening
 - Discretion
 - Not disseminating the results until the end of the project
9. Are there other topics that we want to include?
 - Gender violence
 - Harassment at the workplace
 - Sleep deprivation and workplace environment
 - Reconciliation of work, family and social life
 - Safety issues on our commuting routes

- Personal and workplace support
- Impact of nightwork in social and family relations

BARCELONA GROUP 1 (3 sex workers)

1. Co-authorship using their work (pseudonym) name
2. We give consent to be audio recorded but we do not want to appear in pictures. Take pictures or video record elements that exemplify the issues we expose. But we don't want to be recognized.
3. What role do we want to have in data gathering and analysis? Participating in all the activities
4. Respect diversity of opinions and experiences.
5. Dissemination of results: City of Barcelona, Government of Catalonia, pressure to cancel Barcelona's civic ordinance, raise awareness among police officers; reach out to social justice organizations; contact public transportation agencies.
6. Other topics:
 - Economic struggles
 - Exposure to Violence

BARCELONA GROUP 2 (2 street cleaners, 2 social emergencies' workers, 1 nurse)

1. Co-authorship and collective consent to voice and video record and appear in pictures
2. What role do we want to have in data gathering and analysis? Active participation in all the activities
3. How can we break hierarchies between researcher and co-researchers?
 - Increasing ownership and appropriation of the project
 - Recognizing our potential as women, actively participating, engaging and raising our voices
 - Sharing our knowledge and working together in reaching the goals of the project
4. How can we create a respectful and trustful environment acknowledging the diversity of ideas and experience?
 - Respecting the diversity of opinions and personal experiences
 - Being honest
 - Being actively involved
5. How can we preserve our wellbeing and safety?
 - Agreeing on the time invested in the project
 - Creating a respectful environment in a space that we can feel welcomed
 - Respecting opinions and views
 - Treating each other with care and respect
6. Dissemination strategies: video and pictures; theatre and storytelling; local televisions; participatory videos.
7. We want to send the results to: City of Barcelona, City of L'Hospitalet; women night workers groups, media, nightlife areas, public transportation agencies, Department of Labor and Economy of the Catalan Government.
8. We are open to include other topics that can contribute to the project.

BAIX LLOBREGAT GROUP (2 elder care takers, 2 airport cleaners, 1 police officer and 1 nurse)

1. Co-authorship but without revealing the name of the company
2. How can we break hierarchies between researcher and co-researchers?
 - Respecting the diversity of opinions and experiences
3. How can we preserve our wellbeing and safety?
 - Pointing out those topics we want to keep confidential
4. Are there other topics that we want to include?
 - Workplace sexual discrimination
 - Transportation
 - Safety in the street
 - Workplace environment
 - Reconciliation of Work and family life
 - Health consequences
5. Dissemination of results: city governments, public transportation agencies, unions, county authorities