2. CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter presents a review of literature on different aspects that are inextricably bound up with the concept of gender and its relationship with leisure. It is an assessment of a wide-ranging cross-section of published literature that emerged from multiple academic disciplines which includes feminist, sociological anthropological architectural and planning, landscape which are found important to provide insights and to identify the factors necessary in developing analytical framework for this research. This review is divided in to four parts. The first part of the review encompasses a discussion on urban life which is widely perceived as stressful. This is followed by the an exploration of how leisure contributes to improve quality of life of urban population as well as the need to reposition leisure pursuit in daily life is discussed. As literature established role of leisure in urban dwellers life which is predominantly considered as gendered in nature the study is then focused to understand interrelationship between gender and leisure in addition various theories are looked at in the second part. Evidence of women as less privileged cohort in feminist and sociological research propelled to study women’s place in leisure research from different perspectives which is presented in the third part. Leisure opportunity, leisure participation, leisure constraints largely influenced with the character of space where leisure activity takes place. This directed to look across the literary sources how gender is addressed in historic and contemporary leisure spaces as well as what initiatives are undertaken in current scenario with reference to appropriation of leisure spaces from gender point of view by and large which is included in next and final part. The findings of the literature review are summarized.
2.2 Urban Life and Stresses

Lifestyle in urban areas is associated with lots of stress resulting in physical and mental health related issues. “Stress is the unspecific physiological and psychological reaction to perceived threats to our physical, psychological or social integrity.”(Adli, 2011). In recent years, many people live under major and minor stress conditions (Nakagawa et al, 1998). Stress is originated due to various environmental aversive situations (Rishi & Khuntia, 2012) as well as features of urban living that include crowding, density and housing and have been found to be associated with chronic stress in relation to health and well-being and health related behaviors (Matheson, Moineddin, & Dunn, 2006). As a result of upbringing and living in city, physical and mental health is negatively affected in various ways such as acute and chronic stress, physical turmoil, psychological illness, loneliness, aches and pains, etc. and recovery from such stresses becomes difficult. Mood and anxiety disorders are more prevalent in city dwellers (Rishi & Khuntia, 2012; Lederbogen, et al., 2011; Tyrväinen et al., 2014).

This concept is supported by various researchers in different fields such as urban geography, landscape, urban design and planning that landscape elements do affect people positively towards diminution of stress (Campbell L.; Maller et al, 2009).

2.2.1 Types of Stresses and Stressors

Urban stressors are defined by Wheaton as “conditions of threat, demands and structural constraints that by their very occurrence or existence, call into question the integrity of the organism. Control and reduction of stress becomes a vital issue in urban environment (Tyrväinen et al, 2014). Chronic stress is especially important because it can arise from contextual features” (Matheson, Moineddin, & Dunn, 2006). Contextual features may include spatial design factors and landscape. Similarly there is a large scope to derive
from the above statement that if change is induced in contextual features, they may play a key role in reducing the stress.

Since ancient times, it has been an established fact that people’s health is influenced by landscape (Lau, Gou, & Liu, 2014). Plethora of research into quality of life displays that general physical and mental well being can be improved with the access to green spaces (Gladwell et al, 2013; Tyrväinen et al, 2014; Urban open space, 2014). The study of Tyrväinen et al (2007) confirmed that when green areas are used for more than five hours in a month, people had stronger positive feelings such as concentration, eagerness, vigor, etc. It has been evident from research that green spaces or gardens can be used for therapeutic purposes to deal with stress disorder (Adevi & Mårtensson, 2013). To deal with such stresses, people opt for various leisure activities such as recreation, socialization, attending spiritual discourses, etc. (Rishi & Khuntia, 2012). Such coping strategies are linked with subjective well being.

“\[In sociology quality of life is understood as subjective understanding of well-being taking into account individual needs and understanding. In economics it is the standard of living, in medicine it is ratio of health and illness with the factors influencing healthy lifestyle.\]”

The Concepts of Quality of Life and Happiness – Correlation and Differences (Susniene & Jurkauskas, 2009, p. 58)

It is therefore necessary to understand the concept of quality of life with respect to urban populace under constant stressed conditions.

2.2.2 Quality of Life (QOL) and Leisure

World health organization defines Quality of Life as -

“Individual’s perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concerns. It is a broad ranging concept affected in a complex way by the person’s
physical health, psychological state, level of independence, social relationships, personal beliefs and their relationship to salient features of their environment.”


In 1970s, concept of Quality of Life has gained the recognition as a separate academic discipline. From Quality of Life emerges the feeling of Well-being. Subjective rating of one’s own life as Quality life also indicates a sense of satisfaction, self-esteem and pride (Galloway, 2006). Eight domains of Quality of Life (QOL) and well-being as identified by Cummins are “1. Relationship with family and friends 2. Emotional well-being 3. Health 4. Work and productive activity 5. material well-being 6. Feeling part of one’s local community 7. Personal safety and 8. Quality of environment.” (Rishi & Khuntia, 2012; Susniene & Jurkauskas, 2009) (Figure 2-1).

**Figure 2-1: Eight Domains of Quality of Life**

Source: Adapted from Rishi & Khuntia, 2012; Susniene & Jurkauskas, 2009

Wellbeing is a term that is used interchangeably with quality of life, happiness and satisfaction (CABESPACE, 2010). “Some regard the terms as interchangeable, while others regard well-being as one component of the broader concept of QOL. The concepts of well-being and QOL are therefore very closely related in Schalock’s model” (Galloway, 2006).

The five dimensions of well being suggested by Galloway are: “Material well-being, Health, Education and literacy, Participation in the productive sphere, and
Participation in the social sphere” (Galloway, 2006) which overlap with Cummin’s domains of QOL. From domains of QOL and dimensions of well-being, the common factors emerge that deal largely with leisure to influence QOL and sense of well-being in general. Outdoor Leisure contributes towards emotional well-being, health, social life and quality of environment whereas it also influences other domains as stated by the spill-over theory. The government of New Zealand defines cultural well-being as “the vitality that communities and individuals enjoy through: participation in recreation, creative and cultural activities; and the freedom to retain, interpret and express their arts, history, heritage and traditions” (Galloway, 2006). A difference lies between external and inner qualities (Bryant & Peck, 2006). Byrne (Year Unknown) provides five indicators of Quality of Life that are inter-related – Economic, Social, Political, Physical or Institutional and Environmental indicators. Of Galloway’s eight indicators, this study refers to those indicators of Quality of Life that deal with emotional and physical well-being that are directly related to leisure (Table 2-1).

Spillover theory, maintains that person’s satisfaction in one sphere of quality of life influences the level of satisfaction in other spheres (Susniene & Jurkauskas, 2009). The inner qualities rank higher than external qualities of Quality of life. Inner qualities are intrapersonal depending on person himself whereas external factors can be interpersonal (family, work, health, etc.) and structural (leisure, access to open spaces, personal mobility in design and planning). It indicates that if a satisfaction level can be increased by planning and design and quality of leisure space and time it can improve satisfaction levels of a person and quality of life in general.
Table 2-1: Indicators of Quality of Life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core Quality of Life Domain</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Descriptors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Well Being</td>
<td>Contentment</td>
<td>Satisfaction, Moods, Enjoyment</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Self-Concept</td>
<td>Identity, Self-worth, Self-esteem</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lack of Stress</td>
<td>Predictability, Control</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Relations</td>
<td>Interactions</td>
<td>Social Networks, Social Contacts</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>Family, Friends, Peers</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Supports</td>
<td>Emotional, Physical, Financial Feedback</td>
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<tr>
<td>Material Well-being</td>
<td>Financial Status</td>
<td>Income, Benefits</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Work Status, Work Environment</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Type of Residence, Ownership</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal Development</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Achievements, Status</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Personal Competence</td>
<td>Cognitive, Social, Practical</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>Success, Achievement, Productivity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Physical Well Being</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Functioning, Symptoms, Fitness, Nutrition</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Activities of Daily Living</td>
<td>Self-care Skills, Mobility</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>Recreation, Hobbies</td>
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<td>Self Determination</td>
<td>Autonomy / Personal Control</td>
<td>Independence</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Goals and Personal Values</td>
<td>Desires, Expectations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Choices</td>
<td>Opportunities, Options, Preferences</td>
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<td>Social Inclusion</td>
<td>Community Integration and Participation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Community Roles</td>
<td>Contributor, Volunteer</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Social Supports</td>
<td>Support Network, Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rights</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Respect, Dignity, Equality</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>Citizenship, Access, Due Process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Galloway, 2006)

Susniene (2009) in her research expresses the need of understanding this concept as world is becoming a global village, coming closer providing opportunities to experience and compare quality of life in other countries or other fields with ours and hence there can be set criterion for deciding the standard of quality of life. From among the quality of life indicators stated by Byrne, structural factors such as leisure, security, personal mobility and access to open spaces play a major role in planning and design field that can
improve physical and mental health of a person and contribute further to improve quality of life of people (Byrne, Year Unknown; Rojek, 2010).

2.3 Leisure and Recreation

The origin of the word ‘Leisure’ is Latin word ‘licere’ that emerged through Anglo-French ‘leisir’ and it meant ‘to be permitted or allowed’. The word ‘Leisure’ is essentially related to freedom or being allowed or permitted ‘to do something’ (Sager, 2010).

**Leisure:** Leisure can be defined as “Activity chosen in free and relative freedom for its qualities of satisfaction” (Borg & Clark, Year Unknown). In leisure and Work, Parker defines leisure as “non-obligatory time and activity chosen for its own sake” (Parker S., 1983). It is individual’s perceived freedom to choose any activity that is not imposed by any need (Cushman & Laidler, 1990) or social expectations.

**Recreation:** Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines the word “Recreate” as to renew or enliven through the influence of pleasurable surroundings; to refresh after wearying toil or anxiety, usually by change or diversion; the act of recreating or the state of being recreated. Macquarie Dictionary defines Recreation as “Refreshment by means of some pastime, agreeable exercise, or the like.” In recent research, “Recreation” has generally been replaced by “leisure,” again regarded as a more inclusive term (Dong & Chick, 2012). Comparing the various definitions of leisure and recreation, this research uses both these words as interchangeable in meaning and hence as synonyms.

2.3.1 Significance of Leisure

Apart from physical sustenance, people need participation in social life, activities, cultural identity, and a need to nurture their body and mind. This is the reason why recreation or leisure plays a significant role in our lives and is being considered important worldwide (World Leisure and Recreation Association, 1975).
“Functionalist Theory states that Institution of Leisure is functional both for the smooth running of that society and for the mental and physical health of individuals within it.”

Leisure and Feminist Theory; (Wearing, 1998)

A survey of 2234 residents of city of Osaka Prefecture revealed that those who had more leisure time had less depression scores (Nakagawa et al, 1998). There are various benefits of leisure apart from stress reduction are experienced and evident from research such as it provides a sense of purpose in and of itself, enriches an individual with different experiences and help a person feel empowered with increased sense of self-value (Leisure Activities of Adults: Types, Benefits & Examples (Chapter 25; Lesson 3), 2013). It has been evident from various researches that leisure improves the quality of life of people. In ‘Leisure Studies’ various leisure benefits are stated such as economic, physiological, environmental, psychological and social benefits (Rojek, 2010).

2.3.2 Outdoor Leisure

Aesthetic affective theory explains how proximity of nature has stress reducing effects on human brain (Nilsson, Sangster, & Konijnend, 2010). “Attention Restoration Theory suggests that contact with nature supports attentional functioning, and a number of studies have found contact with everyday nature to be related to attention in adults” (Figure 2-2) (Maller et al, 2009; Taylor, Kuo, & Sullivan, 2001).

Quality of life or well-being in general can be improved with access to the green spaces that enhances social ties, reduces stress and improves mood (CABESPACE, 2010; Gladwell et al, 2013).
2.3.3 Urban Open Spaces and Outdoor Leisure: Theoretical Underpinning

“The landscape of urban open spaces can range from playing fields to highly maintained environments to relatively natural landscapes. They are commonly open to public access; however, urban open spaces may be privately owned. Areas outside of city boundaries, such as state and national parks as well as open space in the countryside, are not considered urban open space. Streets, piazzas, plazas and urban squares are not always defined as urban open space in land use planning.” (Urban open space, 2014) In almost all instances, the space referred to by the term is, in fact, green space.

“Humans must remain in contact with nature throughout life if they are to maintain good mental health, not to mention their humanity.”

Healthy Parks, Healthy People: The Health Benefits of Contact with Nature in a Park Context (abridged version), (Maller et al, 2009, p. 69)

Urban green spaces in particular parks and gardens may generate social and economic values. Various urban theorists state that parks or gardens define
city’s character adding to its aesthetic value. Such spaces determine the quality of social life and helps build cohesive community (Calthorpe, 1993). Apart from serving just recreational purpose, public open spaces offer integration of green and built infrastructure providing heart to the community (Langdon, 1997; Pasaogullari & Doratli, 2004).

Various benefits of green spaces stated through research are – “Opportunities for activity for older people; Supervised child-care; Health improvement and fitness motivation; Education in sport, environment and other endeavors; and Individual personal development” (Maller et al, 2009). Ecopsychology, or nature-guided therapy, considers every aspect of the human–nature relationship. Evident is a fact from various research works that disconnection from nature has a heavy cost in impaired health and increased stress.

Outdoor Recreation can be categorized as active and passive recreation. Gehl explains 3 types of activities in public spaces – necessary, optional and social activities: Necessary – activities that are necessary part of daily urban life; Optional (Urban Recreation) – activities that people would like to do and directly related to quality of the space offers; Social – When people visit same spaces more frequently and spend more time for active and passive recreation. The optional and social activities make cities lively and spaces desirable (Gehl, 2002).

2.3.4 Role of Green Spaces towards improving Quality of Life

It has been established by research that, general well being, physical and psychological is positively affected by being in contact with nature (Adevi & Mårtensson, 2013; Lau, Gou, & Liu, 2014; Maller et al, 2009).

Recreation in green spaces can be of two types – Active and Passive. Active recreation where physical activities are involved has both physiological and psychological benefits. Apart from health, people engaged in such activities look and feel better. Green spaces in urban context help improve physical
activities and reduce stress thereby improving overall health and quality of life (Figure 2-3). Parks (Green Spaces) provide an excellent location for individuals to improve personal fitness (McLean & Hurd, 2011).

Passive recreation such as just being in green spaces or observing nature has also numerous health benefits (Maller et al, 2009). It has been believed that viewing natural landscape elements such as plants, trees, water, etc. has stress reduction effects (Figure 2-4).

Gardens if designed well can have restoring and revitalizing effects on physical and mental health (Lau, Gou, & Liu, 2014). The plethora of research underlines the importance and role of green spaces in urban lives making it necessary for everyone to visit such spaces for physical and mental well being.

Natural environments evoke positive moods (tranquility and energy) and decrease negative moods such as anger, sadness and fatigue (Tyrväinen et al, 2014). Yet, it has been found that people face various constraints while accessing outdoor green spaces. Such constraints can be intra-personal, inter-personal or structural (Patterson, 2001; Stanis, Schneider, & Pereira, 2010).
Literature has established numerous physiological and psychological benefits of access to outdoor green spaces and outdoor leisure including stress relief in everyday life of urban dwellers. It is recognized that social environment both facilitates and constrains the access to public open leisure spaces. Accessibility is defined as ‘the freedom or ability of people to achieve their basic needs in order to sustain their quality of life' (Lau & Chiu, 2003). Accessibility for all irrespective of age, race, gender, etc. to such spaces hence is significant to encourage utilization and social interaction (Pasaogullari & Doratli, 2004).

2.4 Gender and Leisure

Research in leisure studies confirms gendered nature of leisure and it calls for an understanding of the term “Gender” in the present context. “From a socio cultural dimension, the meaning of gender is constructed by society which is referred to as socially learned behavior and expectations that are associated with the two
It is a system of culturally constructed identities. Gendered ideology is often described in terms of gender roles of different sexes. Ideologies of masculinity and femininity are expressed with such identities further influencing sexuality and power between men and women as well as the division of labor and leisure (Sustainable_Cities_PROGRAMME, 2000; Swain, 1995). “Gender has also been investigated in terms of the individual (how men and women behave, their beliefs and attitudes, gender identity), in terms of social structure (gendered divisions in the social activities or labor of men and women), and in terms of symbolic orders (gender symbolism, how we think about ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’)” (Khan, 2011, p. 146). All three aspects have string bearing on leisure pursuit by and large.

“Gender refers to the different socially and culturally constructed roles, responsibilities, privileges, relations, and expectations of women and men.”


Such roles define how and what men and women are expected and allowed to behave that largely depend on the social structure in all spheres of life, leisure is one of them.

2.4.1 Gender Approaches: Theories and Concepts

Women in most societies are more disadvantaged and less privileged than men and hence this study focuseson gender approach that is more women oriented and to understand the factors that influence society’s approach towards gender.

Sociological theories grounded in the family institutions and economy, Family-centered theories, gender stratification theories, theories of human capital and occupational segregation as well as Marxist and Feminist theories; all focus on women's roles in the public sphere, but acknowledge that 'choices' or 'preferences' (for work and space) often are influenced by women's responsibilities in the private sphere of home (Spain, 1993, pp. 138-
The “Cult of Domesticity” defined the home as private ‘female’ space and reinforced gender separation (Rotman, 2003). The concept of ‘domestic’ and ‘public’ is discussed later in this section. As per theory of Essentialism it is a general assumption that gender differences are natural and men and women are “born that way.” The theory of Essentialism explains the societal assumption or generalization that women are naturally born and/or like to perform the socially constructed roles of housework and childcare and these assumptions affect women negatively denying them basic human rights where leisure is out of question. (Sam, 2012).

**Social Construction of Gender:** Contradicting to the theory of essentialism, Thorne explains and provides evidence that gender differences are social constructions, influenced by the setting, the players involved in the situation, and the control people have over the situation (Ballantine, Roberts, & Korgen, 2012). Ferree stated that “Gender seems to be a hierarchical structure of opportunity and oppression and also explained social psychological understanding of gender as a socialized role carried by individuals and primarily produced in and by families” (Ferree, 2010); Sociologists confirm that social life is experienced differently by both the genders and opportunities and encumbrances are different for men and women due to society’s approach or social construction of gender or maleness and femaleness’ (Kramer, 2004).

**Ethics of Care:** Gilligan’s theory of ‘Ethics of Care’ also supports the Essentialism theory and explains how engendering of caring is associated with women and devalued (Gilligan, 1977; Ethics of Care, 2014). Such engendering and division of public and domestic is an outcome of patriarchal society.

**Patriarchy and Leisure:** Sociologists suggest that most societies are patriarchal in which social system is dominated by males. Since the time of industrialization, leisure was a field dominated by men. Women were responsible for household work and care of the family members and hence scheduled their activities with respect to it. Such arrangement largely
influenced leisure opportunities for women (Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). Rybczynski (1991) noted the clear demarcation of private domain (home) for women and public domain including leisure for men (Khan, 2011).

**Masculinity and Femininity:** “Personality traits such as independence, assertiveness, reason, rationality, competitiveness, and focus on individual goals are considered to be traits associated with masculinity. On the other hand, being understanding, caring, nurturing, responsible, considerate, sensitive, intuitive, passionate, and having the ability to focus on communal goals are traits associated with femininity. On the basis of characteristics, society creates domination and subordination of genders” (Khan, 2011) and subsequently defines their roles.

**Gender Role:** Roles that are specified by the society for women are difficult to break resulting into women accepting the gender stereotypes and confirm to ‘gender roles’. This secondary position becomes a major obstacle in their decision making and leisure participation. They prefer to put behind their own needs and pleasures in preference to family’s demands and needs for leisure (Henderson K. A., 1994)

**Resource Theory:** “Advocates of resource theory suggest that when women make substantial economic contribution to the household, power and control in decision-making shifts in their favor” (Khan, 2011). The resource theory suggests making an inquiry into whether working women in urban settings are able to make decisions regarding their own leisure and accessing outdoor leisure spaces for their own sake.

### 2.4.2 Spatial Aspects and Gender

Gender roles in a particular society influence women’s health negatively (Attanapola, 2004). The reasons may be attributed to spatial distribution by gender such as domestic and public and labor division that is associated with them.
Domestic and Public:

In most of the societies there is a firm differentiation between domestic and public spheres of activity. Domestic refers to organization with reference to mothers and children whereas Public refers to activities and institutions. The opposition between domestic and public generalizes association of domestic with women and public with men (Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974). Two sorts of structural arrangements are suggested by Rosaldo to elevate women’s status: women may enter a public world, or men may enter the home. But perhaps the most egalitarian societies are those in which public and domestic spheres are only weakly differentiated, where neither claims much authority and the focus of social life itself is the home. Women gain power and a sense of value when they are able to transcend domestic limits, either by entering the men’s world or by creating a society unto themselves (Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974). Such transgression of women from domestic to public is challenged by gender roles.

For women, production of respectability is closely connected to manufacturing safety for themselves. In the context of material space, safety and risk can be related to transgression of boundaries. Any transgression of spatial boundaries is deemed as a challenge. In post-modern research in the field of spatial design, it is suggested that social structure and space are interrelated to each other making space as a continuously evolving entity (Ranade, 2007).

Spatial Design influences largely the behavior of people in various ways. The access to public spaces is controlled by social structure as well as individual responses to the innate fear that depends upon various factors such as gender, age, education, etc as well as external environments that may be social or physical (Treisman, 2011, p. 16). Fear is the subject of research in various disciplines. Susan Smith (1987) has discussed sociology, psychology and geography of fear where geography of fear relates to the spatial aspects of
place. The spatial perspective is related to geography, environment as well as architecture too (Listerborn, 2002, pp. 35-36).

**Risk Perception and Geography of Fear:**

There are various factors that influence risk perception by people such as dread, newness (stranger), stigma, etc., whereas cultural theory explains how risk perception is a social construction. The perceptions and behavior with respect to risk are based on socially and culturally constructed concepts and appraisals elaborating how one should perceive risk and react (Boholm, 1998). Social Amplification of Risk Framework theory explains how risk perceived by an individual or group is passed on to others, increasing or decreasing the degree of it in the process. When people are exposed to criminal events and their consequences repeatedly, such exposure acts as a dominant and guiding force affecting their mind and behavior (Scott, 2003).

Various theories closely related with spatial character and risk perception which has direct relevance with urban design and planning have been established in this context.

Presence of people in the public space attributes to sense of security. Jane Jacobs puts forward the Eyes on the street theory that when there is surveillance on street by the natural proprietors of street (users of street as well as residents from the buildings around that are looking towards street), it provides safety to the place (Jacobs, 1961).

“Careful design of physical environments can produce behavioral effects and reduce possible incidence and fear of crime, thereby improving quality of life and enhancing profitability for business” (Lin, 2010). This concept is popularly known as CPTED or Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design.

Furthering the Eyes on the Street theory and CPTED, it was stated that deserted and ill maintained spaces induce sense of insecurity to the place.
**Broken Windows Theory** was added to CPTED that argues broken window that symbolizes ill maintenance and vandalism attributing a sense of insecurity to the place underlining the significance of good maintenance. (Lin, 2010).

Public spaces such as neighborhood parks, etc. have certain characters that attract some users who can be motivated offenders or potential targets. **Crime Pattern Theory** by Brantingham and Brantingham (1955 a) explains a notion of crime generators and crime attractors (Groff & McCord, 2011). Design of such places provide the greatest opportunities to "see without being seen", which is related to the ability to evade predators but locate prey. Appleton (1975) explains this phenomenon through his **Prospect and Refuge Theory** (Maulan, Mustafa, & Miller, 2006). “It asserted that the features of the physical environment were known to convey signals of threat or safety. Fisher and Nasar (1995) investigated several case studies of ‘hot spots’ to support Appleton’s notion” (Lin, 2010).

Newman’s “**Defensible Space Theory** addressed the relationship between space design and crime in public housing environments”(Newman, 1973). Cornish and Clarke’s (1986) ‘**Rational Choice Theory**’ (RCT) argues that most opportunistic criminals are rational in their decision-making and recognize, evaluate and respond to a variety of environmental cues. These are environmental factors and signals within the built environment, which relate to the perceived risk, reward and effort associated with an offence and are central to the offender’s decision-making process (Cozens, 2009).

Calhoun’s ‘**Crowding Theory**’ (1962) argued that as densities increased, so did violence and aggression. The impersonal design of design projects and the lack of informal surveillance and a sense of ‘ownership’ and territoriality control were also important factors in explaining higher levels of crime and anti-social behavior (Newman, 1973).
The research by Maulan (2006) mentions that the identification of the new factors influencing landscape preferences is certainly welcomed as it will broaden our understanding about human preferences for landscapes (Maulan, Mustafa, & Miller, 2006).

Men and women have differential spatial, physical and psychological needs and perceptions that are referred by scholars worldwide with risk perceptions and geography of fear. With respect to inter-relationship of spatial design and gender, there are various theories that explain differential spatial perceptions of men and women.

### 2.4.3 Risk Perception and Gender

Risk perception by women in spatial context has been largely discussed by researchers as women perceive risks differently than men due to social construction of risk, particular socio-cultural backgrounds, age, income and education, gender roles, etc. (Coble, Selin, & Erickson, 2003; Valentine, 1990; Valentine, 1989).

The difference between fear of male and a female is that women carry some extra fear of sexual violence, eve teasing and or rape. This fear is stronger than most of the fears in her mind. Such unpleasant event if takes place, not only leaves irreparable marks on her mind but also affects her confidence forever and further makes her suffer from guilt and self blame, social stigma, losing her job, not being accepted by her friends and family, making her family suffer socially for this event, being blamed and held responsible for her indecent wear or behavior, etc. (Khan, 2011)

The difference between fear of male and a female that can be perceived through the literature and surveys is apart from whatever fears that are carried by males such as general violence, robbery, murder, etc.; women carry some extra fear of sexual violence, eve teasing and or rape. This fear is stronger than most of the fears in her mind except for death. Such unpleasant event if takes place, not only leaves irreparable marks on her mind but also
affects her confidence forever and further makes her suffer from guilt and self blame, social stigma, losing her job, not being accepted by her friends and family, making her family suffer socially for this event, being blamed and held responsible for her indecent wear or behavior, etc. (Gordon & Riger, 1991).

**Socialization Theory** explains that women’s fear of violence is mostly influenced by gender identity and gender role. It affects women’s personality in general by making them feel vulnerable, fearful in the outdoor spaces, lacking the confidence to face the unfamiliar settings and people and result in missing the most valued and necessary opportunity to be in close proximity of nature.

**Social Construction of Fear** by media, people also play very important role in this perception of fear. Women often negotiate the sense of insecurity by avoidance behavior and restricting their movements with respect to spaces, time, people, etc. These leisure constraints do affect their selves negatively.

Concept of **Avoidance Behavior** has been established by research that geography of fear impacts largely to influence women’s decisions to visit outdoor leisure spaces negatively and makes them sacrifice the health benefits with personal rejuvenation that such visits offer. Men also have expressed that they experience fear while in outdoor spaces.

**Post Stucturalist Theory** maintains that when some women constraint their leisure activities, other may develop and adopt certain mental and behavioral strategies and tend to explore such leisure spaces (Coble, Selin, & Erickson, 2003).

The synthesis of the theories related to character of spaces that influences gendered spatial perceptions, behavioral patterns and preferences contributes to the field of spatial design. It also points towards various spatial factors that may be considered while designing public spaces. Design of certain places
may induce sense of insecurity and encourage crime whereas Presence of people and good maintenance of spaces provide cues to the users that such spaces are safer and encourage them to access them more frequently. ‘Seeing without being seen’ or pockets that are created due to design and also crowding or high density of users that impart impersonality to the place contribute to the sense of insecurity. The risk perceptions in public spaces and responses to such perceptions differ in men and women and depend largely on spatial character of the space. Various researches in the field of urban design deal with spatial experiences of users and the ways in which the spaces are perceived.

Kevin Lynch’s work elaborates how the spaces are perceived differently by individuals and the experience of space is subjective (Lynch, 1960). "Social construction of space is obscured by a socially neutral formal design. Concentrating on the abstract concept of the spatial experience rather than on concrete day-to-day life has ignored the users and their functional, social and emotional needs. As a result of working under the assumption that the urban space is un-gendered, ageless and declassified, the space produced is often undifferentiated and neutral” (Kallus, 2001).

Urban sociologist William Whyte, with his theories about the dynamics of public space explains that the presence of women in public spaces indicates civic health. “Women pick up on visual cues of disorder better than men do. If women don’t see other women, they tend to leave.” Biederman, president of Bryant Park, has discerned that “women notice homeless people more than men do, object more to crumbs on picnic tables, and are more sensitive to foul odors, such as that of urine, which signals that there are no clean, functional bathrooms nearby” (Paumgarten, 2007). The study in San José, Costa Rica shows that women’s interventions have influenced both the built environment and the position of the participating women (Grundström, 2009). Women in Philadelphia face many problems while moving through the city. Mothers with strollers and women in wheelchairs face problem moving on sidewalks,
carrying grocery bags to upper floors by staircases in old buildings, unlit or poorly lit urban spaces, etc. (Nasser, 2007).

Women’s participation in public spaces is influenced by various factors of which geography of fear plays a major role. The fear acts as a major constraint in the participation and keep women homebound. It affects their movements; choice of routes, time, spaces, etc. (Kallus, 2001; Warr, 1990; Warr, 1985). Female fear is the result of the interaction of social, sexual and psychological forces (Gordon & Riger, 1991).

Constraint of geography of fear plays a major role while accessing public spaces and is more experienced by women than men. It further makes the issue severe when such spaces are designed for pure leisure such as parks, playgrounds, waterfronts, etc. where not only geography of fear but internal and external constraints such as socio-cultural background in a particular geographical context also play significant roles. With due considerations to the research in gender and leisure, it is imperative to study how men and women perceive spaces, whether the perceptions are different for men and women and in which manner so as to make design interventions possible and to render spaces comfortable and friendly to both the genders.

Hegemony, when referring to gender power relationships, conveys the idea of the blanketing effect of masculinized cultural practices which inferiorize women and which women accept as natural. Such male hegemony in leisure spaces is hard to shake. Feminist studies of leisure oriented cultural spaces, such as gyms, pubs, pool rooms, beaches, dances and shopping malls, have shown male territorial dominance of these physical spaces and the concomitant symbolic dominance (Wearing, 1998).

Considering the role of gender in leisure research it is found important to explore the gender differences in leisure meaning, leisure participation, leisure time, leisure interests as well as constraints to leisure. Such contextual inquiries will help serve the differential spatial needs of both the genders in
terms of outdoor leisure spaces which will further contribute to the field of urban design and landscape.

2.4.4 Leisure Constraints

“Leisure Constraint can be defined as any factor which prevents an individual’s participation in a recreation activity or limits the frequency, intensity, duration or quality of their leisure experience” (Wearing, 1998).

Leisure Constraints are also defined as "factors that are assumed by researchers and/or perceived or experienced by individuals to limit the formation of leisure preferences and/or to inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure" (Stanis, Schneider, & Pereira, 2010).

Leisure constraints have been classified into three types: Intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural (Coble, Selin, & Erickson, 2003) (Figure 2-5).

2.4.5 Intrapersonal Constraints (Individual Psychological Attributes)

Fear functions as an intrapersonal constraint since it reflects an internal psychological condition or emotional state that occurs within an individual. Keane (1998) explains two types of fear – formless fear (generalized feeling of vulnerability) and concrete fear (anticipation of a specific type of victimization). Women have numerous safety concerns including the fear of physical harm (Coble, Selin, & Erickson, 2003).
2.4.6 Interpersonal Constraints (Social Factors)

Society is formed with cultures that also limit or constrain individuals. Cultural constraints in different societies vary and may be in complete contrast. Of many definitions of culture by various researchers through many years, the common one may be discerned as “Information in the form of beliefs and values” learnt and shared through generations. Crawford and Godbey (1987) refer to two of these constraints as “Culture tends to govern the intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships” (Crawford & Godbey, 1987).

2.4.7 Structural Constraints

The structural constraints deal largely with spatial design aspects and hence may be addressed with better landscape design so as to encourage access and participation to green spaces with increased contact with nature, socialization and physical activities for better health and quality of life (Maller, 2009).

The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity (2012) has structured these constraints in a way where intrapersonal constraints are dominant and form the base of a pyramid followed by interpersonal constraints where society and culture play the major role. Environmental factors or structural constraints deal with spatial aspects and make less impact as compared to above two factors, yet controlling and designing with respect to spatial aspects and policy planning may help impact interpersonal and intrapersonal factors (Figure 2-6).
Through research and studies, various factors are put forward that affect the accessibility to public open spaces. The various constraint factors that are stated by (Pasaogullari & Doratli, 2004) may be categorized under above three categories as follows explained in the Table 2-2.

### Table 2-2: Types of Constraint Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Constraints</th>
<th>Constraint Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interpersonal</strong></td>
<td>• User characteristics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Utilization and activities by other users</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intrapersonal</strong></td>
<td>• Mothers, children and senior citizens with physical or behavioral limitations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Comfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Sense of safety/security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structural</strong></td>
<td>• Distances between residents and public spaces,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Location and design of public space,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Compact city structure to promote physical accessibility by reducing the dependency on public transport,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Context or residential settlements around the public space or proximity,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Visual and physical connectivity to the surrounding,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Street type / character with sidewalks,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Amenities and facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Physical attractiveness or maintenance as an aesthetic consideration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Landscape infrastructure and furniture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Pasaogullari & Doratli, 2004)

Apart from above constraint factors, women as a user category experience further constraints that are constructed in a particular society. The research shows that women encounter many types of obstacles which shape their leisure experiences. Some of these constraints may relate to a woman's upbringing, skill development, and personal attitudes that prompt women to underestimate their recreation potential and need (Beach, 1984). Constraints may be associated with women's roles, particularly in the home. Obstacles may also reflect attitudes of society about women's roles, and unequal opportunities for women. Barriers may also be psychological or attitudinal.
Because of their upbringing women may underestimate their recreation potential and need (Beach, 1984). Opportunities may be available but women do not make leisure a priority. They may fail to build activities they enjoy into their daily routine (Sand, 1986). Although views are changing, women at home may be perceived as having "full-time" leisure; yet the gender role that they confirm to do not allow them to consider recreation as their right. (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1986).

The barriers in the accessibility of women to leisure spaces may be divided into two types – **Physical barriers and Social barriers** (Taub, McLorg, & Bartnick, 2009). Physical barriers may be bodily limitations, gender ideologies, practices and spatial attributes. Social Barriers are self or society imposed restrictions on mobility due to social construction of gender, religion or ethnicity.

With existing body of research in gender and leisure, it can be stated as female gender is disadvantaged in leisure and “male power has a strong influence on women’s leisure opportunities, friendships and social networks throughout their lives” (Khan, 2011).

### 2.5 Women and Leisure

“Leisure as form of freedom and self expression could provide liberation from gender roles and social scripts thereby providing empowerment.”


In his book “The Theory of the Leisure Class”, Veblen touches upon the concept of objectification of women as leisure calling women as ‘conspicuous leisure’ of a man for conspicuous consumption. (Veblen, 2001). The book met with lots of criticism over the period of around 100 years. Yet the fact that in higher economic class, women’s status at the beginning of 20th century was devalued as objects of leisure cannot be ignored.
The study of women as individuals and their need for leisure is comparatively recent, of about thirty years old. Women’s invisible lives were made visible by feminist research in leisure that recognized disparity in power with respect to socio-cultural spheres and underlined women’s self-esteem and opportunities to leisure in everyday life (Parry & Fullagar, 2013; Henderson K. A., 1996; Henderson et al, 1989; Wimbush & Talbot, 1988).

The concept of ecofeminism or ecological feminism considers Leisure as a major concern and integral to a healthy and self affirming lifestyle. It underlines the need to address and analyze leisure environments with respect to women considering leisure as an important way by which women resist oppression joyfully. Leisure is indispensable for women’s wellbeing and endurance and also for their correlation to the natural environment (Warren & Erkal, 1997).

In view of studies in the field of ‘Women and Leisure’, the issue of inequality with respect to access to opportunities in Leisure was addressed in various research works. “Women shared a common world in their inequality regarding opportunities for leisure and lacked sense of entitlement to leisure”(Glyptis & Chambers, 1982). Women’s leisure choices are based on cultural ideologies about appropriate behaviors for men and women (Henderson, Hodges, & Kivel, 2002). Such gender ideologies or gender roles that are detrimental to overall growth and personality of women affect their leisure too. Ethics of care makes women’s leisure more vulnerable.

Ethic of Care:

“The view on ‘Ethic of Care’, states that women have an inborn characteristic of being caring, concerned, loving and bound to the maternal instinct”(Shaw S. M., 1994).

“This ethic indirectly becomes a constraint as it disposes women to a primary and willing duty of devotion to take care of the family, leading to ignoring their own personal desires and leisure”(Khan, 2011).
Women have more conflict between what they prefer and they feel compelled to do (Mi-Hye, 2006). Married women and those having children are more burdened than men of housework. There is an imbalanced division of labor in men and women while women are much more loaded of housework, childcare and office work resulting in shortage of leisure time for them. As women shoulder a disproportionate share of responsibility for housework, their perception of time paucity increases. Free time is not equally spent among women and men (Mi-Hye, 2006). This disparity in workloads and availability of time for men and women affects women more negatively in terms of physical health and opportunities to leisure (Dong & Chick, 2012; Mi-Hye, 2006; Henderson K. A., 1996).

“Men seem to have more degree of independence, freedom and power in the choice of the leisure activity they wish to pursue. Advocates of resource theory suggest that when women make substantial economic contribution to the household, power and control in decision-making shifts in their favor” (Khan, 2011). In a recent survey regarding gender leisure gap in America, it has been observed that men spend more time in leisure activities than women (Drake, 2013).

2.5.1 Flaneur and Flaneuse concept

Historians and psychologists worldwide believed till now, that women do not like or prefer to stroll or just being there and still be the part of the crowd, quietly watching people. The French word ‘Flânerie’ perfectly explains the concept that means watching people and being watched. The flâneur has a female version, the flâneuse. Among the critics, the existence of the flâneuse is debatable. A survey conducted in four Dutch towns challenges this assumption with the observations that women do like to stroll but they need to find some valid reason for doing so and their decision depends largely on quality of environment, liveliness and crowd. It has also been found that risk perception or geography of fear also played a major role in the decision and the study concludes that ‘the flâneuse is limited in her freedom’ (Nes & Nguyen, 2009).
Though this concept is just a part of the inquiries made for this research, it still comprises a major consideration towards gender and leisure for its own sake particularly in Indian context.

2.5.2 Women and Leisure Constraints

"Every girl or woman deserves a fair chance to develop leisure skills and physical abilities. There are two approaches which recreation agencies should consider in order to achieve these goals (Beach, 1984). One approach is to help change societal attitudes about women, leisure, and recreation. The other approach is to ensure that equal leisure opportunities are available for women."

Women and Leisure; (Alberta Sport, Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation (ASRPWF) and Travel Alberta, 1988, p. 9)

Gender itself acts as a constraint factor for participation in outdoor leisure. It has been observed that women face more constraints while accessing such (outdoor leisure) spaces (Wuest, Merritt-Gray, & Berman, 2002). Lots of research has taken place to investigate women and leisure to conclude that women are disadvantaged gender in leisure (Wearing, 1998; Henderson & Allen, 1991; Henderson et al, 1989).

2.5.3 Women and Access to Public Spaces

Women’s decision of access to public spaces is controlled by various factors. Reiterating the key points from “The way she moves”, Ranade confirms the facts that ‘Public space is gendered’ and while comparing men and women of the same class and community, ‘men have better access to public space than women at all times of the day’. The very presence of women in public space is transgressive and thus fought with anxiety. In accessing public space women's bodies are doubly marked. In their daily movement through and occupation of public space women perform their femininity, and simultaneously legitimize their being "out of place" (Ranade, 2007).
2.5.4 Women’s Leisure Issues

Significant issues related to women’s leisure that are identified and reviewed through the literature mainly deal with women’s innate nature as well as influence of a particular society in specific socio-cultural and geographic context. Comprehensive understanding of them put forward six major issues – Ethic of care, Low body image, Gender stereotyping of activities, Patriarchy and male domination, Spatial or geographical context and Risk perception.

**Concept of Ethic of care** deals with societal expectations about women's role (Gilligan, 1982). Normative Ethical Theory or the concept of ‘ethics of care’ explains woman’s choice of fulfilling family needs over her own right to time and space (Ethics of Care, 2014; Henderson & Allen, 1991). Ethic of care also reduces women's enjoyment of leisure (Harrington, Dawson, & Bolla, 1992). Ethic of care is also linked conceptually and empirically to the concept of lack of sense of entitlement where women think they have no right to leisure or enjoyment for themselves (Shaw S. M., 1999).

**Low body image** results in low self-esteem and lack of confidence. It negatively affects participation in certain leisure activities where body image is exhibited in some manner and appearance of a person is considered important (Frederick & Shaw, 1995). These can be seen as structural constraints.

Certain leisure activities are considered and labeled as ‘male’ or ‘female’ activities and hence are **gender stereotyped**. Such structured images of the gendered leisure activities direct people to chose or prefer certain activities (Crawford, Miles, & Plumb, 2011; Shaw S. M., 1999). Gender stereotyping is strongly experienced in team sports to a large extent. Less women participation is noticed worldwide in team sports. Although changes are occurring, the effects of many of these obstacles are still being felt and the reasons being - Lack of early skill development, Greater variety of programs for boys than for girls, Peer pressure, A negative image of women in sport
and few female role models, Myths about women in sport, such as not capable of competing, injury prone, or lack of desire, Ethnic and cultural constraints, The domination of professional male sports, Inequities in funding for women's activities as well as Lack of women in decision-making roles in sports organizations (Alberta Sport, Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation (ASRPWF) and Travel Alberta, 1988).

**Patriarchy and Male domination** is another view presented by sociologists. Patriarchal societies have preconceived norms for women’s leisure. In industrial patriarchal societies, women were considered subservient to men and hence their time was perceived to be more permeable than men’s. Societal views play a major role in the decisions of women’s time and leisure, leisure opportunities, friendships and social networks. It was also assumed that public leisure is exclusively men’s domain (Khan, 2011). Foucault’s concepts of ‘discourse’ and ‘resistance’ support this view. Women’s leisure activities for their own pleasure are not accepted by society or considered antithetical and to pursue them, women have to negotiate their ‘good wife or mother’ image in the society (Currie, 2004).

Physical barriers include geography of fear or sense of insecurity in a particular **spatial context** that deals with locational aspect, landscape, availability of amenities and design of such spaces.

Perceived risk plays a major role in leisure decisions. Such perception keeps women at home, keeps them off the streets at nights, makes them to constrain their behavior as well as clothing or outfits. It influences when and where they go and the routes they take (Gordon & Riger, 1991). It affects quality of life that women experience in general as well as their participation in and enjoyment of leisure (Shaw S. M., 1999). **Socialization theory** explains that women’s fear of violence is mostly influenced by gender identity and gender role. It affects women’s personality in general by making them feel vulnerable, fearful in the outdoor spaces, lacking the confidence to face the
unfamiliar settings and people and result in missing the most valued and necessary opportunity to be in close proximity of nature. Social construction of fear by media, people also play very important role in this perception of fear. Women often negotiate the sense of insecurity by avoidance behavior and restricting their movements with respect to spaces, time, people, etc. (Coble, Selin, & Erickson, 2003).

These leisure constraints do affect women’s self image negatively. Post structuralist theory maintains that when some women constraint their leisure activities, other may develop and adopt certain mental and behavioral strategies and tend to explore such leisure spaces (Coble, Selin, & Erickson, 2003).

2.6 Gender and Architecture, Urban Design and Landscape Planning
Spatial design by large fails to acknowledge that gender is a crucial determinant that is socially constructed and it has been negatively affecting society as a whole. Such non-acknowledgement leads to gender blind planning approaches until recently. The feminist studies in architecture, landscape and planning consider the concepts of equality and equity in planning where equality is absence of discrimination and equity is provision of fairness and justice with due consideration to imbalanced approach until now.

Understanding differences in gender needs and preferences in planning is Gender awareness and incorporating fairness and justice in planning is explored with various concepts such as gender sensitivity (ability to acknowledge and highlight existing gender differences, issues and inequalities and incorporate these into strategies and actions), gender inclusive planning, gender mainstreaming (process of ensuring that women and men have equal access to and control over resources, development benefits and decision-making), gender planning (planning developmental

Research establishes that women do feel more afraid in particular physical environments. Through social construction of fear, women transfer their threat appraisal from men to dangerous environmental contexts. Women's collective definition and avoidance of these contexts therefore creates social norms about women's appropriate use of space (Valentine, 1990).

It is a responsibility of society and planners to make women available the opportunities to access the leisure spaces for their own leisure and better quality of life or overall well-being. It may be achieved by two approaches - One approach is to help change societal attitudes about women, leisure, and recreation. The other approach is to ensure that equal and equitable leisure opportunities are available for women.

2.6.1 Equity and Equality

With due consideration to age long imbalance in the opportunities to leisure and to public domain in general, the planning today has to address this issue and provide equal and equitable opportunities to deprived female gender to leisure and city in general. To understand the concept of gender equity and equality, we refer to the definitions of terms referred as below:

**Gender Equity**—“Entails the provision of fairness and justice in the distribution of benefits and responsibilities between women and men. The concept recognizes that women and men have different needs and power and that these differences should be identified and addressed in a manner that rectifies the imbalances between the sexes” (Gender and Development: A Trainer's Manual - Glossary of Gender Terms).

**Gender Equality**—“The result of the absence of discrimination on the basis of a person’s sex in opportunities and the equal allocation of resources or benefits or in
access to services”(Gender and Development: A Trainer's Manual - Glossary of Gender Terms).

The concept of equity invokes the planning process to take into consideration the differential spatial needs of men and women whereas concept of equality fails to address differential needs of both the genders. Equity refers to fairness and justice taking into account the deprivation of opportunities till now, socio-cultural pressures and inability of an individual to decide what is good for his own personal development due to various reasons and the compensation made thereof in the policies and planning (Difference between Gender Equality and Gender Equity, 2015). Hence the concept of gender equity plays a major role in gender sensitive planning. To incorporate gender sensitivity in planning, awareness regarding gender issues is a key issue in planning.

**Gender Awareness** is an “understanding that there are socially determined differences between women and men based on learned behavior, which affects access to and control resources”(Gender and Development: A Trainer's Manual - Glossary of Gender Terms). This awareness leads to further in understanding the differential needs by both the genders and evolve into gender sensitive design of the spaces.

**Gender Sensitivity**“ encompasses the ability to acknowledge and highlight existing gender differences, issues and inequalities and incorporate these into strategies and actions”(Gender and Development: A Trainer's Manual - Glossary of Gender Terms).

While referring to age long deprivation of female gender with respect to their imprisonment to ‘domestic’ or ‘private’ and access to the ‘public’ it was imperative to investigate into the historical evolution of ‘domestic’ or ‘private’ and ‘public’ dichotomies.
Natural outcome of this ‘public’ and ‘domestic’ division of spaces was the concept of sex segregation which is the physical, legal and cultural separation of people according their biological sex. It has been evident by research that in public arena, incidental or De-facto sex-segregation with respect to location, time, etc. while using the same space is voluntary. Yet such De-facto segregation also is caused due to societal pressures, historical practices and social construction of gender (Sex Segregation, 2012). Whereas planned spatial sex-segregation (particularly in education and jobs) is actually sex-discriminatory, obsolete and not at all voluntary (Education Equality: Sex Segregation, 2015).

2.6.2 Sex Segregation

Since ages, the sex-segregation practices are extant and still surviving in public arena. Passage of Sex segregation practices since historic times till today in the area of leisure is a field in which inquiries are necessary as it has been considered as one of the solution to provide women more comfort and secured environment. Even today, when societies are becoming broad-minded and ‘modern’, a public space is still not considered a woman’s place (Aparna, 2006).

2.6.3 Historical evolution of public leisure spaces and gender role

2.6.3.1 Phases of evolution

Most of the cultures including India, have witnessed the three phases of evolution:

- Exclusion of women from the public quarters that were evolving as exclusive men's spaces.
- Separate private quarters for women, allotted by the patriarchal society or developed as a need for women particularly for child rearing and serving to the institution of family.
With the assumption that a particular society has attained a level of gender equality, gradual transformation of all public spaces' character into Gender Neutral\(^1\) spaces.

According to a Greek legend, as stated by Thompson (1994), ‘Hermean’ is a masculine world that is visible and ‘Hestian’ is the invisible feminine world where in concrete ‘Hermean’ world, men think, practice politics whereas in ‘Hestian’ space women perform domestic chores (Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2005). Through epics and literature, one can easily identify the restrictions on women’s access to public spaces and keeping them to domestic quarters only. Public quarters were strictly allocated to men of the patriarchal society. The instances of exclusive Men-Only spaces were found worldwide such as men’s clubs, Greek gymnasiuums and agoras, pubs and restaurants, etc. Greek towns of substantial size had a palaestra or a gymnasium, the social centre for male citizens only. However in Roman period inclusion of women is noticed as evident in presence of reserved space in public baths (Figure 2-7).

\[\text{Figure 2-7: Women’s Dressing Room in Roman Bath} \quad \text{Source: (McManus, 2011)}\]

\[\text{Figure 2-8: Anguri Baug, Agra Fort} \quad \text{Source: (Anguri Bagh)}\]

India also has this tradition of men-only spaces such as “Chaupal or Chawdi” in Northern states which was important for the community so as to discuss

\(^1\) Gender Neutral – are the policies, language or planning that avoids distinguishing roles according to gender in order to avoid discrimination (Gender neutrality, 2015).
and take important decisions, where women’s entry was completely banned (Chaupal (public space), 2012).

2.6.3.2 Historical Evidences from Indian Subcontinent

Aryan women when facing strict control on their mobility, the indigenous (Dravidian) women enjoyed freedom of movement. Many tribes of pre-Aryan era provided freedom of movement and decision making to women where men were banned to interfere (Fane, 1975). With the invasions of Greeks in 326 BC, Aryan women faced lots of restrictions to safeguard their chastity from the Greek Military. Women’s gradual subordination culminated finally in the seclusion of women. The Smriti writers like Kautilya, Manu and Yajnavalkya favored seclusion of women. The earliest reference to it, is in Panini-III,2,36, that yields "Asuryampashya Raja-darah" which means those who do not see the sun, that is, the wives of a king (Nair, 2010).

In the second phase, evidences of women’s spaces are noticed with advent of Mughals. Zenana gardens of Mughals had influenced landscape development of northern states of India. Stately royal women had access to the reserved courtyards and gardens for them. Some examples are Zenana gardens at Fatehpur sikri, Shalimar Baug in Shrinagar, Anguri Baug in Agra Fort (Figure 2-8), etc.

Similar examples are noticed in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Zenana Enclosure in Lotus Mahal, Hampi (Figure 2-9) which is a part of capital city of the Vijayanagara Empire established in 1336 is another example of women’s space surrounded by high walls and watch towers.600 AD onwards, instances are found of women-only public spaces. In 11th to 16th century, many step wells exclusively for women were built (Figure 2-10).
In India, fetching water has always been women’s responsibility. Hence wells and step wells were frequented by women and represented ‘women’s spaces’. There are examples of “Women-Only” ghats (stepped access to river) such as Pakka Ghat of Mirzapur, Ghat at Udaipur, Women’s Ghat at Sawantwadi, etc. (Figure 2-11, Figure 2-12). Markets (Bazaars) for women only were developed and women’s social and commercial life was opened up. They were relieved of the confinements of their homes and allowed recreation and shopping, a place where they could also bargain, socialize with other women and have gatherings during festivities and celebrations (Aparna, 2006).

The changed modern urban life has not brought along with it the much needed gender equity as well as equality and such women only spaces still do
exist and are need of the society. The study of such contemporary women-only spaces worldwide and in India becomes crucial for this literature survey.

### 2.6.4 Contemporary Women-only Spaces

Women-only outdoor leisure spaces help take care of women’s psychological comfort and physical needs where landscaping features play an important role. In 1979 Government of Iran, as a part of initiatives for women, developed a gendered landscape in Teheran. It included women-only outdoor recreational spaces and other facilities like women-only elevators, buses and taxies, etc. Later such initiatives were also introduced in other Iranian cities, including Mashhad and Qom.

Lahore in Pakistan has recently developed a women-only “Fatima Jinnah Park” (Figure 2-13). It is spread over four acres which include jogging track, gymnasium and badminton court reserved for women (Ali, 2012). With the success in terms of increased participation of women in outdoor leisure activities, six more women-only parks are proposed. Selection of trees and plant material as well as their arrangement providing enough privacy, closely spaced hedges form a green wall while the 2.1 meter high fencing is provided for security purpose. Delhi Development Authority has similar provision of women-only park ‘Zenana Bagh’ in Nizamuddin Basti in Delhi. The special features such as high walls with sandstone jalis (latticework), manicured lawns are contributing to safety and comfort (Ramchandran, 2012) (Figure 2-14).

![Figure 2-13: Pakistan’s Women-only Park](source: (BBC Haq Urdu's Abad ul, 2012))

![Figure 2-14: Zenana Baug, Delhi](source: (Ramchandran, 2012))
Women friendly city project at Korea is one of the initiatives which is aimed to render city of Seoul safe and comfortable for women. It includes design and development of outdoor landscape considering women’s spatial requirement as the main design determinant.

It has been learned through various literature as well as empirical studies worldwide that sex-segregation in public spaces is not equally welcome by women in all parts of the world and it largely depends on contextual aspects such as location and socio-cultural background of that particular society. As a part of this research, an empirical inquiry in Mumbai was made into women’s opinions and preferences towards spatial sex-segregation and gender mainstreaming or inclusion in public realm (Mahimkar & Gokhale, 2013).

Table 2-3: Findings from Online Survey for Sex-segregation at Public Places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex Segregation</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Needed for the transport facilities during rush hours.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perceived risk during night time or in lonely compartments by women is higher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spaces reserved for women are generally ill maintained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>Separate women-only leisure spaces are not needed by women in Mumbai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women are not able to pursue outdoor sports due to unavailability of spaces that are comfortable to women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outdoor leisure for women is associated with family and friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Risk Factors</td>
<td>Spatial sex segregation is generally associated with higher perceived risks by women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presence of more women provides a perceived safety to the spaces irrespective of sex-segregation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

Observations indicated the failure and un-use or misuse of some women’s spaces indicating no real need or demand of such spaces or facilities by users. The study concludes that women need exclusive women’s spaces to safeguard themselves physically particularly for public transport. Women’s preferences towards sex segregation at public spaces from transportation and leisure
point of view with due consideration to sense of security at public spaces evolved through this survey can be summed up as follows (Table 2-3) –

Though examples of sex-segregated public spaces do exist, such spatial sex-segregation sends a message through reservations or exclusions, that it is acceptable and legitimate to make differences on the basis of anatomical and biological differences as well as men/women are expected to behave in a particular way. These messages create categories of bosses and subordinates. Sex segregation also substantially contributes to the dominance of men over women what theorists call the hegemony of men. Such spaces restrict women’s access to knowledge and freedom whereas provides men to foster and grow negative attitudes about women helping gender conformity (Cohen D., 2010). With this view that women’s unhindered participation is to be encouraged in day-to-day public life and spaces, more sensitive and inclusive approach in policies as well as planning is to be adopted. The need of such study was realized with the rise of gender sensitivity in all fields of life around the world.

2.7 Gender and Movements in architecture and planning

The second wave feminism in 1971 in America resulted in emergence of women-only spaces in urban areas as a reaction to patriarchal culture. This new culture provided women their own identity and shaped their lives for themselves.

It has resulted in a social change activism and development of many facilities like domestic violence shelters, credit unions as well as women-only urban outdoor spaces for leisure. Such movements expressed the struggle of women towards equality in basic needs such as wages, labor distribution, right to education, etc. (Figure 2-15).
2.7.1 Appropriate Spatial Design for both the Genders / Gender Inclusive Planning: Approach worldwide

Gender sensitive planning initiatives have become a key phenomenon at city planning as well as urban landscape levels. City of Seoul is designed with a concept of “Women-friendly” city where smallest design detailing has been done contemplating women’s needs and usage patterns. Gender Sensitivity is the ability to recognize issues and problems related to gender roles constructed by the societies. It particularly looks at how women act and are treated and the different ways that women understand their roles (What is Gender Sensitivity). Gender sensitive planning applies explicit tools and techniques to provide women better participation opportunities as well as to evaluate the impact of it on men and women. (Gender Sensitivity, 2013).

In India, women are encumbered with various family expectations and responsibilities such as house chores, child and senior care that many a times conflict with their career decisions. The Neilsen Company survey of 2011 across countries confirms that women in emerging countries are more stressed than men, particularly Indian women are the most stressed women in the world (Neilsen, 2011). Design of our cities make their lives further difficult. A city may be a positively different place for all with better opportunities for women which is a core consideration of Gender sensitive planning. (Gender Sensitive City Planning).

To understand how women’s needs are different and more complex than men’s, one can have a look at women’s daily lives where they have to deal with– Care-giving role towards children, seniors, disabled and other family members, Less access to private or own vehicles hence dependence on public transport with more number of trips, More movements on foot or bicycle (Greed, 2004); The sense of insecurity and negotiating her way to safeguard herself from sexual harassment and molestation at public spaces (Ranade, Phadke, & Khan, 2009); Need for toilets and sanitation facilities in public...
spaces (Government Apathy and Lack of Sanitation Facilities Fuel Toilet Rapes, 2014) and less access to economic independence, health facilities and other infrastructure (Women’s Advisory Committee of the Senate Department for Urban Development, 2011). While dealing with multiple responsibilities, they many a times run out of time. Negotiating public spaces is also challenged due to certain cultural or bodily limitations such as traditional wear, pregnancy, carrying a child on lap/hip, etc.

The concept of inclusive city addresses these special needs and provides spaces for all to move freely in safe and comfortable environments with equal opportunities (Jaeckel & Geldermalsen, 2005). In a study conducted in four cities across the globe, results showed that almost 60% women reported feeling unsafe in urban spaces (O’Leary & Vishwanath, 2011; Women in Cities International, 2008).

The goal of safer cities interventions work is to build safe and inclusive cities. In a safe city, women and girls are free from violence, and from the fear and anticipation of such violence (O’Leary & Vishwanath, 2011). An inclusive city that allows movement, day and night, access to livelihoods, quality and affordable basic services and infrastructure for urban poor (Huairou Commission, 2010). Seven intervention areas are suggested by the study are urban planning and design of public spaces, provision and management of public infrastructure and services, public transport, policing, legislations, education, civic awareness and participation. (O’Leary & Vishwanath, 2011)

2.7.2 Approaches towards Planning and Design of Public Spaces

Gehl (2002) proposes guidelines for planning and design of public spaces with a three pronged model – Protection, Comfort and Enjoyment. These are the three attributes of public spaces that put such spaces to their optimum use by all irrespective of age, income, gender and so on (Figure 2-16).
Figure 2-16: Public Spaces Design Indicators
Adapted from: (Gehl, Søholt, Adelaide (S. Aust.), SA, Committee, & Aps, 2002)
“Physical environment has long been thought to be intimately associated with the risk of crime. Environmental criminologists have noticed that people will be more fearful of crime in particular situations” (Lin, 2010).

The design, atmosphere, and rules of use in public open spaces clearly exert a considerable influence on the opportunities for women and men to use and appropriate such spaces (Harth, 2006). Through urban design and planning, environments are created that offer greater or lesser opportunities for violence against women. Bad design, isolation and inadequate and poor maintenance in public spaces increase the risk of violence, while gender sensitive urban planning that emphasizes visibility and encourages diverse use of public spaces promotes women’s safety. Examples of urban planning and design interventions that promote women’s safety include:

- Promoting mixed land use
- Eliminating dark alleys, dead ends and ‘entrapment areas’
- Removing boundary walls and other obstacles to ‘eyes on the street’
- Instituting hawker-friendly policies.

Newman proposed a number of practical design suggestions that serve to reduce anonymity and increase the sense of territory by demarcating the zones of influence. Providing open spaces in the vicinity of residential area, dividing the space with pathways, restricting vehicle movements, providing permeable boundaries and good security system are few of the Newman’s suggestions (Newman, 1973). Various design based risk factors cited are poorly maintained public infrastructure and services, badly sited and dirty, unlit female public toilets, as well as male public toilets which are located on pavements and open up on the street, broken pavements and open garbage dumps put women particularly at risk of harassment (O’Leary & Vishwanath, 2011).
2.7.3 Initiatives worldwide

The Commonwealth Association of Planners (CAP) has started a movement for ‘reinventing planning’ (Farmer, et al., Year unknown) to render the planning process neutral which is predominantly gender blind which reflects the Commonwealth’s strong commitment to gender equality (UN-Habitat, 2006). The role of gender in urban environment was addressed by a number of North American scholars in the mid-seventies. “Many cities in Canada set institutionalized mechanisms such as the Safe City Committee in Toronto, Femmes et Ville (Women in the City) Program in Montreal and in Quebec. The Norwegian Government has carried out a pilot project designed to improve the integration of women into municipal life by including their point of view in urban planning and design. In Madrid (Spain), Generourban, a Web site and discussion forum has been set up on the subject of women in the city, gender and urban planning” (Michaud, 2004). The City of Barcelona has set up a citywide Council of Women under the jurisdiction of the social Development Commission to integrate women into all the activities of urban life.

RTPI (Royal Town Planning Institute) Gender Mainstreaming Toolkit suggests guidelines for incorporating gender into planning. UN Habitat initiated ‘Safety Audit’ surveys in major cities of various countries including India, leading to the formulation of guidelines for safe cities. Berlin’s ‘Gender Mainstreaming’ pilot projects were initiated in urban open public spaces which pinpointed the areas where the measures are needed to be taken for holistic development (Women’s Advisory Committee of the Senate Department for Urban Development, 2011).

United Nation’s summit at Istanbul held in 1996 on Human Settlement initiated the consideration of gender equality in built environment while planning cities and making them gender friendly.

**Inclusive City Project Montreal, Canada:** The efforts in imparting gender equality in cities, Montreal authorities formulated guidelines regarding
women’s political participation, employment equity, safety for women with guidelines booklet on planning of parking lots, public and residential spaces, and during transit (Abada, July 2013).

**Women Friendly City Project, Seoul** is a policy aimed to encourage social participation, establish a woman-friendly socio-cultural environment, and ultimately pursue happiness (Dynamic Cities Need Women, 2009). Launched in 2007, this project received the 2010 United Nations public service award for best practice.

![Figure 2-17: Women Friendly City Project, Seoul](source)

Source: (Dynamic Cities Need Women, 2009)

Strengthening child care responsibilities, making women economically independent, providing cultural and leisure opportunities and accessibility to public spaces by improving mobility are the basic focus tasks of this project. The six pillars of the project are – Care, Safety, Work, Convenience, Health and Equality (Figure 2-17).

Street Women-Friendly Restrooms: Design guidelines are provided for women’s restroom design to make it more convenient for women. More number of toilets, nappy changing platforms, toilets and washbasins for children, etc. (Figure 2-18).

Women-Friendly Parking Lot: Reserved priority parking spaces for women were designed for improved safety with more light, emergency bells, surveillance cameras, etc. (Figure 2-19).

Women friendly side-walks: Taking into consideration women’s convenience while walking in high heels, the project suggests guidelines towards design and maintenance of the sidewalks as well as adding element of light to increase safety (Figure 2-20).
friendly Parks: Parks are designed for women to promote social interaction and to improve the quality of life (Figure 2-21).

Women-friendly city Project, Seoul; Source (Park, 2011)

Fair shared city project in Vienna attempts to address social construction of gender role through signages and architectural design. For example, traditional ‘Men at work’ signage also includes woman doing the same ‘man’s job’ where as men’s toilets have provision of nappy changing platform and feeding table that is conveyed outside the toilet by signage. Public transportation has reserved seats for men carrying babies with them (Figure 2-22).

Gender mainstreaming efforts in Berlin address the design of built and open spaces with respect to housing, workplaces, commercial and public spaces. Their efforts in inclusive planning address the gender equity and barrier free design. Outdoor open spaces in neighbourhood provide for informal interaction and play areas for children as well as older generation. Similarly, playgrounds are provided to cater to the outdoor sports needs of girls too.
The guidelines also have provision of evaluation and review of success of designed spaces from inclusive planning point of view.

With the examples of ‘Inclusive City Project Montreal’ (Abada, July 2013), ‘Women Friendly City Project’ Seoul (Park, 2011), ‘Fair shared City’ Vienna (Irschik, November 2008) and Gender mainstreaming in spatial planning, Berlin (Women’s Advisory Committee of the Senate Department for Urban Development, 2011), planning bodies worldwide may start recognizing the need of inclusive planning so as to encourage women’s participation in public domain to create healthy society.

In Philadelphia, US, it has been identified that city planning has its impact on health of people particularly women. Health scientists are joining hands with urban planners to identify the effects of street design, housing and transportation on women (Boghani, 2012; Nasser, 2007).

India with its own different socio-cultural background needs to follow these footsteps towards women friendly city planning for its all inclusive development. The gender sensitive planning with respect to design of public spaces and particularly outdoor leisure spaces that are women friendly is a herculean task in front of the planning community in India. The recognition
of the need that leisure spaces should be made accessible to women for their own sake by planning community itself has been a very slow process associated with non-acknowledgement and denial due to social structure, ethic of care and gender role.

2.7.4 Scenario and Efforts in India

India witnesses a considerable negligence towards the basic needs of women in the city. Their sense of security, comfort and convenience still remains a dream unrealized. As per UN Women reports, in urban areas of developing countries, women experience violence twice as men (Facts and Figures: Ending Violence against Women, 2014). City planning and public services are responsible for urban women suffering from violence and intimidation in public spaces (Figure 2-24). Poor transportation, street-lighting and inadequate sanitation and toilet facilities make urban women vulnerable. Women have less access to private or own transport and hence tend to depend largely upon public transport (Figure 2-25). In many Indian cities, poor execution of law and order leaves whatever little facilities reserved for women to be disregarded and abused by men. Adequate and quality public transport hence remains a critical need for women. Taking care of family members, accompanying them to public spaces is still a woman’s responsibility in Indian context.

Figure 2-24: Banner questioning women’s safety in India
Source: (Delhi Women – An Unsafe Lot, 2013)

Figure 2-25: Bus stand at Cochin, Kerala flooded with female travellers
Source: (Petrini, 2010)
Centre for Civil Society conducted a study in 2009 revealing that toilets in Mumbai for men are 1534 in numbers as compared to only 132 toilets for women. The scenario is similar in most of the Indian cities. With this background, “Right to Pee” campaign incorporates demands for three basic rights of women: pee for free, provision of sanitary towels for women and changing rooms in the toilets (Ralph, 2012). The basic infrastructure provisions for women are many a time considered as of least importance from urban planning point of view.

Apart from facing numerous challenges in everyday life, urban women have to face the insolence and inequality in India. Not only physical planning but also inculcating gender sensitivity and awareness in the citizens can only address this issue.

To attain equitable development, Indian government has initiated various policies for economic and political development with the aim of inclusion of women in the development process as per 11th Five year Plan (2007-12) (Committee of Feminist Economists, 2007). “Kerala Model” gender mainstreaming approach in Urban Development and Planning include reservations for women in local governance and decentralization of development planning, training program for participatory process, housing allotments by government in the names of women and bottoms up approach for local area development. UNICEF, UN-Habitat and UN Women in 2011 launched ‘Safe and Friendly Cities for All,’ in few Indian cities such as Delhi, Mumbai, Thiruvananthapuram; a five-year program that aims at making women and children feel safer in their local neighbourhoods, while improving their quality of life.

JNNURM (Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission) dealing with reform and good governance suggests guidelines for gender mainstreaming into planning and decision making process, transportation and crime prevention through environmental design.
All above attempts in India are at policy levels overlooking the physical planning solutions to a large extent.

“Policy makers must rethink the landscape of the city itself encouraging a vibrant and varied street life with a mix of residential and commercial activity, which puts pedestrians on the street who can respond to untoward activity. Infrastructure like proper lighting along sidewalks and bus stops is also critical.”

Designing a Woman Friendly and Safe City; (Gillies, 2013)

Various gender criteria considerations in physical planning interventions provide directions to formulate guidelines for gender inclusive cities. These criteria are - Security, Reconciliation of professional and family-work, Participation, Diversity and flexibility of space, options of social usage and Space for communication and interaction (Women’s Advisory Committee of the Senate Department for Urban Development, 2011).

Aiming towards inclusive planning at city level, small steps towards the goal can be taken by designing all public spaces though in fragments and render them gender friendly. It is necessary to study their differential needs and usage patterns in public realm. India proves itself to be one of the worst countries for women may it be in private or public realm. All over the world, various nations are moving a step towards gender sensitivity in planning addressing these differential needs.

Urban planners, designers and decision makers must take steps based on in-depth analysis of gender based inequalities in the local context, while designing strategic interventions considering their causes and effects. An efficient system of monitoring frameworks to ensure accountability, and capacity building and commitment is to be developed for gender blending in Indian cities.
2.8 Gaps in Literature

Researches in multi-disciplinary fields such as gender studies, urban landscape, landscape design, leisure studies, environmental design, environmental behavior studies, quality of life and health and urban planning provide an extensive breadth of literature open for exploration and analysis from gender point of view with regards to appropriation of spaces.

In urban planning processes, the health and well-being benefits of nature areas are not fully acknowledged and therefore, their provision is difficult to justify faced with competing land-use interests (Tyrväinen et al, 2014). “Minimal research has focused on the role of constraints in adopting and maintaining healthy leisure behaviors” (Stanis, Schneider, & Pereira, 2010).

Further it has also been identified that the existing research in gender and public spaces in India focuses on mandatory public spaces such as streets, transportation and policies in general where as research in the field of gender and leisure with respect to outdoor public leisure spaces has not been much explored in Indian urban context. It has also been identified that Indian women are more stressed and visiting outdoor leisure spaces acts a stress relieving factor. In Indian context, women have fewer opportunities to leisure due to social and structural constraints.

With the above factors that have been identified through research, further research in this field calls for an attention.

2.9 Summary

“Apart from being a physical volumetric entity, urban space is also a major public resource. It is through urban space that a complex range of transitions and connections between locations and activities occurs, making it a mediator between urban situations. As such, public urban space must be open and accessible to all. In fact it is its accessibility that makes it active and vital. Limited use of public urban
space by women does not affect women alone, but the city at large which will suffer from the exclusion of a large portion of its population from its public affairs.”

From Abstract to Concrete: Subjective Reading of Urban Space;
(Kallus, 2001, p. 146)

Leisure and gender research has evolved with three themes – Activity participation, Gendered nature of leisure constraints, Gendered outcomes of leisure. Considering scarce research conducted in area of outdoor leisure and gender in India the need to theoretically as well as empirically explore the Activity participation and Gendered nature of Leisure constraints is pertinent, that may help render spatial design of such spaces gender friendly. Spain’s (1993) ‘silent language’ of space needs to be comprehended in terms of outdoor leisure spaces and gender. It calls for observation, analysis and curious inquiries into behavioral patterns of the users as spatial design influences behavioral patterns and vice versa and portray society as a whole.

Lot of research has been happening in gender sensitivity in city planning however much focus has been on mandatory public spaces such as transport routes and stations, streets and plazas; yet research in gender and outdoor leisure is the concept that is seldom explored. Particularly in Indian context, the concept of ethics of care is predominant where women are most expected to perform as care-givers and not to put their own needs before family needs that is even reflected in research field with considerably low research activities in explorations of interrelationship of gender and leisure. It becomes vital to explore women’s leisure perceptions, whether the amenities related to outdoor leisure are accessible to women, their preferences, activity or usage patterns in outdoor leisure spaces and incorporation of gender sensitivity in planning of such spaces will help them reap the much discussed benefits of visiting outdoor leisure spaces. Planning guidelines offer course of studies toward inclusive planning; however fail to recognize women as a larger group that is left behind.
The gaps and imminent studies garnered from existing literature provide an orientation to this research work to make curious inquiries into all above factors and contextualize women’s engagement in leisure activities and outdoor leisure spaces, to focus on both physical and social aspects of gender and leisure, to espouse appropriate and critical methodology that emphasizes the subjective experiences of men and women and objective observational studies of the phenomenon for synthesizing the concepts. The context of research, research questions and core concepts are discussed in detail in the following Chapter Three.