**University of Reading**

# A Framework for Diagnosis and Evaluation of Gender Inequalities in Urban Contexts

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# Gendered landscape: a framework for diagnosis and evaluation of gender inequalities in urban contexts

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## Abstract

We present a gender landscape framework designed to aid both diagnosis of existing gender inequalities in cities and the evaluation of policies that intend to redress them. It is made of three pillars allowing separate consideration of the institutional, policy and welfare outcomes landscapes. We illustrate the diagnostic use of the framework with an application to four medium size European cities taking part in the Horizon 2020 IN-HABIT consortium whose aim is to increase inclusive health and wellbeing with a focus on gender.

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# 1   Introduction

The relationship between gender and cities has been the subject of studies and actions from at least the late 1800s, when women launched a "municipal housekeeping agenda" aimed to transform urban spaces, services and politics arguing that these were extension of the home and demanding a voice in urban planning as mothers (Morris-Crowther (2004)). Recent studies continue to point out that women remain amongst the most vulnerable groups in cities as well as being crucial, though often invisible, in making the cities livable and the consideration of gender into the planning, development and administration of cities has become the focus of a series of international initiatives. For instance, the URBACT Gender Equal cities programme involves different administrative levels in Europe with the aim of realising the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 (end of all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere; of all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation; ensuring women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life and universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights) and 11 (ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums). Similar goals are incorporated in the Urban agenda for the European Union, the Charter for Equality of the Council of European Municipalities and Regions, as well as the more local and specific initiatives in various cities, including the gender landscapes in - what are, possibly, the most renowned examples of - Umea in Sweden and Vienna in Austria. The idea of gendered landscapes in particular results from acknowledging that the first step towards more user-sensitive and inclusive cities is the recognition that different groups have different needs and, consequently, experience the urban space differently. These differences may come from pervasive social norms and complex social dynamics, such as a gendered power structure or residential segregation and social exclusion and ignoring these social forces will seriously undermine the cities' ability to make any sustainable changes. A first contribution of this paper is to offer a methodology to gendered landscapes that can be adapted to any city pursuing an agenda of gender, equity diversity and inclusion (GDEI) to collect the necessary information to map existing institutions and gender inequalities in the urban context for diagnostic purposes. The second contribution of this paper is to show how such mapping and diagnosis can be done in four cities taking part in the INHABIT project.

The gendered lanscapes methodology is based on three pillars: the first pillar provides a landscape of the institutional context, assessing the presence or lack of key legal, political and socio-economic institutions and actors, as well as the prevailing gender norms; the second pillar provides a policy landscape in areas including education, health, transport and mobility, housing, green spaces, or art and culture; the third pillar provides a landscape of gender inequality in outcomes, including measures of well-being or other generalised outcomes such as general health, education, incomes, or satisfaction with specific life dimensions.

The construction and use of the pillars will be fully discussed in Section 3, while in Section 2 we briefly revisit the key literature on gender and urbanism and the practitioners-based evidence on gendered landscapes. Section 4 provides an empirical example of the diagnostic use of the proposed framework, with a case study from the cities of Cordoba, Lucca, Riga and Nitra that are part of the Horizon 2020 INHABIT project, which is being developed across four medium-sized cities in Spain (Cordoba), Italy (Lucca), Latvia (Riga) and Slovakia(Nitra) and aims to increase inclusive health and wellbeing with a focus on gender.

# 2   Related Literature

Gender inequalities in the urban space have been documented in various life domains: health (Boerma et al., 2016; Gómez-Costilla et al., 2021); wages (Noback et al., 2013; Buchholz, 2023); time use and the domestic division of labour (de Bruin and Liu, 2020); access to energy services (Musango and Bassi, 2021); transport use (Gordon et al., 1989; Goel, 2023); commuting (Hu, 2021). In spite of womens' roles as patrons and social reformers in a number of notable cases of urban development of the nineteenth century such as that of Hamstead garden suburb in

London (de Madariaga and Neuman, 2016), widespread claims that cities were not adapted to women's lives only started to emerge following women's emancipation post-World War II and the second-wave feminism. Instead of approaching urban planning as 'grandiose plans based on functional zoning of different activities' (Harvey, 1990), Jane Jacobs emphasized the necessity to design the urban space from the actual uses of men, women, and children, which involves 'respect[ing] [...] the vitality and diversity of what was already there [...] [but also requires] a truly thorough understanding of the complexity of urban life: of social interactions, safety, spontaneous organisation, informality and the uses of old buildings' (Jacobs, 1961). During the post-war reconstruction, western societies underwent major social transformations, such as suburbanization (Platt Boustan, 2010; Nicolaides and Wiese, 2017; Massey and Tannen, 2018); a substantial increase in women labour force participation (Rose, 2018; Goldin, 2021) and the Baby Boom (Doepke et al., 2015). This brought a lot of attention to specific problems encountered by women, such as transport ((Gordon et al., 1989; Blumen, 1994; McLafferty, 1997) or security (Hille, 1999). But, mostly because urban planners or professional geographers were men, and women post-war were confined to family care and housekeeping roles, urban planning failed to properly take account of women's needs (Leavitt, 1980; Zelinsky, 1973; McDowell, 1983). For instance, post-World War II British urban planning followed the neighbourhood principle: "Neighbourhoods were designed as self-contained groups of several hundred houses with associated local facilities of shops, parks, a primary school, and primary health care, interpreted by their male architects as reducing travel time and costs for women and children, but actually reducing choice and mobility. Housing provision was uniformly traditional, comprising two- and three-bedroomed units, which firmly placed each individual housewife where – increasingly during the 1950s – she was considered to belong (McDowell, 1983). Women usually commute shorter distances than men, a result of the complex interaction of job and location choices with urban design and social dynamics (Wekerle, 1980; Crane, 2007; Wheatley, 2013; Kwon and Akar, 2022) and as a consequence experience restricted access to the labour market in cities, with more extensive reliance on public transport than men to combine paid work with care work (Fox, 1983; Lee et al., 2018). Spatial limitations tend to force women with children to accept lower paying jobs or restrain their career (Fan, 2017). These combinations of gender inequality in the household and in the design of city services result in women being more likely to be overeducated and unemployed the higher the earnings difference with their partner (Büchel and van Ham, 2003).

For similar reasons, there are also quite stark gendered patterns in both the experience of crime (women are more likely to experience violence from partners than strangers, for men this is the opposite) and the perception of safety in cities. Although women are less victimized than men in cities, they usually report greater fear of crime ((Ferraro, 1996; Haynie, 1998; Reid and Konrad, 2004; Chataway and Hart, 2019) and perceived risk of victimization (Rountree and Land, 1996; Sloan III et al., 1996). Women in cities declare more avoidance behaviours, such as choosing safer workplaces and activities, adjusting their routes to avoid isolated places, poorly lit streets, or streets with graffiti, or avoiding public transportation beyond a certain hour (Gardner, 1989; Keane, 1998; May et al., 2010). Even though there has been some progress over time, women still report twice as often as men being afraid of walking alone at night. The urban context is also an important element of insecurity: women tend to feel less insecure in suburban areas than in city centres (Smith et al., 2001; Lu et al., 2022) while violence is an everyday reality in slums (Datta, 2016).

The consideration of gender diversity, equity and inclusion concerns into urban planning builds on both the "women and planning" literature and the gender mainstreaming movement started by the UN Third World Conference for Women in 1985 in Nairobi and 1995 in Beijing. Although the two approaches share the same goals, they differ conceptually as the latter is more of a general administrative process, while the former is specific to planning (Greed, 1994). Overall, however, incorporating women's needs and recruiting more women planners has been a slow process. For instance, Greed (2005a) counts that less than 10 local planning authorities in the United Kingdom (out of 450, among which 25% have primary planning powers) had effectively implemented gender mainstreaming into spatial planning and 30 additional local planning authorities had put gender issues on their agenda in the early 2000s. Urban planners themselves may oppose it, because they see gender mainstreaming as a bureaucratic constraint coming from Human Resources, therefore unrelated to urban planning, which will only prevent them from doing their "real" work

(Howard, 2002). Hence, their reaction is often to tick boxes instead of putting real efforts and consideration into gender issues, sometimes because of a lack of resources or excessive technicalities ((Greed, 2005b; Mannell, 2012). Gender initiatives are often underfunded or among the first to be cut down during economic downturns (Reeves et al., 2012). As planners are not trained in apprehending the consequences of urban planning on gender gaps, they tend to see planning as depending only on purely technical constraints (Greed, 2000, 2005a; Grisé and Hackworth, 2007). The interpretation of equality as treating everyone the same could also be associated with resisting gender mainstreaming, which could then be seen as giving women special treatment (Greed, 2005b). Similarly, interpretation of gender as concerning both men and women, may exclude concerns on the underlying gendered power structure that determines gender gaps (Booth and Bennett, 2002; Lombardo and Meier, 2006). The lack of reliable data is also an important barrier to gender mainstreaming into urban planning as most often urban planners are neither in charge of collecting reliable gender disaggregated data, nor they evaluate the impact of their actions. On the contrary, gender mainstreaming is successful when key women planners involved in international networks are promoting the issue in planning departments, in more diverse cities, or when there is an active women's movement (Edwards and Hatch, 2004; Guenther, 2006; Reeves et al., 2012).

Mapping the extent of gender inequality at international and national level has progressed substantially with the development of various types of measurements indicators such as those provided by the World Bank, OECD, United Nations and World Economic Forum. Specifically relevant to the European Context is the Gender Equality Index of the European Gender Equality Institute (EIGE) which focuses on key macro areas such as knowledge, time, money, health, power, violence and work. Although this index has a national focus important attempts to produce it at the regional level have been provided amongst others by (Di Bella et al., 2021). When considering that many gender disparities occur at the urban level as discussed here, it is appropriate to extend these efforts further down to the urban context as done for instance byForsberg and Stenbacka (2018) with case studies of eight Swedish cities.

A relatively recent development in the relationship between gender and urbanism is represented by gendered landscapes, which can be considered from two perspectives: one positive and one normative. The positive perspective emphasises the different experiences that women and men have of the urban spaces. The normative perspective points out to the need to develop a landscape democracy, specifically the fact that gender-based design can contribute to more equitable spaces. There is no explicit theoretical approach to gendered landscapes and, so far, their development has been the product of a range of initiatives at the local level. A well-known example is that of the city of Umea in Sweden, which developed a gendered landscape on the basis of an integrated and participatory approach. Their experience can be traced back to that of Vienna, which historically strived to mainstream gender into many of the municipality's areas of work (Palitm, 2020). Umeå municipality established a gender equality office that is tasked to monitor the concrete realization of gender equality in all fields of the municipal action. This has resulted in initiatives such as a new division of training hours between women and men's soccer teams, a completely redesigned tunnel to accommodate women's safety issues and accessibility concerns. Moreover, they have created a bus tour connecting all the redesigned places to raise awareness and show how the new designs overcome gender and diversity challenges. There is now a range of city-level exchanges and initiatives, a reflection that the challenges of gendered power structures are shared across many cities, although all have distinct social, economic and cultural contexts. An important forum is represented by the URBACT Gender network, led by Umea and including cities in Spain, France, Lithuania, Slovenia and Greece.

# 3   A theoretical framework for gendered landscape

The gendered landscape framework consists of three pillars: i) the Institutional landscape; ii) the Policies landscape; iii) the Welfare outcomes landscape. The first pillar aims to chart the integration of gender in decision-making and is, therefore, applicable regardless of the context; the second pillar focuses on specific gendered-focused policies, under different areas and dimensions, such as work, education, caring, transport, safety, or leisure; the third pillar aims to measure the extent of gender inequalities existing in the city or urban space under

consideration by focusing on welfare outcomes such as life satisfaction or overall well-being. The attention to both specific, context-based dimensions and to aspects that are more widely pertinent, such as the extent of resources, structures and governance for gender equality at city-level, allow for the framework's replicability across time and space. We build also on existing classifications of local institutions, such as in Denti (2022); Leijenaar (1997), and mapping exercises and approaches, such as in Candiracci et al. (2022); Terraza et al. (2020)

Pillars I and II are fundamental in employing the framework for a diagnostic exercise. In this respect, they will allow cities to map the extent to which institutions, intended widely and including political and administrative organisations as well as legal and informal processes, devote resources and are geared towards gender equality in their functions and operations. They will also allow to map the extent of gender inequality in key dimensions of life experienced in the city. The application of the framework for a mapping exercise will will provide a landscape of gender inequalities in the city, it will reveal areas (whether institutional or in terms of well-being outcomes) where inequalities are more or less prevalent and problematic. The mapping of inequality allows for identification of possible areas of interventions and helps with the design of specific policies that aim to address those inequalities and also allows for the establishment of a baseline, which is one of the key aspects of a robust assessment of the impact of interventions. When considering the framework for evaluation purposes the consideration of specific policies adopted by cities (Pillar II), in combination with the mapping of resources and inputs devoted to gender equality (performed by Pillar I) and the gender inequalities in relevant outcomes (shown by Pillar III) will provide cities with a consistent framework for the evaluation of the effectiveness of such policies.

## 3.1 Pillar 1: Institutional Landscape

The aim of this pillar is to produce a comprehensive mapping of the institutional and legislative landscape that supports decision-making in order to assess the extent to which gender issues are taken into account into political, administrative, legal and informal decision-making. The existing legal framework can provide legally binding documents to set transparent and verifiable objectives. Moreover, fair representation and involvement of all the discriminated groups in decision-making help to take into account their needs and experiences. Finally, clearly mapping all the relevant stakeholders and resources involved, and their concrete actions, contributes to the necessary transparency and accountability. We identify six dimensions that reflect the quality of institutions and provide a mapping of the institutional landscape:

1) Stakeholders' involvement, which requires a mapping of formal institutions and informal institutions and organisations, including the gender compositions of the governing assembly and local workforce, and whether equality stakeholder consultations are part of the process.

2) Political commitment, the extent to which cities appoint members of the city government to specific roles on equal opportunities and gender, or have an Equality Strategy in place.

3) Legal framework, whether cities have stated political objectives on gender equality, whether they set related targets and measures, whether gender mainstreaming is integrated in the regulations of the city administration.

4) Structure and Resources, encompassing the presence of a specific administrative department on equal opportunities, its annual budget, and workforce size.

5) Accountability, the presence of equality impact assessments, equality evaluations, equality audits, equality stakeholder consultations, and gender budgeting.

6) Data/knowledge dimension, the use of evidence (data, research etc.) to inform policies and interventions.

In Section 4 we show one possible way in which the data we have collected for our case study are transformed and presented in radar charts, which powerfully indicate the extent to which the city performs in each of the six dimensions of the institutional landscape.

## 3.2 Pillar 2: Policies Landscape

This pillar aims to map the specific gender policies of the city. An important part of this pillar includes information on the policy process and the extent to which it incorporates the key gendered experiences in the urban

space under consideration, for instance by adopting co-design approaches and involving key stakeholders. For instance, in Umeå, policy makers took the perspective of women in designing a pedestrian tunnel from which sharp corners were eliminated and additional light entrances provided, to ensure not just men were feeling safe when walking in the tunnel. In Vienna, each policy is designed following five principles. First, texts are written using a gender-sensitive language. Second, gender-specific data collection and analysis support the logic of the policy and help to precisely quantify objectives. Third, each policy should guarantee equal access and utilization of services. Fourth, women and men should be equally involved in decision-making. Last, equal treatment is integrated into the steering processes. They have also included mechanisms for public scrutiny and base their discussions on rigorous social statistics. More specifically, noting a significant decline in girls' park attendance after age 10, with five times more boys frequenting these spaces, Vienna initiated competition-based pilot projects in 1999 to address this disparity. At Einsiedlerplatz Park, one competition site, the primary objective was to achieve better gender balance as social-space analysis of the existing park revealed that girls hesitated to enter due to boys guarding ball cage entrances. The project's core solution was the multifunctional ballgame area, enabling simultaneous use by diverse groups playing different sports. The designers preserved one existing ball cage and removed markings on the second court to enhance flexibility. A platform introduced between the courts served as a central gathering spot and stage for activities like singing and dancing, aiming to increase engagement by girls. The open ball court accommodated girls' preferred activities like roller skating and volleyball. Multiple enlarged entrances to the second court offered girls easy access. "Play on the Go" features aimed to attract children passing through the park, while a range of seating configurations caterered to various demographic groups. Safety concerns for female park-goers were addressed with well-lit pathways, visible routes and park supervision.

These are just two examples and, in other contexts, interventions could relate to participation to work, employment or education, in others it could be transport and mobility, or any other city-based services. What these two examples point out is the important link between the mapping exercise (specifically, the social space analysis of the park in Vienna, or the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in urban planning processes in Umeå) and the identification of targeted interventions (the various design features adopted for the park in Vienna and the tunnel in Umeå).

The mapping of existing policies and principles certainly provides a baseline to understand how to design and evaluate policies from a gender perspective both in relation to their outcomes and in relation to the extent to which the policies themselves are designed in an inclusive manner.

### 3.3   Pillar 3: Welfare outcomes Landscape

This pillar aims to map the extent of gender inequality in a range of relevant welfare outcomes, that consider both individuals and the inequalities existing between them in communities. This could include outcomes in specific dimensions of wellbeing, such as education , health, work, living standards, to mention a few, but also measures of overall well-being, such as life satisfaction, happiness, well being. This third pillar relies heavily on the mapping of baseline gender outcomes for the area under consideration. Time use data, education, health and work information as well as geolocalised data on citizen's use of services but also language data collected through social media and through the interactions of citizens with local public and private services can all provide valuable sources of information to inform pillar 3.

## 4   Empirical application

In this section, we illustrate an application of the diagnostic use of GL as part of research conducted in the Horizon2020 INHABIT consortium. Our empirical section focuses on the diagnostic use of the framework as the project is still ongoing. We start with a brief description of the project, which serves to provide the context for understanding how the gendered landscape is applied. IN-HABIT is a Horizon 2020 research and action focussing on inclusive health and well-being in four small and medium size European cities. Each city aims to develop

new nature-based solutions to foster inclusive health and well-being, and each has chosen to focus on a distinct dimension: Cordoba (Spain) uses culture and heritage to promote inclusion; Riga (Latvia) mobilizes food to nurture daily healthier lifestyles; Lucca (Italy) promotes human-animal bonds as new relational urban goods; finally, Nitra (Slovakia) works with art and environment to connect places and people. Each city focuses its action on deprived areas and vulnerable groups including women, children, elders, persons with disability, ethnic minorities and migrants.

In order to demonstrate how the framework presented above can be used for diagnostic purposes, we make use of two datasets collected within the IN-HABIT project. The first dataset, regarding pillar 1, results from a survey filled by the municipalities participating in the project. The survey aims to question their inclusion of gender into their decision processes and covers questions on the gender composition of governing bodies and workforce, political and administrative positions for equal opportunities and gender equality, resources devoted to gender equal opportunities and gender equality, areas covered by their equality strategy, use of gender equality tools, and collection of gender disaggregated data. The second dataset, regarding pillar 3, is a well-being survey collected between the end of August and the end of October 2021. In this application, well-being is assessed in two ways. First, via five dimensions, including social well-being, healthy life-stile, economic well-being, spatial well-being and subjective well-being. Second, via three validated measures of collective well-being: the WHO-5 scale, the Kessler Psychological Distress scale (K6), and the Riff's scale. The WHO-5 scale measures overall psychological well-being using 5 indicators of positive emotions. The K6 scale is concerned with psychological distress, while the Riff's scale measures overall life satisfaction. In total, 1358 individuals answered the survey across the four cities.

## 4.1   Pillar 1: Institutional landscape

Annex 1 shows the survey questionnaire from which we derive the data used to produce the institutional landscape. As discussed in the previous section, the institutional landscape consists of six dimensions. These are represented in corresponding indices.[1] We plot the computed indices in Figure 1. Red segments shows the city's performance in the respective dimension. The longer the segment, the higher the value and, therefore, a relatively better outcome in that dimension. The shorter the segment, the closer to zero and the centre of the diagram, the worse the outcome in that dimension.

From this analysis, we find that, overall, cities perform well in terms of the legal framework and political commitment dimensions. This is particularly true in Cordoba and Lucca. In Nitra, the legal framework and political commitment is relatively less developed while in Riga these dimensions are absent. Indeed, in Latvia, municipalities simply do not have a mandate for GDEI. Even if Cordoba and Lucca appear much more involved in GDEI from a political and legal perspective, it does not mean that political concerns lead to actions. indeed, accountability is very limited in most cases. It is, for instance, pretty rare to see explicitly quantified objectives, and no cities but for Lucca really devote resources towards reaching the targets. There are in general neither dedicated budgets, nor gender-disaggregated data and limited dedicated personnel. In summary, even when there legal framework, political commitment, and some resources, these appear to be extremely limited, might not encompass a gender dimension, or are simply not put to use, as reflected by the relatively poor performances of all cities in accountability, knowledge, and resources.

The spidergrams are in line with existing data on gender norms (Figure 2) and gender equality (Figure 3) in the four countries, although they obviously provide much more city-specific detail. When considering gender norms at the countries' level, it is possible to confirm that these findings are compatible with the broader comparable measures available for the four countries in international validated surveys.

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[1]Annex 1 also describes how these indices are constructed from the available data.
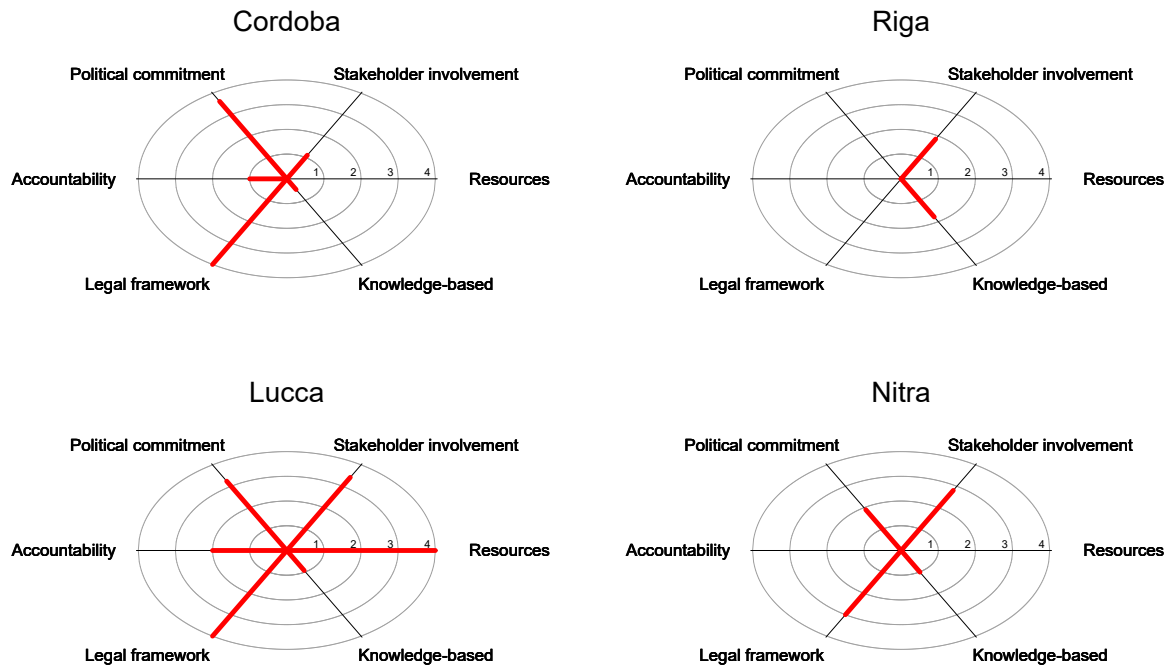
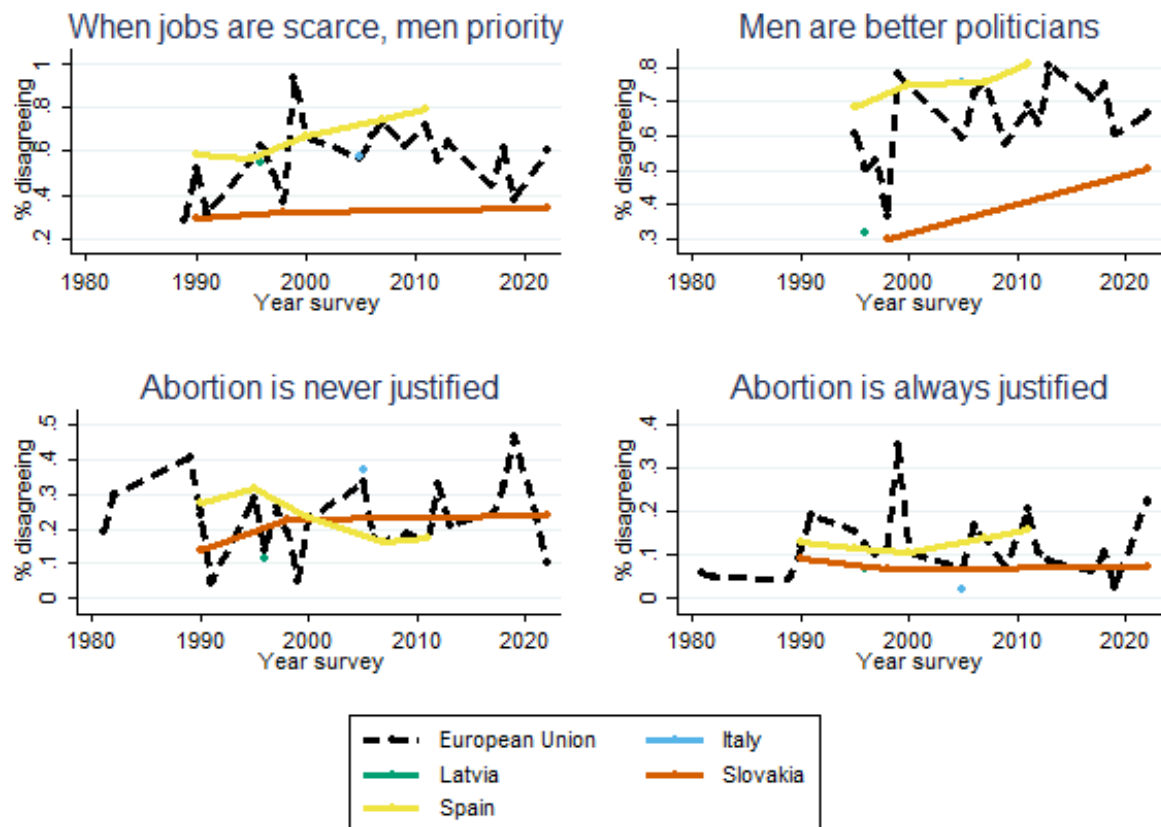FIGURE 1: Institutional framework in the IN-HABIT cities



FIGURE 2: Gender norms in European countries

Data about gender norms come from three questions from the World Values Survey and asked consistently from 1981 to 2022 (Longitudinal dataset v5, also used by UNDP to compile their gender norms index Programme (2023)). These three questions are validated and widely used. They ask the respondents' degree of approval of a list of statements related to gender norms: "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women", "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do", and "Do you think abortion can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between?". The curve for the European Union consists in the aggregation of the respondents from European countries belonging to the European Union in 2024. As the pool of countries changes from one year to the other, the curve is only here for reference within a particular year, hence interpreting the evolution of this curve is meaningless as changes may just come from the variation of the composition of the pool of these countries.
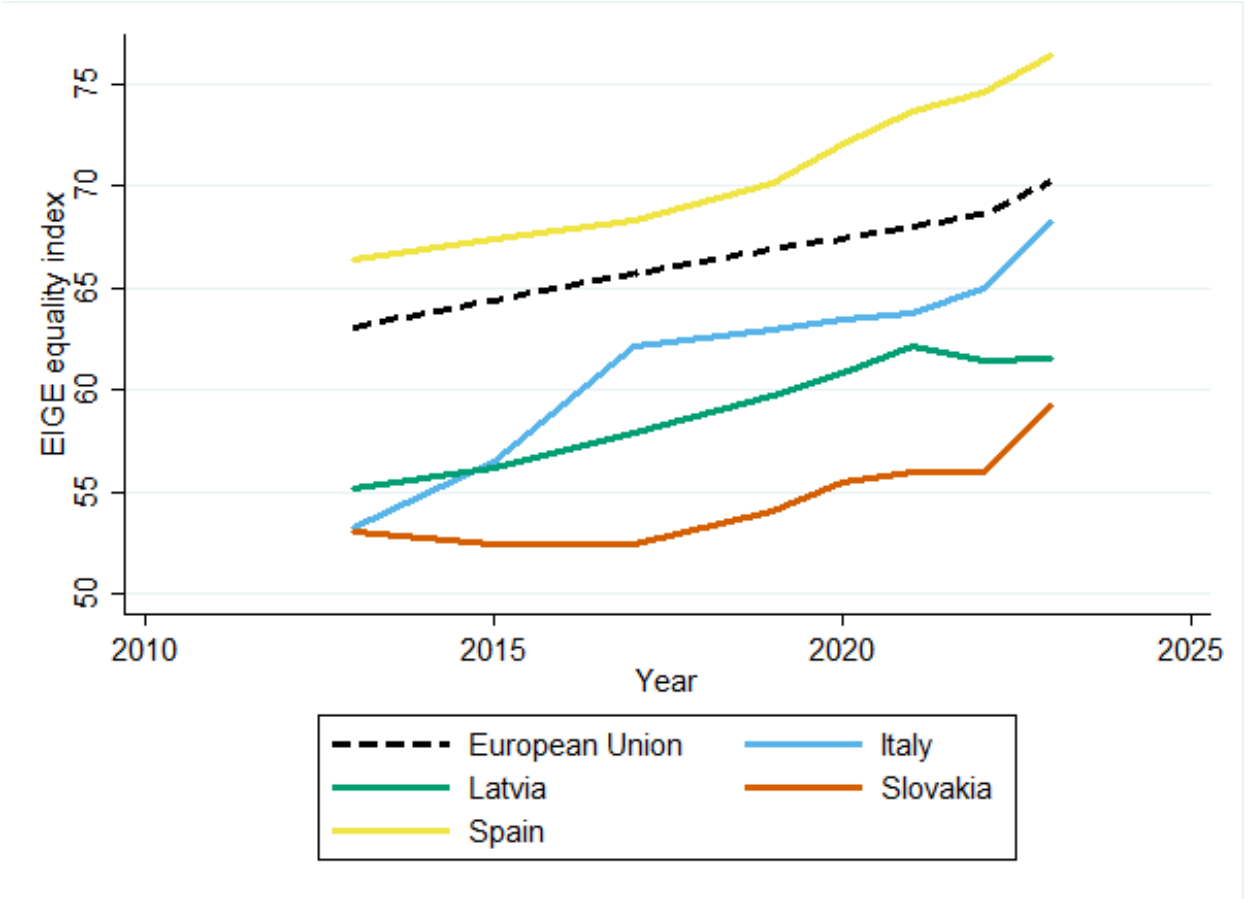


FIGURE 3: Gender equality in European countries

Data about gender equality come from the EIGE portal where a range of statistics on gender equality is available. Most notably, the EIGE equality index tracks gender equality in European countries since 2013. We use the aggregated version that synthesizes 31 indicators of gender equality into a single index but it is based on the evaluation made of several key dimensions such as work, money, knowledge, time, power, health, violence against women, and intersecting inequalities. The construction of the index has been following validated scientific approach and is revised regularly. More details can be found at https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/about.

## 4.2 Pillar 3: Welfare outcomes Landscape

Figure 4 shows the extent of gender gaps in five specific dimensions of well-being in the four cities of the project: healthy life style, economic, social, spatial and subjective well-being.

It is striking how heterogeneous the landscapes of welfare inequalities are in the four cities: not clear patterns across dimensions or cities emerge. There is no one indicator where gender gaps are consistently more or less
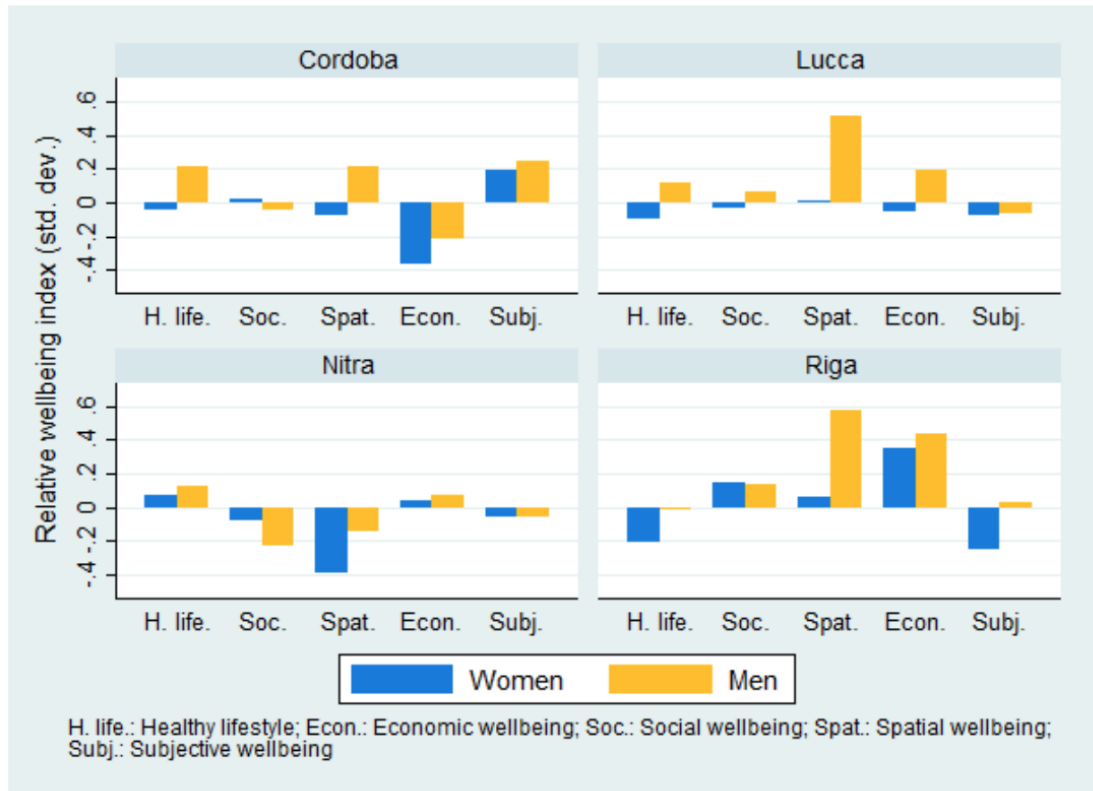
FIGURE 4: City-specific well-being dimensions by gender

pronounced across the cities, a reflection indeed of the different local contexts. For instance, men tend to experience higher levels of spatial well being in Riga and Lucca, but not in Nitra. Economic well-being appears to be higher for men in Lucca, Riga and Nitra, but not in Cordoba.

Overall gender inequality in wellbeing is shown in Figure 5, which reports gender differences in three standard measures often used to assess subjective well-being: the WHO5 scale, the Kessler psychological distress scale and life satisfaction (Topp et al., 2015; Prochaska et al., 2012). Again, the heterogeneity of experiences is evident from this mapping exercise.
Furthermore, this pillar allows for analysis of correlations between overall measures of subjective well-being and some specific dimensions of the city's life, and how these may differ by gender. Figure 6 focus on perceptions of safety, satisfaction with neighbourhood, and availability of key amenities.

Safety displays interesting gender differences. Feelings of safety is in all cities correlated with positive well-being for both genders. However, the magnitude is often drastically different. In Cordobà and Nitra, men are twice as sensitive as women to their feelings of safety, or we could also say that for a given level of perceived safety, men will have a much higher well-being than women. In Riga, both men and women have similar correlations except that safety is a general concern that affects their overall life satisfaction whereas it is not the case for men. In Lucca, men are pretty insensitive to safety issues. Access to amenities is positively related to well-being for both men and women in general. In Cordobà and Riga, men and women are pretty similar in their appreciation of access to amenities, though men in Riga tend to be much less affected in terms of overall life satisfaction. In Nitra and Lucca on the contrary, men are much more sensitive to amenities than women, or we could say that at a given access to amenities, they have a much higher well-being than women. Just from this information, relevant evidence emerges to inform local politicians of the different experiences that women and men have of their respective cities. This simple mapping
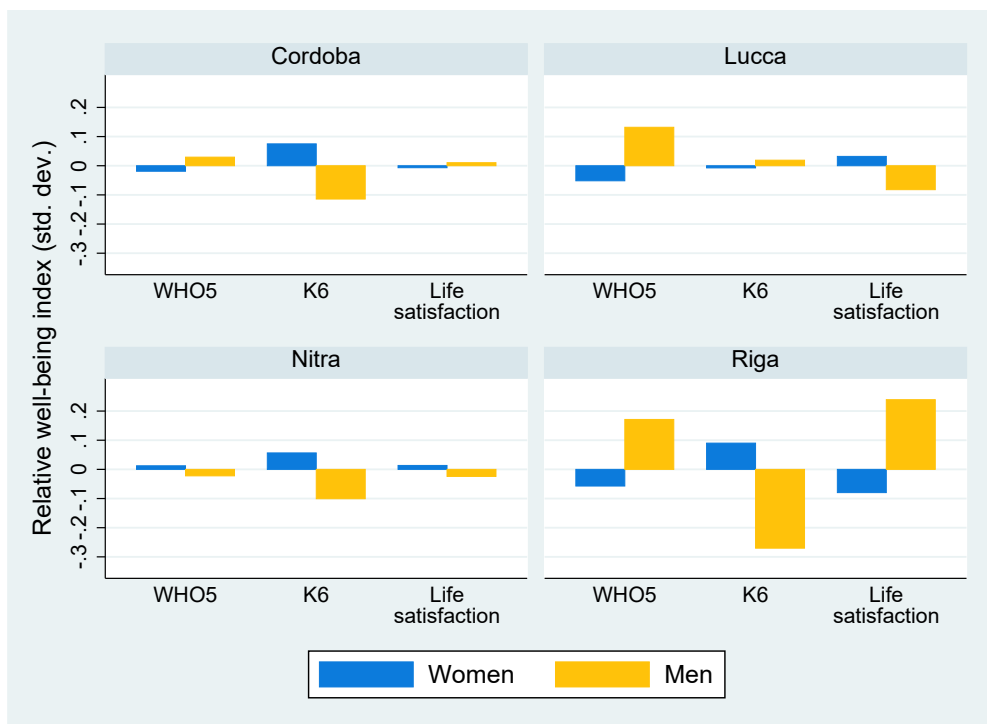
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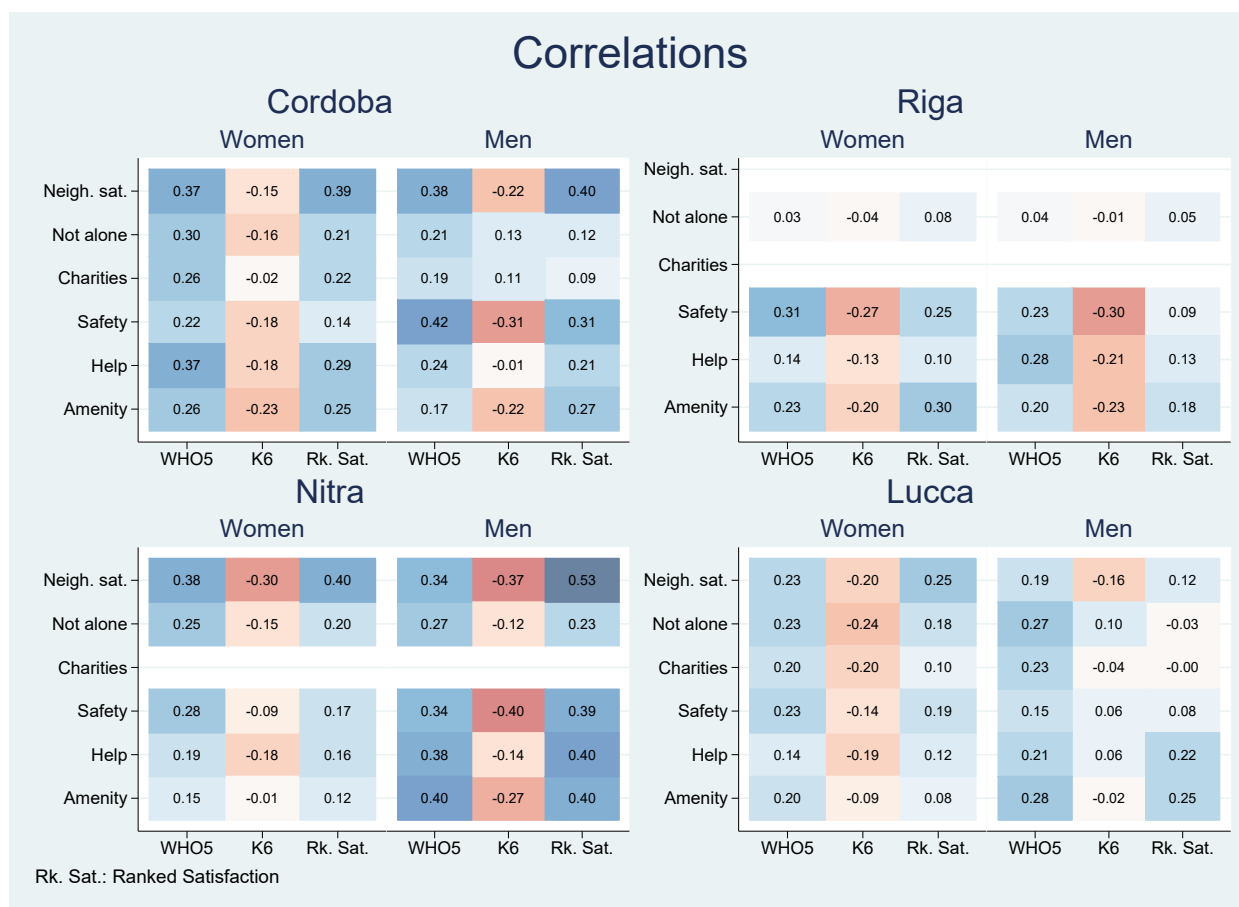FIGURE 5: Gender differences in overall well-being



FIGURE 6: Correlations between city dimensions and well-being by city and gender

does not of course point to the underlying causes of the gender differences shown but it clearly highlights areas for intervention.

# 5 Conclusion

In this paper, we aimed to present a novel framework to gendered landscapes, theoretically grounded and amenable to various applications. The framework is based on three pillars: The first aims to map the institutional landscape and, therefore, provides a thorough understanding of the extent to which institutions, both formal and informal, commit and devote resources to gender inequality in the city. The second aims to map the specific policies implemented by the city to address gender inequalities. The third aim to map the extent of gender inequalities in a range of well-being outcomes relevant to the city.

These three-pillars-based framework have two main benefits. Firstly, it allows for applications to specific local contexts while being replicable across time and space. Indeed, one limitation of existing approaches is that they are based on the experiences of specific cities. While this is extremely important, there is no approach to-date that, building on those experiences, proposes a framework that allows for context-specific application while ensuring replicability across time and space. We believe the latter to be important, not just for its own sake, but also because it allows for analysis of comparability, whether across different cities or within the same city at different points in time. Secondly, the use of three pillars allows to perform two types of exercises: one diagnostic and one evaluative. Indeed, the use of the institutional and welfare outcome landscapes allows cities to consistently map the extent of inputs and resources that are devoted to gender inequality at various levels of decision-making and the extent of inequalities on key well-being outcomes, such as work, health, education, transport and so on. This diagnostic exercise is important because it can inform the design of specific policies to address deficiencies in resources and inputs and the gender gaps in well-being. The consideration of the Policies landscape, alongside the other two pillars, gives the framework an evaluation function.

In this paper, we have shown an application of the diagnostic use of the framework, based on the experience from a Horizon 2020 project that aimed to improve health and well-being in four middle-sized European cities with specific attention to gender diversity and inclusion. Further work is needed to also demonstrate the evaluation potential of the gendered landscape approach, which requires more elaborate micro data.

To conclude on a more normative note, while much research continues to uncover important dimensions of gender inequality at all scales, including the urban one, several cities are designing and implementing gender informed policies through a range of committed practitioners and policy makers, all acting under the gendering cities movement and, more recently, the gender landscape umbrella. It is important to ensure that these experiences are not just promoted via peer-to-peer learning but also studied and understood by researchers, so that they may be promoted on a larger scale and supported with empirical evidence. We hope that the framework proposed here offers a good point of departure for research in this emerging and important field that promises to offer concrete ways to reduce gender inequality.

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