

## MAPPING GENDERED GEOGRAPHIES: READING WOMEN IN LITERATURE

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This article seeks to explore the gendered nature of urban spaces and the underlying frameworks of power that are embedded in these geographies. Roberts (1991) suggests that both in terms of social relations and material world, women literally live in a man-made environment as majority of planners and architects of the city are men, controlling women's occupation of spaces. The notion of a gendered city demarcating space into public and private has its roots in industrialisation that gave birth to contemporary city. While the working class women moved across the city streets as part of factory workforce, the bourgeois women were privileged because of their class to occupy the private spaces of home. The term 'public woman' referred to the prostitute specifically but in a broader sense to any woman out in the public (Walkowitz, 1992). The figure of the 'public woman' carries a moral censure, and suggests that she disrupts the normative public space that is encoded as male while the domestic sphere is visualised as feminine (Pollock, 1988); and the presence of women in streets without being chaperoned by men was source of discomfort and suspicion. Occupation of public space as key to freedom in the city was recognised by women; and a special kind of 'public woman', the feminist reformer questioned the gendered organisation and conceptualisation of space.

Elizabeth Wilson in *The Sphinx in the City* (1991) discusses the deep contradictions in contemporary urban space. On the one hand, modern cities offer freedom and on the other hand are bound by principles of regulation, design and planning, and the tension between these two currents gives the city its dynamism. According to her, "urban life is actually based on the perpetual struggle between rigid, routinised order, and pleasurable anarchy, the male-female dichotomy" (Wilson, 1991:7). Women's partaking of the freedoms of urban space is constrained by notions of safe/unsafe places, effectively ruling out equitable occupation of space. Can de

Certeau's (1984) walkers be only men in view of this restricted urban geography for women? De Certeau writes about the transformation of place by the 'ordinary practitioners of the city', the walkers, '*Wandersmanner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of the urban "text" they write without being able to read it' (de Certeau, 1984: 45-46). The corporeal experience of everyday walking build a sense of belongingness and attachment to a place; but even the everyday spatial experiences are contained by gender roles and performativity in urban spaces.

Let us extend the concept further from everyday practices of de Certeau to the possibilities of *flâneurie* in the city for women. The *flâneur* makes his first appearance in Benjamin's writing, 'The Return of the *Flâneur*' (1929). Benjamin is the historiographer of the city of modernity and the figure of the *flâneur* moves idly through the city streets, observing the environment and yet detached from it, and is largely a male figure. In fact scholars like Wolff and Pollock have claimed the impossibility of a female *flâneur*. Janet Wolff in 'The invisible *flâneuse*: woman and the literature of modernity' notes that till late nineteenth century women could not go alone to a café in Paris or restaurant in London. George Sand in 1831 dressed up as a boy to experience the Paris life. "The disguise made the life of the *flâneur* available to her, as she knew very well, she could not adopt the non-existent role of a *flâneuse*. Women could not stroll alone in the city" (Wolff, 2004:9). The women in Baudelaire's essays and poems are the prostitute, widow, old lady, lesbian, murder victim or unknown figure but not a one who falls into or follows the normative codes of womanhood. It appears that the possibilities of freedom in streets seemed to exist only for deviant women (prostitute) or for non-conformists (cross-dressers like George Sand). Wolff is right in pointing out that while the coming in of department stores in 1850s and 1860s legitimised the appearance of women in public, visiting them for shopping is not the same as purposeless strolling of a *flâneur*.

As the department stores have transformed into contemporary shopping malls, the female consumers are visible in large numbers there. These modern places of consumption woo the women with spectacle, discount offers, special prices for ladies' kitty parties and free ladies night at discotheques. Phadke et al, in *Why Loiter?* (2011) writes, "Overall, women's body language in malls demonstrates a sense of belonging that is not really visible in other kinds of public places" (Phadke et al, 2011:41). But the writers warn that large number of women in malls and coffee shops does not mark women's presence in public as these are pseudo public spaces designed on

principles of class exclusion. To study women's presence in public, one needs to instead turn to 'functional' places like streets, bus stops, railway stations, metro stations, markets, and parks, and analyse the embodied experiences there.

The *flâneur's* walk is however not easy, be it a modern or a postmodern city as the person walking down the street is a gendered body under gaze. Walkowitz writes,

Women cannot simply walk, do not stroll, they certainly do not loiter. They are in public with a function, such as is provided by markets and shops and meeting children. The *flâneuse* is surely invisible, as are her tales of the city. Women are not "at home in the city", rather they mount campaigns and develop strategies to "claim back the night", "refuse the gaze" an "walk without fear" (Walkowitz, 1992: 34).

Both women and the LGBTQ community demand the right to street as destination, an unconditional access to resources and an equitable belongingness in space. While the traditional masculinist/patriarchal/governmental discourse continue to focus on safety for women in public spaces, women are jostling for claims to spaces of pleasure. The former still adheres to public/private divisions of space where woman's presence in public space is linked to home, claims of respectability with a need to define a legitimate purpose for appearance in public. What is the definition of 'respectability' that women are supposed to adhere, to be entitled to protection in public space? If a woman is single/divorced/lesbian and is wearing 'western' clothes/short skirt or going out for a movie with friends, does it mean that she is not 'respectable' and is not entitled to protection? Women need to demand spatial equality, 'the right to take risks, placing the claim to public space in the discourse of rights rather than protectionism' (Phadke et al, 2011:60). Moreover, *flâneurie*, or loitering, as an end in itself fundamentally questions gendered geographies and boundaries and punctures the notion that women's presence in public space is only acceptable when they have a purpose. The loiterer, in mapping her own path, not necessarily a straight one, but one with meanderings and detours, defies rationalist principles of order and is counterproductive to the patriarchal idea of male explorer. Phadke et al, describe it succinctly:

The act of loitering, in its very lack of structure, renders a space simultaneously inside and outside, public and private, recreational and commercial, producing a constant state of liminality or transition. The liminality (in-betweenness) of loitering is seen as an act of contamination, an act of defiling space (Phadke et al, 2011: 185).

Loitering, in demanding the right to pleasure, ruptures the spatial demarcations; it seeks to populate the city with de Certeau's walkers or with women *flâneurs* with unconditional access to the city. It desires that women's presence in public places be not questioned on the basis of purpose or the dress or the company; a need to free spatial stories of women from the discourse of dangerous places. But does loitering also depend on the kind of city one inhabits? Yes, would be the answer of female geographers like Gillian Rose. It is suggested that the contemporary city falls into two categories: the modernist ordered city of Le Corbusier and the postmodern, informal one proposed by Jane Jacobs. Le Corbusier's rationally planned city is created for an authoritative male inhabitant, who walks/drives with a purpose, and in *The City of Tomorrow* meandering and *flânerie* are discouraged and spaces of social interaction are not paid attention. As opposed to this, Jane Jacobs foregrounds the people in the streets, she emphasises the intimate rather than the detached view, perhaps a city where the *flâneur* revels in the innate pleasures and experiences of the city.

I will now attempt to explore the issues outlined so far about gendered divisions of city spaces with reference to Manju Kapur's *A Married Woman* (2002) and *Home* (2007). The former focusses on woman protestor and the role of art in making interventions and disruption in public space. *Home* depicts the insidious ways in which patriarchy works in collaboration of capitalism, and where women's position has not changed radically in the liberal economy.

#### *A Married Woman: 'Out of place' women*

The novel, *A Married Woman*, roughly tracing events in Delhi from 1970s to early 90s, is the story of Astha, a school teacher, married to businessman, Hemant. She becomes interested in the events surrounding Babri Masjid when she is called upon to help with the script at a theatre workshop conducted by Aijaz in her school. Following Aijaz's gruesome death and the demolition of Babri Masjid, she becomes active in protest movements in the communally rife atmosphere. She quits her school job, to paint full time, and the focus of these paintings is the mosque and the demonstrations that she has been part of; a pictorial journey of her occupying of public spaces and her growing political consciousness.

Moore (1994) suggests that the gender function of social space is neither given nor obvious, but is enacted through embodied practices; and in that case it can be argued that social practices can

also question and re-examine the gendered spaces. The enactment of social practices comes across not only in the larger divisions of city spaces into public and private but further into geographies of everyday life—the street, market, office, kitchen and bedroom; and then of micro divisions like the kitchen sink, dining table and study room.

A *Married Woman* questions these spatial divisions and their gendered roles and makes an intervention in public space by placing women protestors on street to disrupt the normative urban divisions. The novel's opening sentence, "Astha was brought up properly, as befits a woman, with large supplements of fear" (Kapur 2002: 1) places the text under the overarching metaphor of fear/safety that is used to confine women spatially, socially, mentally and imaginatively. Teaching as a profession is decided for Astha by her husband and approved of by her mother and in-laws, as it is a 'safe option', and since the school is close to home, she would not have to spend much time on the road; moreover, it is a 'good time pass' (Kapur, 2002: 47). The space of the girls' school, dominated by female teachers and young children is perceived as a non-threatening one. Both the teachers and students largely stick to the prescribed script of the syllabus and perform within that. The discipline of this space is disrupted by the theatre workshop conducted by Aijaz Akhtar Khan during the school holidays. His style of functioning overturns the school's notions of hierarchical spatial organisation; he does not position himself as a teacher in a superior role to be addressed as 'Sir' doling out lessons to be rote learned from a podium. Instead, he encourages children to address him by his first name, sits in a circle in a democratic setting, and the theatre script, unlike a fixed prescribed syllabus, is worked around during rehearsals. Astha is called upon to help with the script on Babri Masjid and realises that "controversies need places, disputes need sites, not the other way around, and the Babri Masjid was one of them" (Kapur, 2002: 108). It is a re-thinking about space, conceived in ideas/abstraction and then concretised. Or perhaps ideas, controversial as they might be, and spaces existing in dialogue/combat?

Astha's growing political consciousness, an opinion about 'public' topics is threatening to Hemant who constantly runs her down: "Please. Keep to what you know best, the home, children, teaching. All this doesn't suit you" (Kapur, 2002: 116). Hemant's attempts to control Astha's movements are ineffective as she asserts her right to spatial explorations and participation in dharnas for registering protest. She is part of a series of protests that follow the gruesome

death of Aijaz and his troupe in the turbulent area of Rajpur that clearly took place with the collusion of government agencies, like the police. The sites of protests and marches are, primarily, Red Fort, Ram Lila ground, Constitution Club, India Gate, the Prime Minister's Residence and Rashtrapati Niwas. Protests at architectures of power are spatial tactics to make counter claims to that space, to re-claim that they are meant for use and occupation of 'public'.

Lefebvre highlights how struggles take place not just in space but for space, an effort to remake space. He questions as to "How could one aim for power without reaching for the places where power resides?" (Lefebvre, 1991: 386) Occupation of public spaces, especially by women, who are warned to be 'in place' at home is then not just a political struggle of claiming legitimate rights over space but involves almost a joy in trespassing.

Tonkiss argues that Foucault's concept of heterotopias as 'counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia' (Foucault 1986: 24) is open for wider engagement with how existing spaces can be altered. Tonkiss highlights the role of practice in remaking space, whereas Foucault treats alterity as a quality of space. He makes a case for protest or demonstration as a form of heterotopia; protests disrupt the spatial story of order, and 'if only temporarily-make of itself and its location an "other space"' (Tonkiss, 2005: 134). The idea also has parallels with Lefebvre's concept of 'counter-space' which is imagined in alternative political projects and oppositional strategies.

The protestors marching down streets and roads with banners forge new bonds of resistance to oppression rather than the primal ones of blood. The demonstrators' occupying of roads disrupts the order of the city, slows down traffic and commuters; here two groups of citizens with opposing ideologies seek legitimate rights over space. The commuters, including Hemant, dulled and insensitive to the cause, support the authority's spatial organisation based on regulation, while the protestors revel in the subversive undercutting of the spatial order. In fact, Astha's first painting, titled *Procession* depicts a rally. "Down the road, shouting slogans, they marched, blocking traffic in a way that Astha found most satisfying" (Kapur, 2002:143), underlining the tension between masculine principles of control and feminine ones of disorder and freedom. Their occupation of city spaces in opposition to forces of domination and oppression is akin to Occupy movements that underline the idea of groups protesting, be it through joining of hands, marching together or experiencing police brutality/courting arrests. These movements defy hierarchical organisation of city space, creating moments of

rupture that though brief open up new and alternative possibilities about spaces. This is doubly significant for the female protestor (who can be traced back to the special kind of public woman, the early feminist reformer/campaigner) who defies the spatial order of things by putting herself in the 'wrong' or rather the right, i.e. public place.

Hemant's attempts to confine her to private spaces of domesticity by simultaneously defining the morally and spatially decorous place for a woman, and by issuing warnings/threats/concerns about safety. He says, "You seem to forget that your place as a decent family woman is in the home, and not on the streets" (Kapur, 2002:172) and questions, "Who will protect you? Suppose you get raped?" (Kapur, 2002: 249). The discourse of unfamiliar men in unsafe public places is used for the supposed protection of the female body, while majority of crimes against women occur at the hands of known men at home rather than in public. Even her mother in law asks, "What is the need to leave your family, and roam about like a homeless woman on the streets of some strange city?" (Kapur, 2002: 186) Astha responds, simply, "To protest" (Kapur, 2002:186) to which the elderly woman suggests other 'safe' methods to be exercised from the confines of the home, like writing a letter to the newspaper and advises her against getting involved in politics. The narrative of fear is used to contain women to their 'proper place' (private) to prevent the disruption of coded spaces. Fear is spatialised by being associated with certain spaces and also with 'dangerous' times; and women's negotiation of the city is organised around geographies of violence and fear.

However, Astha has seen through the trope and trap of safety, of it being used to restrict and restrain women spatially, and of being used as a tool to instill fear of people, situations and spaces. The gendered city, comprising of unsafe and predatory spaces, was a relatively unknown entity for Astha as she was driven around by Hemant. The city is appropriated and experienced by her when she travels and traverses it alone, negotiating spaces not just through everyday practices of walking, but of hiring auto rickshaws and later driving her own car, crossing hitherto unfamiliar routes, of moving beyond the safe and straight route between home and school. It is from positioning herself as 'out of place' that she creates spaces of freedom for herself and partakes in the potential liberties that the urban public space offers. She even dreams and paints about women travelling together, and excitingly pillion rides with Pipee on her scooter. She traverses the length of the country, from Kanyakumari to Kashmir with Pipee. "I have travelled from P.'s house to my own

via the tip of the continent, a long detour” (Kapur, 2002:265).

Astha’s political consciousness travels from public to private spaces; it permeates from road to bedroom; she is unwilling to respond to demands of Hemant’s body on call, desires a car for herself and demands a place to paint, making the public/private division messy. In these porous divisions, where does one place art? Is art, pursued from domestic spaces, a private affair? Is it supposed to be sanitised and apolitical in its aesthetics? But Astha’s paintings are about volatile and ‘unsafe’ political subjects and spaces. In her first solo exhibition, six canvases are devoted to Babri Masjid and different forms of protest; the most evocative and powerful one is of a desolate hill with a *trishul* and saffron. As Astha quits the ‘safe’ job of teaching to paint full time; she realises that her life had transformed in two years. “The detour she had taken between home and school had now become the road she travelled” (Kapur, 2002:186). Protests and its representation in art are not the bylanes for her but the highway; painting is no longer a ‘hobby’ but a political tool; road is not a means to reach a destination but is an end in itself. Art is her way of making statement about women’s commitment to causes and is a visualisation of presence of women in public spaces, including sites of protest.

### *Home*: Intersecting politics of patriarchy and capitalism

Taking cue from the title of the novel, one can analyse Kapur’s *Home* as hinging on the twin pillars of home/private and its corollary the shop/public. It is the narrative of a *Bania* business family, that of Banwari Lal, who migrated to Delhi from Lahore during Partition, and the unfolding of the family saga over three generations and five decades, from 1960s to 1990s. The architectural restructuring of the home and the shop impacts the dynamics of relationships between people inhabiting these places and the outside neighbourhood/market. The overlapping discourses of patriarchy and economics especially place two characters on the margins: Nisha, the grand daughter and Vicky, the grandson from the daughter’s side.

Banwari Lal is forced to migrate from Lahore to Delhi with his family during partition. For him, Lahore is the city of imagination and memories, the ‘home’ left behind that is evoked in periods of ecstasy and crisis, but sadly that can now only be accessed in dreams/nightmares. Resettlement in Delhi is an attempt to transport and transplant the familiar space of Lahore onto the alien one of Delhi, to rebuild brick by brick his home and to regain the status that his



shop enjoyed in Anarkali bazaar in Lahore. They reside in Karol Bagh which, in its spatial organisation, closely approximates the *mohallah* system which allowed for greater social and community interaction. The *angan* was central to the architecture and conceptualisation of space within the home as the common area (with rooms around it, and kitchen and toilet at opposite ends) for activities like washing clothes, cutting vegetables, chatting and playing of children. The pulling down of this structure and roping in of a builder to make independent floors is a commentary both on the changing interpersonal relations within the family space and in neighbourhoods. The single storey structures makes way for apartments or rather what is termed 'builder floors' in Delhi vocabulary. The world of commerce enters the domestic space, dismantling not just the physical structure but the accompanying familial relationships. The builder sells the idea of a 'palace, a 'dream' with imposing exteriors, shining glass windows, a modern kitchen, marble floors and chandeliers in all rooms, and bedrooms with attached bathrooms. It is a reflection of the remodelling of Delhi/NCR on an imagined global city like Manhattan or Singapore and housing enclaves like Hamilton Heights, Mayfield Garden and Platina carry aspirational value. The contemporary architectural designs in global south self-consciously imitate the north, and in the process lose their individual characteristics. Sona is taken away by the consumerist dream; she imagines 'herself a woman in a magazine ad for kitchen appliances' (Kapur, 2007:172). The promised dreams are merely about cosmetic and external changes in the built environment, with no assurances, even if false, of change in position of women in the fancy setup. The 'owners' of space, especially women, are being turned into consumers and commodities in projections of a grand lifestyle. "Urbanity has been redefined as a consumption experience" (Christopherson, 1994: 413). As dreams take on the concrete shape of a modern modular kitchen, Sona is still located in the physical coordinates of the kitchen with domestic responsibilities; the transformed aesthetics leaves the social gendered fabric untouched.

The vocabulary of aspirations spatially shifts from the lost city of the past/dreams, Lahore, to a projected global city of future, Delhi. The mini units of independent floors, of bedrooms with attached bathrooms, are the chief features of the new architectural design, which eliminates the *angan* as the central common area or 'public' space within the house, and thus dismantles the previous spatial and familial order of the joint family system. Moreover, the

house attempts to impress with its flashy exteriors; the glitzy private spaces try to imitate the aesthetics of hotel receptions, marking a resultant shift in familial relationships. Sona complains about her daughter-in-law, Pooja, [who] “treats the home as though it were a hotel. The minute Raju is gone, out she goes, to her parents, to her friends” (Kapur, 2007: 264) Pooja’s ‘mobility’ is a partial reflection of the changing relationship of women and spaces; being freed from chores of the kitchen, she is no longer bound to domestic spaces of the home. However the shift in agency assigned or denied to women within home and city does not bear a simple equation as the situation of Nisha explicates.

Nisha, a *manglik* girl, is brought up confined to private spaces of home to protect her complexion as that would be her card to a good marriage in future. She is sent to the safe environment of a girls’ school and later allowed to pursue higher education in a women’s college. College education allows her to break the confined environs of Karol Bagh and explore the city. Even as the visual palate of the city experienced by Nisha is laid out for the readers, it is important to remind oneself that her travels are not that of a solo woman explorer/*flâneur*, partaking the joys of the city, but is in the company of a male presence, her boyfriend, Suresh. The pleasures of roaming the University campus, Coffee Shop, Kamla Nagar market and the shared intimacy in the morning shows at Batra hint at the enchantments that the city holds.

“The city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak our city, the city where we are, simply by living in it, by wandering through it” (Barthes, 1997:168). For Barthes, the spaces of exchange and connection in the city especially have an erotic potential for the young, but these seem accessible to young men or couples, but not to single women.

The family’s discovery of her affair with a low caste Suresh brings an abrupt end to her wandering in public space for pleasure. The woman, as the custodian of family honour, is sought to be protected by being pushed back into private space: “Now a prisoner in her home, she played the part of the king in chess. She needed to be protected, as without her there could be no game” (Kapur, 2007:217). The pressure to conduct herself in a particular way, an act of constant self-surveillance that Foucault calls ‘disciplined bodies’, takes over. However, with no marriage on cards and an unpleasant domestic atmosphere, she is reluctantly allowed to enter the public space once again, first at a play school and then to open her own boutique. As a ‘Businesswoman’, Nisha feels the privilege and responsibility of being trusted like a son in starting a new venture and is enthused by

the challenge. The unexciting and 'safe' job of teaching is happily exchanged for the adrenalin rush of running her own clothes line, *Nisha's Creations*. She manages to break once again the *lakshman rekha* of domestic space and travels across the length and breadth of the city for work; she scouts the bylanes of Ajmal Khan Road for *masterji*, explores Motia Khan to buy a display rack and sewing machines, and travels to Sadar Bazaar for laces and buttons. Her father takes pride in the exponential growth of her business and knows that her business cannot be labelled time pass by any stretch of imagination, and yet feels 'it was his duty to see that she married. Her fulfilment lay there, no matter how successful her business was (Kapur, 2007: 295). The two most legitimate reasons for women's entry into public sphere, education and job, are more often than not seen as time-fillers to 'occupy' them in public sphere while the 'goal' continues to be marriage that will put them back in their 'proper' space, the privacy of home. The theories of public/private space are further complicated by the economic discourse which separates the two, the household as site of patriarchal control and the market as site of capital control. The positioning of patriarchy as independent of capital has been challenged by feminist scholars as it undervalues women's contribution to economy and thus ignores the interactive nature of the two. Raju in *Gendered Geographies* (2011) discusses the complicated picture that intersection of capital with patriarchy produces. Even as more women enter paid employment, they are trained in traditional 'feminine tasks' and thus market comes to the aid of patriarchy in perpetuating gender subordination. Large number of women use home as workplace and this is 'sanctioned' as it supplements family income, offers women flexibility of hours. "It does not challenge the encoding of gendered regimes of household responsibilities; and it rationalises women's restricted mobility, most cunningly, in the name of comfort!" (Raju, 2011: 12)

For the two businesswomen in the novel, Rupa and Nisha, despite their business acumen and flourishing trade, it is somewhere posited as substitute for children and marriage, respectively, as the conventional roles of being a mother and wife have been denied to them. Work for both is operated from the private space of home; it consists of traditional feminine crafts like pickle making (Rupa) and stitching (Nisha); and both depend on 'patronage' of patriarchal support. The women's agency is continuously undermined and denied as incapable of running business independently. Nisha's only condition for marriage is that she be allowed to work and this is soon viewed as an unreasonable one. Women's primordial function

of bearing children is given primacy; she is persuaded to pass on her business (to her sister-in-law) and with it her spatial independence and pushed back into the spaces of home as a daughter-in-law and mother.

Patriarchy works in insidious ways and not in a monolithic fashion. While the granddaughter, Nisha's movement is curtailed in public space and is denied economic mobility, the grandson from daughter's side, Vicky is denied equal social and spatial freedom both at home and the shop. In the hierarchy of mini spaces within the shop, like the cash counter and displaying wares to female clients, Vicky is placed in the basement along with the assistant, literally and figuratively at the bottom of the ladder. Brought to his maternal grandparents' house after his mother's death, he is tossed between spaces of the home and shop, searching for a legitimate identity and space of his own. The interstitial space of the terrace is used by him to escape from work and for dreaming. The codes and rules do not extend to liminal spaces of the terrace and Vicky molests his six year old cousin, Nisha there. The same roof lodges his family post marriage, the life in barsati marking his conflicting and confusing position as member/non-member of family. His ideas and dreams about independent places of home and business are quashed with restructuring of the home and the shop. Having lived in undefined spaces and roles within the home and shop, Vicky realises that even though he is blood, "the blood lines from the female side can only whisper" (Kapur, 2007: 110). These feeble and muffled voices, without any legitimate claims in a strongly entrenched patriarchal spatial structure, are knocked off even from the fringes that they have occupied.

### Conclusion

This article has attempted to explore the position of women's negotiation of city spaces vis a vis the entrenched gendered geographies that seek to constrain women to the private spaces of the home. Even as large numbers of women are visible in urban public sphere today, it is important to remind oneself that a large woman work force continues to work from home, and/or chooses safer/softer professions, and needs to constantly justify their presence in public space when unaccompanied by men. There is a need to move beyond the discourse of safety for women, for them to be able to partake the pleasures of the city without the appendages of 'respectable purpose'. There are incidents of puncturing of

gendered divisions of space in literature and society at large where women attempt to claim equal spatial citizenship rights, but it is still a far cry from dismantling of these structures, and providing opportunities for women to roam/loiter freely, to not feel 'out of place' in public and to revel in 'trespassing'.

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