Special Issue Intersectionality

FUORI LUOGO

Journal of Sociology of Territory, Tourism, Technology

Guest Editors

Mariella Nocenzi

Università degli Studi di Roma "Sapienza"

Silvia Fornari

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YEAR VI - VOL. 16 - NUM. 3 - SEPTEMBER 2023
FedOA - Federico II University Press
ISSN (online) 2723-9608 - ISSN (print) 9532-740X

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This special issue was created with the support of AIS Studi di Genere

Summary

Redazione di Fuori Luogo
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tel. +39-081-2535883

English text editor: Pietro Maturi.
Cover by Fabio Improta. Photo by Ryoji Iwata on Unsplash.

EDITORE

FedOA - Federico II University Press
Centro di Ateneo per le Biblioteche "Roberto Pettorino"
Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

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Fedoa adopts and promotes specific guidelines on editorial responsibility,
and follows COPE's Best Practice Guidelines for Journal Editors.
Authorization of the Court of Naples n. 59 of 20 December 2016. Director: Carmine Urciuoli
ISSN 2723 - 9608 (on line publication) ISSN 2532-750X (printed publication)

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Fuori Luogo is indexed in: DOAJ Directory of Open Access Journals - ACNP Catalogue code n. PT03461557 - Index Copernicus International ID 67296.

The journal is part of CRIS Coordinamento Riviste Italiane di Sociologia.

Fuori Luogo is included in the LOCKSS (Lots of Copies Keep Stuff Safe) network of the Public Knowledge Project (PKP PLN)

Alina Dambrosio Clementelli[1]

Mapping safety through an intersectional perspective. The case of Wher[2]

1. Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the relationship between urban space and gender-based violence through an intersectional perspective, focusing on women's safety (Kern, 2019; Castelli et al., 2019). Several scholars have shown how the perception of safety depends on gender (Pitch 2001, Di Fraia 2019) due to different socialisation and sexual vulnerability. Adopting the intersectional perspective (Hill Collins, 2006; Anthias, 2012), based on the contribution of black feminism and postcolonial and decolonial studies, enables critical analysis of the representation of security and the further production of hierarchies according to class, race and gender. This approach allows us to show two aspects: on the one hand, it sheds light on the factors that contribute to the production of insecurity in public space, reinforced by a media narrative that links gender-based violence to neighbourhood degradation [3]and the presence of migrants; and on the other hand, underlines the limits of urban policies used to counter gender-based violence. From my perspective, partially and situated (Harding, 1987; Haraway, 1988), I adopt intersectionality to trace the dynamics of axes of power and their structuration rather than a series of static categories within which to fix subjects (Author, forthcoming). Although women's security is rooted in gender issues, it should first be historicised and interpreted in light of the security framework.

Since the Nineties, in Italy, the concept of security has become part of the repertoire of the political discourse of both right-wing and left-wing parties: it begins to take on specific denotations and occupy a central role in the various electoral campaigns by pointing to the figure of the migrant as a threat to public safety and to gradually strip away several social characteristics in favour of its identification with an orderly, white, and clean space (Maneri, 2013). One of the examples was in the last electoral campaign when women's safety was again at the top of the agenda used against the presence of migrants, according to securitarian rhetoric. After one rape in Emilia Romagna, Giorgia Meloni, the far-right candidate and the winner of the last political election, re-posted the video of one rape, underlining the nationality of the rapist to point out the 'emergency security' and reclaiming the fight against decay and illegal immigration[4]. The combined work of institutional and media public discourse constructs a precise idea of security through the homogenisation of various social phenomena.

However, safety should be considered in light of urban neoliberal processes and the restructuring of gender roles, precisely at a time when women have massively entered the sphere of productive labour. Women's safety has become a pivotal issue in political agendas and contemporary urban regeneration processes. As early as 1995, at the UN Conference in Beijing and Habitat II in Istanbul in 1996, women's rights to housing, transport and safe cities were considered a political priority. The European Council played a central role in conceptualising gender mainstreaming policies, a process of political change that would promote women's equality and fight discrimination. In light of political transformations, through the case study of a women's safety app, Wher, I will show what representation of safety emerges and how it shapes urban practices. The article will be divided into three parts. First, I outline the security policies in Italy and how they interlay gender-based violence. In the second part, I will refer to the relationship between

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2 Received: 15/10/2022. Revised: 13/05/2023. Accepted: 09/09/2023. Published: 30/09/23.

3 https://www.internazionale.it/reportage/annalisa-camilli/2018/10/25/salvini-san-lorenzo-desiree-mariottini (consulted on 15/09/2022)

4 https://www.dire.it/22-08-2022/778621-stupro-piacenza-video-meloni-letta-calenda/ (consulted on 1/10/2022)

the geography of fear and media-political discourse to framework the case study of Wher. This app is based on user comments and aims to suggest the safest streets for women and community building. The intersectional perspective allows looking critically at the safety discourse to analyse how racialisation processes define perceptions of urban safety and, most importantly, to whom these measures are addressed. In conclusion, I suggest social reproduction (Peake et al., 2021) in everyday life as an approach to deepen investigating women's safety starting from their grounded experience in everyday life.

2. Safe or securitised cities? Urban policies paradigm in the case of Italy

Women's safety gained more attention and became a priority in the city's governance, imposing itself on the European agenda as a criterion to pursue. In Northern Europe, urban planning has long since taken on a gender focus by adopting 'gender-mainstreaming' approaches (Bauer, 2009, p. 64), aiming at achieving gender equality through a synergy between different sectors and fighting discrimination. This approach looks at the people's needs, such as habits and priorities, and then figures out how to improve their living conditions. In Italy, some centre-left regional and municipal governments of Tuscany, Umbria and Emilia-Romagna regions have adopted gender mainstreaming (Zebracki, 2014) for a long time, and the app Wher, the object of this paper, is part of those policies. Considering the Italian scenario on the discourse of security allows us to outline the framework in which women's security fits.

Since the 1990s, the Italian context has witnessed a shift in the meaning of security toward urban security due to the experience of several centre-left party administrations (Martin & Selmini, 2000), in conjunction with a territorial distribution of competencies in public order and local administrative police. The idea was to promote 'integrated urban security' projects at the regional level through the synergy of multiple actors, such as associations, local police and social services, which means understanding security as a 'common good' and ensuring 'the security of rights'.

Because of the increased visibility of migrant flows in Italy, the media represent migration flows as 'invasions' and 'emergencies' (Sciortino, 2017) or the ethnic component is emphasised in a feminicide narrative, creating an image of immigration as a social problem. The relationship between representations and policies is a central node in both migration narratives, especially in building the rhetoric of securitisation. Accordingly, the logic of securitisation makes the social phenomenon a problem that creates social alarm and threatens order by identifying specific social categories as threatening (Borghi *et al.,* 2013). In this way, phenomena characterised by a specific social marginality whose ethnic component is emphasised fall under the umbrella category of crime. In this way, the feminicide narrative plays a central role in representing the 'foreigner' as a threat, reinforcing the myth of the 'black rapist' (Davis, 1981).

The femicide of Reggiani acts as a watershed in the public discourse on gender-based violence because her femicide was instrumentalised within the frame of public order and immigration. On 30th October 2007, Giovanna Reggiani was killed by Nicolae Mailat, a 23-year-old Romanian man. The media emphasise the characteristics of the perfect victim: Giovanna Reggiani, a 47-year-old white woman of middle-upper class, wife of a retired admiral, a 'respectable woman'. The description of Reggiani as a wife is functional in highlighting adherence to gender expectations. At the same time, the emphasis on the nationality of her murderer leads to the criminalisation of the 'foreigner'. The public debate gives rise to a climate of social alarm with the approval in a few days of Decree Law 181/2007, the so-called 'anti-Roma rule', which gives prefects the power to expel EU citizens from the national territory for reasons of public safety. The narrative about this femicide underlines the process of criminalisation of foreigners to Italian women, and gender becomes central to the process of ethnicisation, «that is, a process of criminalisation of immigrant men about rape, of the migrant-rapist nexus, as well as of the instrumentalisation of

the female body used to legitimise the recrudescence of security policies» (Simone, 2010, p.197) 2008[5] was a strategic year for urban security in Italy, which opens the season of sheriff-mayors issuing ordinances on security matters. Municipalities issued 600 ordinances, and 16% were concerned with street prostitution. The so-called 'anti-degradation ordinances' refer to a specific idea of public order, which implies an a priori selection (Dal Lago & Giordano, 2016) based on presumed dangerousness in a regime of morality and conformity to the norm. This logic affects those who populate the undesirable categories, such as sex workers, migrants, the homeless, and drug addicts and to whom the sense of insecurity is directed. The criminalisation of these subjects causes the politics of decorum to cross over on fear, which becomes a driving agent that shapes urban space. Underling this logic means to show how both the medial and political discourse reinforce the idea that gender-based violence is an issue of public order based on two specular discourses: the victimisation of women and the creation of a menace (Peroni, 2018).
However, the explicit association of gender-based violence and immigration is first found in 'Decree Law 11/2009: Urgent measures on public security and combating sexual violence, as well as on the subject of persecutory acts', which provides for the rejection of irregular foreigners, which was later amended to become the law on stalking. According to Simone (2010), women's bodies become a battleground to produce consensus in the discursive order of the securitarian paradigm. Inscribing gender-based violence in the emergency regime makes it a matter of public order without grasping the specific features and deep-seated reasons for our insecurity. For instance, Decree-Law 93/2013, 'Urgent provisions on security and for the fight against gender violence, as well as on civil protection and the commissioning of provinces', which inscribes violence in a broad legislative matter that has nothing to do with prevention but focuses on protection and ranges from violence in stadiums to copper theft. Those policies consider gender-based violence an order public problem and pretend to resolve it in an emergency approach. To better understand women's safety, look for deep reasons for their unsafety, what types of representation emerge and why some figures became a menace.

3. The nexus between sexism and racism in the geography of fear

Several surveys have shown different perceptions of safety depending on gender (Pitch & Ventimiglia, 2001). While men fear being robbed, the crime women fear most is rape (Whitzman, 2019). However, sexual assaults are underestimated because they are not always reported, and statistical analyses do not consider psychological, economic, social, and harassment violence. Perceptions of safety are also the focus of Istat's five-year multi-purpose survey, which aims to determine the prevalence of crimes and, consequently, their perception. In the latest 2018 survey, there was a decrease in fear of crime but an increase in women's perceptions in all aspects covered. For example, 24.9% of women feel unsafe when walking down the street in the dark, compared to 14.9% of men, or 17.8% of women never go out alone, compared to 5.3% of men. 19.5% of women do not feel safe even at home.
Research conducted by Di Fraia and colleagues* (2019) on women's experience of fear in Milan shows how the media diet of female participants influences their perception of their subjective insecurity and reinforces specific figures and spaces of fear. The results clearly show the teamwork between media, word of mouth and political-institutional discourse that makes the equation between immigration and crime a hegemonic discourse. In addition, the phenomenon appears to chronicle in some places: where the encounters with specific figures characterised by social distress, such as foreigners or the homeless, represent the highest degree of risk of coming across dangerous situations or that are places of drug dealing. This category includes train stations, but also huge streets with a reduced presence of pedestrians and finally, the suburbs,

5 With the approval of the 'Security Package' signed by the former Minister of the Interior, Roberto Maroni

which are described as places characterised by economic misery, and social disintegration and where there is a concentration of marginal social groups. Media representations have played a prominent role in the definition of risk and its elaboration, activating frames within which to read social phenomena. The narrative of femicides uses strategies that activate emphasis or distortions through stereotyped narratives and underline what is not routine, reducing complex issues to simple ones. It is a dangerous bias because the media pay less attention to domestic violence cases or read them as exceptional cases due to a 'crime of passion' or a 'rapture of madness'. Instead, when foreign men commit violence, male violence is considered something that belongs to other, more patriarchal cultures.

Di Fraia (2004) emphasises the normative power of the media as agents in creating specific interpretations of social phenomena in a shared universe of meaning according to the logic of agenda-setting. Many of the researches on the reporting of femicides show how the press does not make explicit the power dynamics (Radford & Russell, 1994), either by de-emphasising the perpetrator or by focusing on the behaviour of the woman who suffers violence that does not correspond to gender expectations (Giomi, 2015).

If, on the other hand, violence is committed by men belonging to ethnic 'minorities', inter-racial assaults are notoriously over-represented, despite this being a 'statistically unusual scenario' (Boyle, 2005, p. 70). According to the labelling theory, if a migrant commits a crime, the association between foreigners and crime will occur. As Di Fraia's research (2019) on women's perceptions of safety in Milan (2019) shows, women perceive the 'Other', the foreigner, as a menace through a series of stereotypes: he is conceived in a context of crime, urban decay and a cause of insecurity. However, this misses the material and cultural roots of women's fear and the risk of falling into the same trap as investigations of fear of crime (Vianello & Padovan, 1999) that reinforce the causality of the relationship between fear and increased security. Feminist geographers and sociologists (Madriz, 1997; Valentine, 1989) have pointed out that women's safety is not a paradox through the analysis of gender power relations and socialisation models in which gender is an 'ordering criterion' of the experience of subjects in a society (Piccone Stella & Saraceno, 1996). Adopting this lens makes it possible to understand the reasons for these different perceptions, which are due to the different socialisation of girls and boys and their relationship with their bodies from childhood. Specifically, girls incorporate prohibitions, precautions, exposure to recommendations, a limitation of their freedom of movement and autonomy, and coming up against a specific sexual vulnerability from an early age with which they have to deal. Women's perception of insecurity is linked to the dimension of vulnerability that constructs female bodies as 'accessible' (Bourdieu, 1998) and exposes women to violence as women. It is precisely for this reason that women develop feelings of fear of men and the risk of being raped, so insecurity and fear have a relationship as consequential. For geographer Gill Valentine, fear for men is spatialised by projecting it onto spaces. It is as expedient to cope with a constant state of alertness and inevitably conditions women's use of public space by implementing a whole series of adaptation or defence strategies (Riger & Gordon, 1981) naturalised, such as avoiding places considered dangerous, going out alone at night, wearing a particular type of clothing.

From childhood, women develop mental maps of places where they are at risk of being attacked as a product of their embedded experience and secondary information, e.g. through the media or other people's stories. The elaboration of these maps leads to limited use of space, especially where they may be in contact with unfamiliar men, as they are exposed to possible attitudes that they have no control over or cannot predict. Furthermore, the daily experience of catcalling, verbal harassment, and constant booing fuels this fear, making women feel like sexual objects in public spaces and reminded that their presence in specific spaces is not expected (Koksela, 1999). Although rape and assault statistics clearly show that women are more at risk in the home with men they know, the public discourse's constructed gender-based violence as something related to public space. The focus on strangers increases women's insecurity outside the home, concealing the dimension of violence that occurs in intimate spaces, involves emotional relationships,

and has repercussions regarding the policies implemented. The characterisation of public space as a space of fear, albeit unevenly, can be considered a spatial expression of patriarchy (Valentine, 1989).
Moreover, it is functional to reproduce traditional gender norms and roles according to which some spaces are inappropriate for women, conditioning their uses and shaping the precautions taken. Parks, alleys, subways, dark streets, spaces with few ways out or those places where women have experienced some violence populate the maps of unsafe spaces and draw the geographies of fear. Many studies show white women in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods tend to view rape in racialised terms because a racist image represents racialised men with uncontrolled and violent sexuality (Valentine, 1989). Therefore, the tangible presence of men belonging to other social classes or specific ethnic groups in some neighbourhoods contributes to their stigmatisation.
Considering the combined effect of all these factors, such as media, socialisation and everyday experience, the reasons why fear is firmly rooted in women are clear from a social and cultural point of view (Kern, 2019). Fear is a crucial element of patriarchal oppression (Walby, 1989) that performs the function of social control (Pain, 1991). In contrast to the social construction of insecurity as fear of crime, feminist analyses have shown how women's fear is closely linked to the fear of being sexually assaulted and, as such, plays a role in maintaining women's subordination in a patriarchal society. In other words, women's fear can be defined as a spatial pattern of male violence, manifesting in an increased perception of insecurity.

4. The case of Wher

In 2017, the centre-left administration of Bologna promoted a mapping of 'safe' areas and streets for women in collaboration with the app Wher. A Turin-based startup created the app based on users' bottom-up urban mapping. Since its release, this app has been downloaded 10,000 times reaching 50,000 users. To date, the mapping has covered five cities, but other European cities are being mapped. According to data from the app[6], more than 300 women have used it in Bologna, mapping more than 400 km through 2,000 comments. The idea was for areas of the city to be rated by users of the app based on the following specific indicators: perception of safety, brightness, affluence and risk of harassment. The app's self-representation is characterised by an empowering narrative, as the payoff «Maps for Women Made by Women» states, whose mission is mapping the city by female users who define the perimeters of its safety. The target audience comprises different profiles of women (students, entrepreneurs, travellers, etcetera) so as not to homogenise them as a single group. The work of this app is based on building a community through a blog and organising different events. The most active users are called 'Wherrior,' a play on words that upsets the victim's narrative about gender-based violence. Based on their subjective perceptions, users can indicate whether a street is safe or unsafe based on some predetermined indicators or make explicit what elements make the neighbourhood safe or unsafe.
In the city of Bologna, the experimental mapping covered three neighbourhoods: Bolognina, Quartiere Universitario and Cavaticcio. Among the mapped areas, I will focus on the Bolognina area, a former working-class neighbourhood located in a semi-central part of the city. Bolognina is a strategic point of observation, able to map safety issues through neoliberal urban restructuring, discourses of securitisation and women's grounded experience in everyday life.
Multiple games are being played in this neighbourhood: on the one hand, politicians' call for increased security underpins a negative media portrayal of the neighbourhood also due to the large presence of migrants, representing 25.5 per cent of all residents; on the other hand, an urban restructuring aimed at making it an extension of the city centre that, among other effects, causes an increase in rents.

6 Data update refers to March 2020

Methodologically, I draw in home-city geographies (Blunt, 2019) that point out the porosity of boundaries between home and the city, taking seriously how wider processes of urban change impact domestic lives at the same time as urban change is affected by women's home-making practices.

My own experience affects my research as a young white woman who has lived in Bolognina neighbourhoods at different times and for different reasons. Reflecting on my position also allows me to think about hierarchies and power relations in which I am entangled as a white and precarious researcher and has led me to find different methodological tools to overcome the proximity issue.

Through an analysis of local online newspapers[7] on the occasion of the 2021 local elections, a media representation of Bolognina characterised by insecurity, drug dealing and robberies emerges. Parallel to this narrative, another one gives space to cultural events and initiatives in the neighbourhood, especially in the redevelopment area. One among them is the re-opening of Tettoia Nervi[8], a redeveloped square used for cultural events between the new municipality and the former fruit and vegetable market. In recent years, Bolognina has been at the centre of a redevelopment project[9] to extend the city centre to a semi-central area. In 2008, those projects started: first, the municipality's new building, 33,000 square meters, and in 2013 the implementation of the High-Speed Railway. Moreover, the neighbourhood has experienced several evictions of housing squats and social centres such as Xm24 and two 'luxury' student residences opened in the last years: The Student Hotel in 2020 and Beyoo in 2022.

The neighbourhood map from the Wher app features orange/red, indicating unsafety or signalling a state of alert. The comments making explicit the factors of insecurity, which are about 30[10] in the period between 2017 and 2020, confirm the main features of the media narrative. The category of insecurity includes the presence of specific populations, such as drug dealers and migrants and the lack of urban elements reported in the app, for example, «poor street lighting, a multi-ethnic neighbourhood with social disadvantages, the presence of a busy space, XM24»[11]. In the app, the overlapping of populations and urban elements emerges in the 'use of space' as formal or informal, which determines the safety or unsafety of the streets. Instead, the presence of cafè, street lighting, and the movement of 'decent' people determine the safety category. In recent years the colours of the map have been gradually changing: residential areas of the neighbourhood, mainly Via Magenta and Via Cignani, are indicated as safe, while the red colour indicating insecurity persists for other areas, particularly the neighbourhood's main square, Piazza dell'Unità.

If the representation of Wher's app confirms the media narrative about Bolognina, fixing the category of insecurity through perceptions that are based on the construction of the fear, the maps drawn by the interviewees[12] who participated in my research, aided by photos, give another representation. This comparison shows, on the one hand, the overlapping of some urban elements concerning safety, such as the opening of bars and the demand for more lighting; on the other

7 I looked at the frequency of certain words in 20 articles using Bolognina as a keyword with google alert during the administrative election campaign in September 2021. The result was that the top five most frequent words associated with neighbourhood were: 21 times dealing, 16 drugs, 13 security, 10 police, 10 robberies, and 9 arrest.

8 https://bologna.repubblica.it/cronaca/2022/07/05/news/ecco_piazza_lucio_dalla_lepore_cambiera_il_destino_di_bologna-356731318/ (consulted on 4/01/2023)

9 http://www.comune.bologna.it/media/files/bolognina_trasformazioni_lug2017_def.pdf (consulted on 4/01/2023)

10 Just concerning the Bolognina area.

11 From an app's comment.

12 The sample comprises 15 women, mainly white cis-gendered women who live or work in the neighbourhood, aged 20-60. Only two are second-generation women over 30 years old. The participants do not use the app, nor are they familiar with it, but they use other coping strategies in the city. The pandemic affects my research regarding health safety and the intensification of work. Moreover, I had many difficulties with racialised women, both to lack trust due to my positionality and work reasons, i.e. one of those has a restaurant and has time just in closed hours, but she was cooking and caring for children. What is specific is that comments on the app are made mainly by women who do not live in the neighbourhood.

hand, the elements that produce insecurity diverge. Indeed, for the participants the presence of informal spaces and the multi-ethnic character of the neighbourhood highlights its living character; the darkness contributes to greater insecurity. The category of 'use of space' also shows a different valorisation according to the subjects 'role in terms of dwellings and city-app users: the women who live in Bolognina underline more the lack of care in some areas or demand the implementation of some welfare services and green areas, and at the same urban changes are considered differently. On the one hand, the implementation of some services, such as territorial health service as 'Casa della salute' or Municipality hall, represents a benefit for dwelling for the proximity; on the other hand, the eviction of Xm24 and the building of the Student Hotel represent a substantial change that affects the connotation of the neighbourhood.

Instead, app users as city users focus on the presence or absence of specific un/desirable categories where the ethnic component is pivotal, as reported in a comment: «irregular migrant», with the risk to naturalize the 'irregular' dimension and so criminalize specific people.

The research participants' maps are delineated through their daily routes and affective spaces, which make Bolognina a 'home' as an affective and relational space (Ahmed, 1999). This type of map facilitates a biographical narrative and creates 'counter-maps' to the administrative boundaries of the neighbourhood. Women's maps emerge differently depending on the positioning of subjectivities, class, and race. For example, one interviewee told about a racist incident emphasising how her skin colour overrode her class status and affected her perception of herself in urban space.

Temporal dimensions also change the map: according to day and night - when darkness takes over, women find it more challenging to control the space around them and their bodies are perceived as 'available' - and also according to life stages, as the way of experiencing space changes, for example, if one has children. This category emerges differently in the Wher map and the 'counter-maps'. Both maps refer to the daily time e highlight that the dark increases the perception of unsafety, but in the first case, the valuation of area fixes time and perceptions on a synchronic dimension; in the second one, the diachronic dimension makes mobile maps. The focus on women's everyday life shows that maps are not fixed and unchanging over time. Through the mixed use of life stories, daily routes, and photos, maps emerge composed of multiple layers that assemble emotions, experiences, narratives, and images about the neighbourhood and the spaces they inhabit. Also, safety emerges differently: it is not just a neighbourhood issue, but it is linked to gender, economic status and also depends to intimate and relational networks.

Despite the app's stated intentions to build community, the risk is to draw a map in which dangerous areas are produced and avoided. Pain (1991) introduced the idea that space itself is defined by gender through «the construction of fear in women's lives and [...] their behavioural responses have implications for their equal participation in society» (p. 415). Cartography results from political vision and orients and fixes values and symbols, risking the overlap between perceptions and reality (Farinelli, 2009). As comments on the presence of immigrants and homeless people in the neighbourhood report, the result is that this representation is considered objective but is based on subjective perceptions (Olcuire, 2019) that reproduce stereotypes based on class and race by linking them to crime (Smith, 1982).

A central question is how fear conditions women's lives and what effects these maps of danger produce. The responses to these emotional states are often individualistic and consist mainly of processing certain comfort, familiar areas and other dangers, which contributes to the stigmatisation of specific areas. The risk could be that women enact avoidance practices and self-inhibition concerning undesirable situations (Pain 2001). For example, going out at night alone would mean taking responsibility for what might happen according to the logic of 'you brought it on yourself', giving rise to a victim-blaming process.

Another element to consider is that these comments focus mainly on neighbourhoods where urban changes are taking place. Indeed, the construction of blighted areas causes a demand for greater security, and specific neoliberal urban processes play a crucial role in making an area

desirable. These changes can be read in light of global neoliberal urban processes that take different forms and specificities depending on where they occur. Bolognina is one of the areas in which the City Council will invest 16.6 billion euros from the PNRR to regenerate the area as part of the 'City of Knowledge' project and a plan for the 'Economy of the Night', which includes the implementation of night buses and the installation of safe spaces for women and LGBTQ. From this perspective, safety takes on the connotations of a commodity. In the last summer of 2022, the debate on women's safety was at the top of the political agenda after the three rapes in Bologna. The public and institution debate prosed several measures: the implementation of CCTV cameras and street lighting, the closure of public parks at night, and, last but not least, a risk map to counter gender-based violence.

5. Mapping safety in the Social Reproduction lens

Wher, while presenting itself as an app aimed at women, can be seen as an individualising security device that reinforces control and (Koskela, 2002; Macchi, 2006) contributes to mechanisms of self-exclusion (Koskela, 2002; Macchi, 2006) from spaces, making the discourse of women's safety a matter of 'public order'. This view of women's safety is characterised by a situational and decontextualising approach, which aims to prevent or reduce risk through the control of the potential victim and results in a logic that makes safety a matter of individual responsibility, that is, belonging to a regime of choices that are up to the individual. Pitch (1989) argues that the oppression paradigm has shifted to victimisation, coinciding with the transition from a welfarist system to a neoliberal system, where the emphasis shifts from the criminal subject to the victim. The choice of this district allowed me to verify these perceptions, but above all, to investigate how subjectivities experience the neighbourhood and the home daily, which are the affective spaces and those they avoid, and how material conditions influence the production of security. In contrast with cartography and fear maps, one of the results is mobile and dynamic maps that record and assemble porous and multiple levels made by visual, emotional, personal and collective narratives and images about the spaces we pass through.
Most of the studies on women's perceptions of insecurity in Italy (Di Fraia, 2019; Pitch & Ventimiglia, 2001) focus on racist stereotypes but do not consider how women's fears are modified depending on another positioning, with the risk of considering women as a homogeneous group, without considering the intertwining of gender with other social categories (class, 'race', sexuality, etcetera). In this regard, the intersectional perspective shows which dynamics emerge, how processes of racialisation structure the definition of the perception of urban security and, above all, who is the target of these measures. In addition to highlighting the limits of both the discourses and the interventions fielded, the intersectional perspective shows how the gender dimension fails to consider the complexity and intersection of domain axes underlying urban space's (re)production. However, gender, race and class alone cannot explain the fear of crime, but they work together to influence the nature and fear of crime. These terms should not be interpreted as descriptive categories in the analysis of fear maps but help us to understand how fear is structured by age, gender and race based on social relations of power asymmetries. Moreover, fear maps such as the Wher app are also delineated by processes of racialisation and class. They rarely include as dangerous the places where women experience the most violence, such as the home and other private spaces. Indeed, the focus on fear in public spaces keeps intact and reinforces the division between public and domestic, making the home invisible as the place where most violence occurs, as well as the workplace. A second related theme is how wider perceptions and media representations of certain neighbourhoods as unhomely and unsafety counter the lived realities of such spaces. Such dominant narratives reinforce the ideological notion of home as a safe, private, enclosed space unaffected by the wider city. For this reason,

specific proposals, such as mapping safe or unsafe areas, risk crystallising the issue of insecurity, increasing the stigmatisation of specific neighbourhoods and do not grasp women's safety.
Moreover, there is no lack of criticism of gender mainstreaming regarding its effectiveness and the meaning of 'gender' (Eveline & Bacchi, 2005). It raises questions about what is included or excluded from the strategy and highlights if gender equality is reduced to 'the inclusion of women in a continuation of previous policies. In this framework, we can see how the securitarian logic is intertwined with gender mainstreaming policies that, on the one hand, reproduce hierarchies of class and race and, on the other hand, target a specific interlocutor: the white, cis-gender, able-bodied, mother and upper-middle class woman. In other words, the hegemonic discourse on women's security lies in the intertwining of a neoconservative securitarian view and neoliberal views. The first identifies the migrant as the 'threat' figure, reinforces pre-established gender roles, as well as a division between public and private space, while for the second one, safety is an individual responsibility whose fear is capitalized[13]. As Kern argues, security features open up risky areas of the city to investments and work to «sell a commodified and privatised» lifestyle to women (2010, 150). In light of these considerations, we outline the risk of gender becoming a mere depoliticised category (Verloo, 2005), as this security logic does not affect existing power relations. Instead, it reinforces gender norms and roles. In this way, neoliberalism redefines male violence against women as insecurity (Gago, 2022). Consequently, it deploys responses that demand greater control, making violence an issue of general insecurity and reinforcing racist, sexist and class hierarchies that respond to patterns of subjective perceptions.
Moreover, the literature has increasingly recognised the interactive nature of public and private spaces and how this interaction is historically and socially pivotal in understanding gendered social relations (Valentine 1989, Pain 1991). For these reasons, adopting social reproduction as an approach could break the dichotomy of unsafe/unsafe and overcome the dichotomy of public and private spaces by looking at the reproduction of structures of gender-based violence and showing affective and social relationships in everyday life. Furthermore, investigating safety in everyday life allows us to grasp how safety affects women's concrete practices, in contrast to an abstract idea of 'woman', but also how the meaning of safety changes depending on material conditions. Following the work of Linda Peake (2021), social reproduction is understood as both a feminist epistemology and a method that allows for thinking from a situated and a partial standpoint, which also upsets hegemonic urban theory that focuses on public space without taking a gendered perspective. This approach also recognises the city, including its public spaces, as a 'home' and a place of belonging, not just a private domestic space. This theory and method will enable me to make a critical intervention in ideas of women's safety, how both safety and danger are produced in different ways, in different places, and at different scales, as experienced and understood by women, not as represented in strategic political economy discourses of the media and the state.

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13 In the neoliberal system, security becomes a commodity through video surveillance, implementation of technologies and devices targeted for women and by devolving to consumer spaces security for women through public-private agreements.

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