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TENSIONS IN THE WAYS OF INHABITING OF SEXUAL AND GENDER DISSIDENCES IN THE PUBLIC SPACE OF THE URBAN CENTER OF CONCEPCIÓN.¹

TENSIONES EN LAS FORMAS DE HABITAR DE DISIDENCIAS SEXUALES Y DE GÉNERO EN
EL ESPACIO PÚBLICO DEL CENTRO URBANO DE CONCEPCIÓN

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Enfocado desde el urbanismo con perspectiva de género, el artículo expone algunos resultados derivados de un estudio cuyo objetivo fue caracterizar las formas y tensiones del habitar de las disidencias sexo-genéricas en el centro urbano de Concepción y los elementos del diseño del espacio que inciden en estas. Para responder a este objetivo se realizó una investigación con enfoque cualitativo. Como técnicas de recolección de datos, se realizó un mapeo colectivo con las comunidades objeto de estudio para establecer con ellas lugares significativos del espacio público, seguido por una serie de entrevistas semiestructuradas, a partir de las cuales se realizó un análisis temático a fin de identificar vivencias compartidas entre quienes participaron. Los hallazgos evidencian que las diversas actividades y prácticas de los grupos de disidencias en el espacio público se realizan en un constante estado de alerta, modulado en gran parte por la percepción de inseguridad que se tiene de un lugar. También se lograron definir las tensiones percibidas en los espacios públicos del centro urbano. Las percepciones, prácticas y formas de habitar de las disidencias, así como las tensiones producidas en estos procesos, nos expresan la necesidad de abordar el enfoque de género y la diversidad en los procesos de planificación y diseño urbano para avanzar así hacia ciudades más inclusivas y equitativas para todos y todas.

Palabras clave: urbanismo, género y disidencias, formas de habitar, espacio público

Using urbanism with a gender perspective, the article presents some results from a study that aimed to characterize the forms and tensions sexogeneric dissidents live in the urban center of Concepción and the elements of spatial design that affect them. A qualitative research approach was used to respond to this goal. Collective mapping was carried out with the communities under study to establish significant places in the public space, followed by a series of semi-structured interviews as data collection techniques. After their transcription, a thematic analysis was made, identifying the shared experiences of those who took part. The findings show that the different activities and practices of dissident groups in the public space take place within a constant state of alertness, modulated, to a large extent, by the perception of insecurity in a place. It was also possible to define the tensions perceived in the public spaces of the urban center. The perceptions, practices, and ways of living dissidence, alongside the tensions produced in these processes, express the need to address the gender and diversity approach in planning and urban design processes to move toward more inclusive and equitable cities for all.

Keywords: urbanism, gender and dissidence, forms of inhabiting, public space

I. INTRODUCTION

The problem of gender-based violence is quantitatively relevant in Chile and Latin America (ECLAC, 2015). Its occurrence in the public space is not only associated with quantitative victimization data but also with other structural factors. In this sense, urban socio-territorial segregation and, in the case of women and gender diversities, a patriarchal socio-cultural framework has permeated gender roles and the relationship between them (McDowell, 2000), as well as the modes of use, appropriation, and organization of urban space (ECLAC, 2015; Falú, 2014).

According to Gamboa Samper (2003), the public space makes it possible to meet and exchange, which is why it constitutes a collective space (Cerasi, 1990; OAE, 2013). It represents the setting for human beings, namely citizens, to live and interact in the city (Borja & Muxí, 2003). In physical-symbolic terms, urban public spaces constitute a continuous system of collective spaces, identified as streets, squares, parks, and public gardens, among others, which, in the words of Gamboa Samper (2003, p.17), "set up" the city, give it coherence as a whole, and make it recognizable.

Violence and sexual harassment, mainly experienced by women and gender diversities in the city, deteriorate the traditional notion of public space as a meeting space (Moreno, 2006). On the contrary, the urban public space becomes the place where different social exclusions unfold and reinforce themselves (Zúñiga, 2014). According to Falú (2014), Muxí Martínez et al. (2011), and Valdivia (2018), there are structural inequalities linked to gender that directly result in an unequal appropriation of public space for women, men, and sex-generic dissidence.

McDowell (2000), on the other hand, complements this, pointing out the existence of a diversity of groups and social actors left outside the public space, understood as a place "for everyone." For Rico et al. (2017), these processes influence the perception and use of inhabitants, permeating the construction of unequal gender relations in the city. That is why it is essential and urgent to "recognize that the way cities are built is not neutral" (Muxí Martínez et al., 2011, p.23). Hence, as Buckingham (2011) suggests, its analysis should consider all actors and functions that participate in the development of urban life.

Although feminist urbanism has made it possible to make gender issues visible and provide solutions for their equity (Amoroso, 2020), since the regulation of urban space use, sexual dissidence, which is understood as a group of people who identify outside the heteronormative and masculine perspective, i.e., "the common" (Soto Villagrán, 2018), has historically not been

considered. As Revueltas (2021) expresses, very few studies address how these communities use and appropriate urban space. Giaimo (2021), through the analysis of the spatiality of the queer⁶, outlines the absence of representativity for the transvestite-trans collective in habitat and housing policies. Although there are some experiences incorporating these groups into planning processes in Latin America, they are still very few and insufficient (Peraza, 2022; Kokalov, 2018)

According to the results of the 2017 CASEN survey, 1.98% (221,796 people) of people residing in Chile reported having a sexual orientation other than heterosexual. This number increased by 0.44% compared to the same survey conducted in 2015. It is also evident that 2.8% of the people surveyed do not identify with the gender given at birth. Another significant piece of information is that 13.7% of households where the head of household identifies as heterosexual, report that some member of the family nucleus has suffered discrimination or been mistreated due to the sexual orientation of the head of household in the 12 months prior to taking the survey. This percentage is significantly lower than that registered in households where the head of household identifies as homosexual, with 30.1%, and 36.5% in the case of those who identify as bisexual (Ministry of Social Development and Family, 2018).

In Chile, cases of assaults against sexual minorities have been progressively rising, with 14.7% more in 2020 compared to 2019 (MOVILH, 2022). Many have occurred in public spaces such as parks, squares, or streets, revealing a problem mainly in urban areas. In recent years, public policies have been implemented regarding sexual non-discrimination and laws that include the LGTBIQ+ collective, with the anti-discrimination law, also known as the "Zamudio Law" (Galaz Valderrama et al., 2018) and Law No. 21120 on gender identity, standing out. However, policies and research addressing discrimination suffered by dissidents in urban public spaces have not been implemented.

Focusing on urbanism from a gender perspective, this study seeks to visualize the tensions sexual dissidents face in the public space, specifically in the urban center of the city of Concepción, Chile. In 2020, the Biobío region had the third highest number of aggressions against LGTBIQ+ people (MOVILH, 2022), positioning Concepción nationally among the cities with the most cases of attacks on dissidents. The results and reflections presented here hope, by analyzing the case of Concepción, to contribute to knowledge on how sex-generic dissidents live and their associated tensions and meanings.

The research question sought to answer how sexual and gender dissidents live and what tensions they perceive when inhabiting the public space of the urban center of Concepción.

⁶ Groups designated by binary gender categories, thereby defining roles, modes, and uses that violate their identities that stand out from the hetero-linear, or intend to do so.

The general objective proposed was to characterize dissidents' forms and tensions of living in the central space of Concepción and the design elements of the space that affect these. To respond, research with a qualitative approach was used. As a data collection technique, collective mapping was made to answer the first specific objective of establishing significant places in the public space of Concepción's urban center for sexual and gender dissidents' lives. A series of semi-structured interviews followed this to respond to the second and third objectives: to identify the tensions in dissidents' living and the design elements that enhance them, according to the variables considered, respectively.

Understanding how groups outside the binarism and heteronorm framework inhabit urban spaces is an opportunity to recognize these excluded groups' problems of living, thus being able to start looking for ways to generate cities that genuinely respond to the needs of all their users and, therefore, to the heterogeneous needs of the population (Muxí Martínez et al., 2011)

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Dissidence, public space and urban design

The urban space, according to Becerril-Sánchez et al. (2012), expresses social relations in the space (Becerril-Sánchez et al., 2012, p.147). This means that in a society marked by asymmetrical and unequal gender relations, these relations are expressed and configured in the urban space (Soto Villagrán, 2018). Therefore, it can be determined that gender relations transform space and incorporate it into the urbanization process. Shelly Buckingham (2011, p.7) states that urban space, on not being neutral, should be analyzed considering the different actors and functions that participate in creating urban life, which includes traditionally excluded groups and their way of living.

Within these groups, we can find sexual and gender dissidents, which are understood as the group of people who are outside the heteronormativity and gender binary rules (Soto Villagrán, 2018). Heteronormativity, according to Serrato Guzmán et al. (2015, p.165), is "the sexual ideology that approves and prescribes heterosexuality as a natural assignation and comes from the biological difference associated with the reproduction of the species," discarding sexualities outside this norm as valid or even possible. On the other hand, binarism is understood as this way of seeing the world based on dualisms and gender, pigeonholing people into two unique possibilities: being a man or being a woman (Medina, 2022). Butler (2007) points out that both gender and sex are performative; that is, they are a social construct, questioning the norms that govern gender and discarding the validity of the binary.

From an anthropological point of view, the act of inhabiting is defined as the human capacity to interpret, recognize, and signify space (Giglia, 2012). Social and structural differences condition this act. This process is changing and differentiated according to the particularities of each context since everyday use practices are "taming spaces" (Giglia, 2012), making them meaningful places.

On the other hand, from the perspective of feminist urbanism, living implies the possibility of intensely and integrally developing the different spheres of life under equal opportunities (Muxí Martínez et al., 2011), for which urban design has an important role, as it either limits or enables this development. In this sense, shaping equipment, infrastructures, or the quality and quantity of public spaces guides or inhibits uses by different social groups (Col lectiu Punt 6, 2017; Muxí Martínez et al., 2011).

In this context, new urban design policies and elements could enhance and improve the use of public space for the benefit of the most excluded groups. However, urban design is generally based on gender stereotypes, ignoring the particular needs that women, men, or divergent groups may have in these public spaces. This lack of consideration generates conflicts, tensions, and violence toward bodies, marking the experience of living (Col-lectiu Punt 6, 2017). In this way, the violence experienced by women's bodies and other subjects of discrimination shows the unequal historical power relations, which are expressed in the domestic space and are transferred almost in a continuum to the public space (Falú, 2009).

The problem of gender-based violence and insecurity in the public space is not limited to quantitative victimization data but also involves additional structural factors. These include urban socio-territorial segregation and, in the case of women and diversities, a patriarchal socio-cultural framework that has permeated gender roles and the relationship between them (McDowell, 2000) and that, in turn, affects the modes of use, appropriation, and organization of urban space (ECLAC, 2015; Falú, 2014; Falú, 2015)

Considering the public space as the scenario that gives rise to social relations (Gamboa Samper, 2003), inhabiting cannot be separated from the experiences of those who inhabit it (Borja & Muxí, 2003). It is these social relations, which give rise to an understanding of public space as a collective space (Cerasi, 1990), that are shaping a city, making it recognizable and giving meaning to spaces that would otherwise only be physical places (Gamboa Samper, 2003)

When cities are formed based on living experiences, acts of violence towards certain inhabitants cause a break in the narrative of public spaces as meeting or collective spaces. Acts of harassment or exclusion in public spaces give the space negative connotations and social exclusion (Zúñiga, 2014). In the case of

Analyzed
area

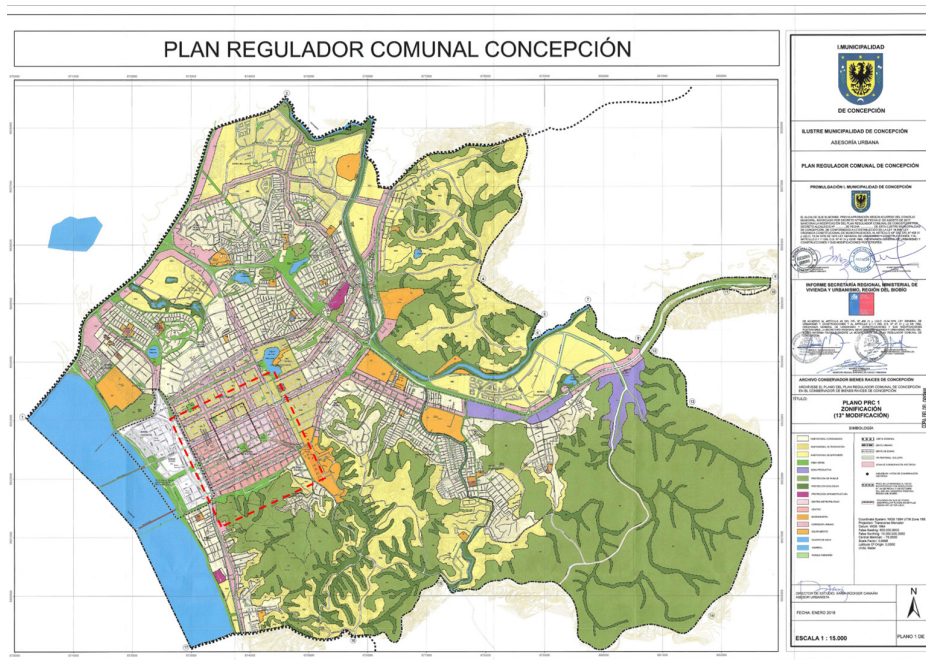


Figure 1. Concepción 2019 Communal Regulatory Plan with the study area. Source: Preparation by the authors using the Minvu file. (Plan Regulador – Municipalidad de Concepción, n.d.).

gender segregation, it is evident that inequalities between men and women and dissidents are rooted in long-standing cultural traditions (Falú, 2009), excluding certain groups of inhabitants from spaces that are supposedly for everyone (McDowell, 2000).

From this framework, Muxí Martínez et al. (2011) highlight six variables associated with the design of spaces that guide the perceptions and uses of public spaces from a gender perspective. The first four variables are public or relationship spaces, services/equipment, mobility, and housing, understood as physical variables. The other two variables are linked to the way of living: how women - in their case study - appropriate the space and influence it, understanding them as perceptual variables, and they are fundamentally safety and participation. These perceptual variables, mainly safety, provide a snapshot of how urban design elements stress different people's lives by limiting their ability to appropriate space (Muxí Martínez et al., 2011).

In the urban center, one finds the public spaces where diversity and the tensions associated with gender and diversity are best expressed due to their position and symbolic and historical value. They are also the spaces where statistics on harassment and violence towards women's and dissidents' bodies are concentrated. Recognizing this, they are also spaces usually chosen by

excluded communities to make themselves visible as groups (Enguix, 2009). This study considers the urban center of Concepción as the study area to analyze the relationship of dissidents with the public space, understanding it not only as a location and geometric opposition but as that space "that concentrates, with the highest degree of density and diversity, populations, urban landmarks and symbols, uses, flows, exchanges" (Beuf, 2019).

It is also recognized that the urban center space contains a significant concentration of social interactions (Beuf, 2019). These interactions vary from person to person, which, in addition to being the container of the most significant public spaces in the city, makes it a practical scenario to identify dissidents' ways of living.

IV. METHODOLOGY

The research has adopted a qualitative approach to look closer at the experience of living in the public space of urban Concepción through the experiences of dissidents. The sample was obtained using the snowball technique, contacting key subjects from dissident groups or collectives who formally self-identify as such and expressed their interest in participating in the research. These people, in turn, facilitated contact with other participants, reaching an

Sexual and Gender Dissidences in the Public Space: Tensions and living in Concepción's Urban Center,

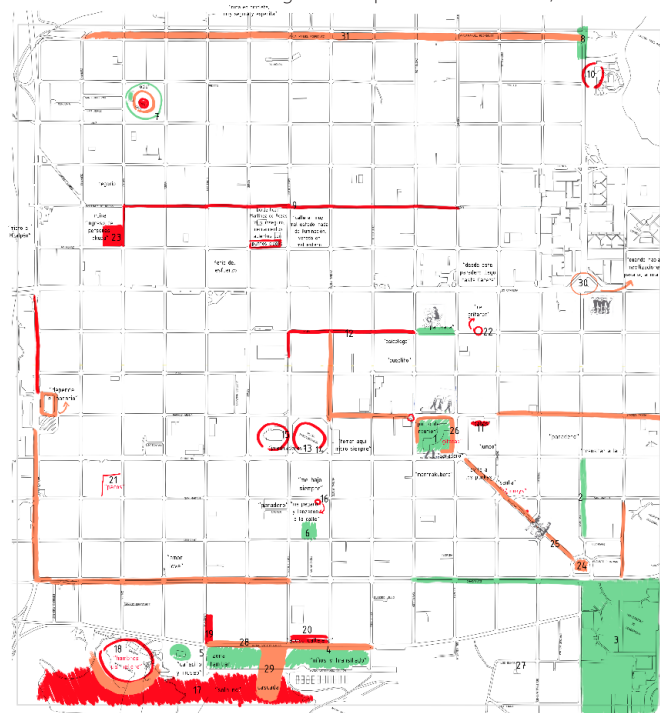


Figure 2. Mapping of “safe, unsafe, and dual” spaces. Source: Preparation by the author.

information saturation point. In total, collective mapping and semi-structured interviews were carried out with 14 people of sexual and gender dissidence.

Data collection procedure. The instruments used for data collection were, first of all, a collective mapping of a city center plan. This technique was used to identify significant public spaces in the center of Concepción, grouping them by a. most used spaces, b. spaces of tension, c. safety, and d. participation. Through dialog, personal experiences were associated to obtain a familiar story reflected on a map. The critical use of maps aims to generate instances of collective exchange to elaborate narratives and representations that dispute and contest those installed from diverse hegemonic instances (Risler & Ares, 2013); in this case, patriarchal and binary visions of the uses of urban space.

The urban center delimited in Concepción's Communal Regulatory Plan (PRC), in force when this study was made, was considered an area of analysis (See Figure 1). In addition, the semi-structured interview technique was used to characterize the way of living and tensions experienced in the public space of central Concepción.

Through a thematic analysis, the authors sought to relate these experiences with the design of public spaces, using the six variables of the study of reality disseminated by Muxí Martínez et al. (2011) as reference. These include four physical (public and relationship space, equipment and services, mobility, and housing) and two intangible (participation and safety) variables. In addition, the six safety principles of urban planning in the city proposed in the document “Tools for the promotion of safe cities from a gender perspective” (2006) were incorporated, which cover knowing where one is and where one is going, seeing and being seen, hearing and being heard, being able to escape and get help, living in a clean and welcoming environment, and acting together.

V. RESULTS

Significant living places of sexual and gender dissidents in the public space of the urban center of Concepción

The people interviewed recognized the daily spaces of use by dissidents in the city's urban center, classifying them into

Category	Color	Spaces
Safe	Green	Within the Courthouse Square. Paicaví Street, from Cochrane to O'Higgins University of Concepción Campus. Ecuador Park, from Colo Colo to Anibal Pinto. Ecuador Park, from Angol to Rengo. Square in the Cochrane commercial building between Anibal Pinto and Caupolicán. Perimeter of Cruz Square. Intersection Av. Manuel Rodríguez/Paicaví
Unsafe	Red	Martínez de Rosas Street, from Salas to Tucapel. San Sebastián University Access Square. The restrooms of Mall del Centro Barros Arana pedestrian walkway between Castellón and Aníbal Pinto. Independence Square. Restrooms of Independence Square. In front of the cathedral. San Martín bus stop on the corner with Aníbal Pinto Caracol Hill. Calisthenics sector, Skatepark, and courts in Ecuador Park. Corner of Lincoyán/Av. Víctor Lamas. The path on Av. Víctor Lamas between Caupolicán and Aníbal Pinto. Police Station, corner of San Martín with Salas. The path on Maipu between Orompello and Tucapel. Abandoned structure, corner of Las Heras and Salas.
Dual	Orange	Plaza Perú. Diagonal Pedro Aguirre Cerda The perimeter of the courthouse square. Edge of Caracol Hill, between Salas and Angol. Section of Av. Víctor Lamas between Lincoyán and Colo Colo. Sector of the waterfall of the Ecuador Park. Roundabout of Paicaví and Los Carreras. Av. Manuel Rodríguez Square.

Table 1. Classification of urban spaces from user perception. Source: Preparation by the authors, own preparation based on the results of the collective mapping.

three categories of significant spaces: safe, unsafe, and dual (See Table 1 and Figure 2). Participants' perceptions of the spaces emerged and defined these three classification categories. Subsequently, a relevant space of each category was identified for in-depth analysis in the semi-structured interviews.

The first category was associated with safe spaces, defined as spaces they frequent regularly, where there is no significant perception of discomfort, fear, or insecurity, recognized as "comfortable" spaces. Unsafe spaces are defined as those that they avoid visiting, as they report perceiving insecurity and even fear; some elements or people could be a threat and/or are associated with violent experiences towards them for being part of sexual

and gender dissidents. Finally, the third category was that of dual spaces, which were defined as spaces where the participants feel discomfort, i.e., their living is stressed by environmental factors, especially in the afternoon and evening, when it begins to get dark at certain times, but which they generally do visit. They report not perceiving a significant risk.

Analysis of the most significant living spaces of sexual and gender dissidents in each of the categories (safe, unsafe, dual)

Of the places the interviewees mentioned in the different categories, safe, unsafe, and dual, they were asked to choose the most relevant in each of them. Although the

selection is associated with the personal experiences of those who participated in the research, it was associated with spaces whose design characteristics were relevant to their perception, maintaining the definitions above. The spaces selected for each case are the following:

Safe spaces: The campus of the University of Concepción was determined as the most significant, specifically the sector of the central axis and the forum. (Figure 3) This sector was chosen as most of the participants frequent it, even without being university students, mainly due to its large dimensions, the variety of activities that take place there, the diversity of people, and the good lighting.

Unsafe spaces: The Independence Square was determined initially, mainly by the type of public there is and the context in which it is located, in front of the cathedral and in points of preachers, factors not associated with the spatiality or design elements of the place. (Figure 4)

It is due to this that the calisthenics, skatepark, and court sector of the Ecuador Park were finally chosen (Figure 5) as, in this case, the perception of insecurity by sex-generic dissidents is associated with the spatiality of the place and its design elements.

Dual spaces: The junction of Plaza Perú and Diagonal Pedro Aguirre Cerda was chosen (Figure 6 and Figure 7) since although those who participated reported it is a frequent meeting and leisure space, after a certain time, lighting is scarce, which, added to other factors, such as the decrease in the traffic of people and the facades unrelated to the street after the closure of the premises, leads to possibly unsafe situations, having to stay alert and/or move.

Ways of living of sexual and gender dissidents in the public space of the urban center of Concepción.

The ways of living in the space are linked to the ability to appropriate spaces and their meanings. In the specific case of dissidents, this is closely related to the perception of safety. Another factor associated with the way of living is the activities carried out in the spaces, determined by different variables or conditions such as the length of stay, the number of participants, and the level of relationship with the elements of the space, among others. In the spaces analyzed, it was identified that the way of living by the sexual and gender dissidents participating in the research is in a constant state of alert and is mainly with the perception of safety that one has of a place, in addition to certain spaces, activities and positive and negative characteristics of the space (Table 2).



Figure 3. Central Pathway - University of Concepción campus. Source: Author's personal files, 2021.



Figure 4 y Figure 5. Plaza de la Independencia, Concepción / Calisthenics Sector, Ecuador Park, Concepción. Source: Author's personal files, 2021.



Figure 6 y Figure 7. Plaza Perú, Concepción / Diagonal Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Concepción. Source: Author's personal files, 2021.

Perception	Significant spaces	Activities	Characteristics of the space	
Safe	Central axis University of Concepción.	- Getting together with friends - Having dates - Taking a walk - Dancing - Riding a bike - Eating - Killing time	Positive	- Open spaces - Green areas in good condition - Well-distributed benches and garbage cans - Allows having a wide visual field - The pedestrian is prioritized
			Negative	-Lack of public toilets and divided by binary genders.
Unsafe	Calisthenics zone Parque Ecuador	- Resistance meetings of dissident groups -Climb to Caracol Hill alone/ in a group - None	Positive	-Good sports equipment - Access to Caracol Hill
			Negative	- Away from the center. - Poor upkeep (Neglected vegetation) - Dirty (Trash)
Dual	Plaza Perú/Diagonal Pedro Aguirre Cerda	- Route to other places in the center - Going to restaurants and bars - Waiting for other people	Positive	-Central spaces - Good paving - The pedestrian is prioritized
			Negative	- Blind spots - Poorly lit sectors - Very exposed urban furniture.

Table 2. Significant spaces from the perception of the interviewees. Source: Table prepared by authors based on semi-structured interviews.

Tensions among sexual and gender dissidents living in the public space of the urban center of Concepción

All the participants expressed that they inhabit the public space in a constant state of alert, as being part of dissident groups automatically has the possibility of suffering violence and having no control over who the other users of the spaces will be. This alertness is increased or attenuated

depending on the perception of safety and its design features. The more insecure the space, the more tensions begin to restrict the habitation of these groups. The most shared tensions were (Figure 8):

Limit the hours of use: Those who participated reported restricting their use of certain spaces after a given time due to an increased perception of insecurity and/or fear of possible aggression.



Figure 8. Tensions in living for sexual and gender dissidents. Source: Preparation by the author

Fear of possible aggression: There is a familiar story shared among those who participated, associated with inhabiting public spaces, mainly unsafe ones, which reveals they had to be alert due to the fear of suffering acts of violence.

Feeling cornered: Those who participated acknowledge the importance of recognizing possible escape routes and remaining alert. It was also associated with the metaphorical perception of being trapped, unable to act with total freedom.

Limitation of expression: Associated with having to restrain, out of fear, certain attitudes, body expressions, and/or appearance, such as certain clothes, that are specifically associated with a gender other than the one that would be socially expected.

Discomfort due to looks: Participants report feeling stressed and their lives being limited due to the gazes of other users of the space, precisely due to the intensity and regularity of being objects of observation of the rest, or due to their gender and/or sexuality expressions.

Limitation of displays of affection: This tension is associated with having to restrain affectionate attitudes with other people and possible partners due to the fear of violent acts and/or as a form of protection.

Rejection by users: Those who took part reported using certain spaces with fear of being excluded or attacked by others, specifically those who are part of groups that could potentially mean some threat.

The main elements of urban design that stress living for dissidents

Lack of lighting: The participants perceive spaces with poor lighting as potentially more unsafe, having to remain

even more alert since this makes it difficult to perceive an attacker in case of aggression and ask for help from third parties.

Prioritization of the car: The car has greater relevance on the streets than pedestrians because the more vehicles that circulate, the fewer people there are, and, as noted above, the flow of people through the spaces is a factor that provides safety if help is needed. (Figure 9)

Equipment divided by binary genres: This applies primarily to restrooms and is an element that increases tensions, as it pigeonholes those who use the facilities to two options that do not necessarily represent them and/or expose them to suffer discrimination or situations of violence for not fitting into traditional conceptions of who "should" use the space.

Blind spots on the routes: This feature stresses living mainly by providing spaces where attackers can hide and being unable to see if someone is approaching, increasing the difficulty of asking for help in time.

Neglected vegetation: This element increases tensions among the dissident people participating in the research by two factors. First of all, due to the fact of limiting their use by not being able to sit or stay in green areas. Secondly, having a poor image of the place decreases the number of people visiting. (Figure 10)

Equipment for a very hegemonized public: Refers to spaces whose equipment is limited and very specific, as is the case of the calisthenics bars in Ecuador Park, which covers only a specific audience, especially people who sometimes associate themselves with violent acts against dissidents.

Absence of services: This is a factor of tension of living, since by having less variety of services, there is a lower



Figure 9. Prioritization of the car and lack of lighting. Source: Preparation by the author.



Figure 10: Blind spots on the routes and neglected vegetation. Source: Preparation by the author.

Space	Agents that stress living
Safe: Central axis University of Concepción.	- Homeless people, who are sometimes violent - Guards, mainly on motorbikes
Unsafe: Calisthenics zone Parque Ecuador	-Users of the calisthenics space - People in a state of drunkenness - People on drugs
Dual: Plaza Perú/Diagonal Pedro Aguirre Cerda	- More conservative senior citizens - Homeless people, who are sometimes violent - Some street vendors
Other spaces in the urban center	- Openly religious people, especially preachers - Police

Table 3. The users' perception of the space's activities and characteristics. Source: Table prepared by the authors based on semi-structured interviews.

circulation of people, which increases the perception of insecurity in the spaces.

Actors of the space as elements of tension for living by dissidents

This category refers to the actors with whom the causes of tensions are associated (Table 3), especially in spaces whose design could be considered appropriate for the activities of dissident groups.

"The thing about the public space where they attack you and everyone is watching and no one does anything (...) is like a double victimization. I usually don't go back to places, or I come back after a long time to places where I've experienced some aggression." - Cam, 23, non-binary.

They are spaces that, although they have good lighting, good visibility, concurrence of people, and proximity to access roads and relevant services in the city center, are at the same time the usual spaces for people who, according

to the interviewees, are often associated with violent or aggressive situations against dissident groups.

The main stressors mentioned were (Table 3):

VI. DISCUSSION

The research has managed to identify the most significant spaces for dissidents within the center of Concepción, recognizing design and urban life elements that stress the lives of sex-generic groups in the city.

The results obtained coincide with what was proposed by Giglia (2012), in that living is not necessarily related to feeling sheltered but comfort. This is evidenced in the categories that emerged when establishing meaningful spaces for dissidents, where safe, unsafe, and dual spaces were identified, depending on the level of comfort or discomfort they generated.

Regarding the first specific objective proposed, spaces considered as safe, unsafe, and a third dual category were determined as significant for sex-generic dissidents. The significant spaces mentioned by those who took part in the research are mainly associated with those that host everyday activities due to their designs, with these activities and qualities of the space being a potential for people to use it or a factor that enhances certain insecurities. The urban design stands out then, as in other studies (Muxí Martínez, 2018), as having an important role in appropriating or excluding social groups from public spaces, as it limits or enables their development.

Regarding the second specific objective, it can be concluded that the ways of living of dissident groups are associated with their perception of security/insecurity. In some cases, certain spaces are even avoided, either due to perceived unsafe due to the characteristics of the place and its configurators or by other users who use the spaces, suffering urban exclusion. This story shares similarities with the one analyzed by the Exchange and Services Center Cono Sur, Argentina, CISCESA (2006), which focused mainly on the life of women in the urban space. In this research, it is recognized how the perception of insecurity forces these users to have continuous control and self-control over their behaviors (Centro de Intercambio y Servicios Cono Sur, Argentina, CISCESA, 2006), limiting the appropriation of urban space and autonomous living in the city by preferring, in several cases, to travel in the company of others through certain places. As in other similar studies, the experiences of harassment and threat guide and mark the practices and perceptions of the places limiting the development of urban living under equal opportunities for these groups (Muxí Martínez et al., 2011)

At the same time, this is associated with the third specific objective of research on the tensions that limit the living of sexual and gender dissidents. Seven tensions were identified that contribute to dissidents living in a constant state of alert in public spaces. These include the limitation of the time of use, fear of possible aggressions, limitation of displays of affection, and rejection by users, among others. Different study participants reported feeling more comfortable in unsafe spaces when accompanied by others, especially in activities associated with the appropriation of spaces by dissident groups or organizations. This is linked to what Enguix (2009) proposed regarding the appropriation of urban public space by dissident groups through demonstrations, which suggests that the perception of insecurity decreases when it is known that tolerant people with a common struggle are there.

As an answer to the research question, it can be concluded that sexual and gender dissidents inhabit the public space of the urban center of the city of Concepción in a constant

state of alert, which decreases or intensifies given the tensions perceived in the different spaces, which restrict the expression and appropriation of space. Although there is still a long way to go to achieve cities that include all people, this research contributes to that great goal by making visible certain limitations in the living of sexual and gender dissidents in public space and the relevance of considering these dimensions in urban planning and design processes.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

This research aimed to characterize the forms and tensions of living and the elements of space design that affect these in the case of sexual and gender dissidence in the public space of the urban center of Concepción. To do this, narratives of the experiences of these excluded groups were collected to make existing problems visible and incorporate them into urban design in the future. The general objective of the research was fulfilled, as the results revealed both the ways of living and the different activities carried out in a constant state of alert and primarily associated with the perception of safety one has of a place. It was also possible to define the tensions perceived in urban center public spaces by sexual and gender dissidents, which were mainly limiting the time of use, fear of possible aggressions, feeling cornered, limitation of expression, discomfort by looks, limitation in displays of affection, rejection by other users. All of this makes it possible to show the different problems experienced by these groups and how urban design elements may or may not contribute to improving their experiences when inhabiting the city.

After the analysis, the question was answered optimally, addressing all the proposed objectives. The methodology used was suitable to obtain the expected information, as both the collective mapping and the semi-structured interviews provided relevant data for the analysis, prioritizing, at all times, the participants' experiences.

Two obstacles were seen throughout the research. The first related to collective mapping, specifically associated with its community character, since it was challenging to meet despite the motivations and interest of different people to take part due to the pandemic. The second obstacle or limiting factor was the difficulty of finding a bibliography or research background of the topic addressed mainly within the discipline of architecture and urbanism, which demonstrates a need to conduct more research that incorporates sexual and gender dissidents from urbanism while evidencing the value of interdisciplinarity, as a large part of the bibliography and references of this study are works and/or studies mainly from the social sciences.

Undoubtedly, the information collected is insufficient to measure the diversity of experiences of gender dissidence in urban public spaces. However, it opens up questions for further progress in incorporating these dimensions into the planning and design of our cities. The inclusive and caring city, proposed by feminist urbanism (Valdivia, 2018), challenges us to incorporate other dimensions, methodologies, and actors to achieve more inclusive and equitable cities.

One of the main questions arising from this research is: Is it enough to continue discussing urbanism from a gender perspective? Suppose the diversity of people who inhabit urban spaces every day is recognized. In that case, if their needs are becoming visible, and more and more progress is being made in the struggle for equity in all areas of society, it becomes imperative also to expand the frameworks for understanding and acting on them. Why continue to limit the discipline from linguistics? Perhaps it is time to talk about urbanism with a gender perspective or gender urbanism to accommodate, in the future, discussions that consider the possibility of queer or LGBTQI+ urbanism, maintaining the discipline as a tool capable of responding to the reality of one and all.

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