Inclusive citizenship in cities and human settlements
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References
A. Introduction
This Global Platform for the Right to the City (GPR2C) thematic paper aims to address the main aspects of inclusive citizenship in cities and human settlements, as well as its main contributions to the promotion of the right to the city.

The paper discusses different interpretations of inclusive citizenship – which is a dynamic and contested concept – hoping to provide a better understanding of the complexity, implications, and relevance of an inclusive citizenship approach toward the cities and human settlements.

This thematic paper does not have the intention to propose a restrict interpretation of citizenship, but to point out some key guiding principles and values that can be considered when addressing inclusive citizenship through the perspective of the right to the city. In that sense, it seeks to reach and support different stakeholders – academia, civil society, local governments – by bringing a conceptual and practical discussion on citizenship, aspiring to become a reference guide for further debates.

The paper is organized as following: first, the approach toward citizenship in international human rights and urban frameworks and agendas will be analyzed. Further, the current conceptual debate toward citizenship will be discussed, with the suggestion of four main key components of an inclusive citizenship from a right to the city perspective, with recommendations on how to achieve each component and offering practical examples based on inspiring initiatives developed in different cities around the world. Ultimately, the last session will address how an inclusive citizenship can be enacted.
Citizenship in the International Human Rights Framework

The notion of citizenship is somehow considered and endorsed in already existent human rights and urban frameworks, established by the most important international agendas and covenants. This is relevant because the international recognition means that political debate has already been stated on the subject, considering it under a human rights aspect, thus backing its importance and legitimizing its implementation. At the same time, the international commitments also imply a political pressure for governments to be held accountable for any of the rights' violation – even if enforcement mechanisms must yet be strengthened.

Relevant examples of the acknowledgement of rights to everyone, without any kind of discrimination, are established under international documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which recognizes the “inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family”, entitling all individuals to all rights, without any kind of distinction.

Both the Civil and Political Rights Covenant (1966) and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Covenant (1966) emphasize the principles of the Declaration and assure that all rights “will be exercised without discrimination of any kind as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.” Moreover, the Vienna Declaration adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights, in 1993, reinforced that all rights are universal, indivisible, and interrelated, emphasizing the importance of guaranteeing the promotion and protection of rights of vulnerable groups, such as the marginalized and impoverished, also developing their participation in decision-making processes.

Furthermore, subsequent international covenants – which are legally binding for the countries that ratified them – and principle documents were elaborated to call attention to the need to guarantee rights to specific vulnerable groups such as: women (Convention on all forms of discrimination against women), migrants (International Convention on the Protection of Migrant Workers), refugees (Convention related to the status of Refugees), disabled people (Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities), children (Convention on the Rights of the Child), the elderly (UN Principles for Older Persons), among others.

Nevertheless, it is relevant to emphasize that international agendas and declarations often bring a limited, individualistic, or fragmented perspective of citizenship, which should be interpreted critically since it can contain discriminatory biases against a few social groups.

Additionally, since those treaties were elaborated under the International Relations arena – which is still, mainly, state-centric – the national governments are considered as the fundamental guarantors of the citizenship rights, a perspective very close to the “traditional” view of citizenship. Frequently, the principle of national sovereignty is enacted as a way of legitimizing the national government’s decisions. In that sense, the definition of what should be considered and pursued as citizenship is unilaterally decided by central governments, and does not represent a plural perspective.

1. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/UDHRIndex.aspx.
2. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx.
4. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/Vienna.aspx.
5. Here it is important to highlight that the UN Principles for Older Persons is not equivalent to a Convention, which means there is no international framework mandate on the rights of older persons and against age discrimination. Nevertheless, the elaboration and approval of a proper covenant is being demanded by the advocacy of ageing rights civil society organizations. More information in: https://social.un.org/ageing-working-group/documents/Coalition%20to%20Strengthen%20the%20Rights%20of%20Old%20People.pdf.
Box 1. Critical analysis on the international Human Rights Framework

Conventional on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination

The convention can be considered as an advance in recognizing discrimination based on race, color, descent, or national origin. However, it contains some clauses (more specifically in article 1) that differentiate the convention’s obligations to whom nation-states consider as “non-citizens”, an aspect that can be contradictory since the convention is claiming for non-discriminatory treatment:

“2. This Convention shall not apply to distinctions, exclusions, restrictions or preferences made by a State Party to this Convention between citizens and non-citizens.

3. Nothing in this Convention may be interpreted as affecting in any way the legal provisions of States Parties concerning nationality, citizenship or naturalization, provided that such provisions do not discriminate against any particular nationality.” (1965, p.2)

Taking that into account, Mahalic and Mahalic (1987), argue that, in relation to the article 1(2) “the text is ambiguous about whether non-citizens are included within the scope of the Convention and the extent which non-citizens are afforded protection” (1987, p.75). According to the authors, article 1(3) also establishes limited arrangements in order to respect state sovereignty.

Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

At the same time, the Declaration on the Rights on Indigenous Peoples, even though it was only adopted in 2007, also has a great importance in recognizing collective rights of indigenous peoples, what can be considered progress in terms of human rights frameworks. Nonetheless, the declaration is still state-centric, reinforcing national states’ prerogatives and power to acknowledge indigenous people’s rights and territories, even though it anticipates indigenous peoples’ participation in those process. Article 27, for instance, determines:

“States shall establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples’ laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. Indigenous peoples shall have the right to participate in this process.” (2007, p.8)

Moreover, the Declaration has some articles that directly reinforce the idea that nation-states have complete autonomy within its territory concerning the affairs of indigenous peoples. Article 46 emphasizes that the Declaration cannot impair “the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States”, and that the rights enunciated in the document “shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law".
The 2030 Agenda and the New Urban Agenda

Inclusive citizenship also cuts across important recently established international agendas. The first, the 2030 Agenda, which includes the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS), was approved in 2015, by the UN’s General Assembly, comprising 17 multi-thematic goals to be achieved globally by 2030. Additionally, the New Urban Agenda (NUA), established in 2016, during the UN’s Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III), defines the guidelines of urban development for the next 20 years.

Inclusive citizenship is central to fulfilling the central pledge of SDG’s commitment, which is “leaving no one behind”. By this claim, it states that no one should live in impoverished conditions, that everyone must have access to food security, good healthcare, equal opportunities of thriving (regardless of one’s gender), and access to a sustainable use of natural resources, opportunities of decent labor and dignified conditions of life in the urban center.

Directly and indirectly, inclusive citizenship elements appear in all SDG’s targets, with emphasis on SDG 11 (“Sustainable cities and communities”) and SDG 16 (“Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions”). SDG 11 pledges that everyone should have guaranteed access to safe, adequate, sustainable and affordable urban life. SDG 16, in its turn, establishes that everyone has the right to justice, to freedom, to participation in decision-making and protection against all forms of violence. The complete list of SDG’s specific targets related to inclusive citizenship can be consulted in Annex I.

Nevertheless, although the SDGs are central to the UN’s agenda efforts, mobilizing all its agencies and programs, the 2030 agenda still lacks a more efficient practical transversal implementation, since all goals are interconnected and cannot be fully addressed in isolation. This also impacts the guarantee of an integral and inclusive citizenship, especially in reaching a substantive citizenship – not only a formal one.

Finally, the New Urban Agenda (NUA), established in Habitat III (2016), seeks to promote quality of life for all by guaranteeing “just, safe, healthy, accessible, affordable, resilient and sustainable cities and human settlements”. The document acknowledges the demands of various vulnerable groups that reside in the urban context (such as women and girls, children and youth, persons with disabilities, elderly, indigenous peoples, slum dwellers, homeless people, refugees, migrants, and internally displaced people, among others). It is also relevant to highlight the efforts of the declaration in acknowledging the key role of local and subnational governments in promoting the dialogue with the said vulnerable groups (paragraph 42).

Furthermore, it encourages the participation and collaboration among diverse stakeholders in identifying and addressing urban economic development challenges and opportunities (paragraph 48). Finally, it also emphasizes the need for empowering initiatives to guarantee vulnerable groups with decision-making participation:

“155. We will promote capacity-development initiatives to empower and strengthen the skills and abilities of women and girls, children and youth, older persons and persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and local communities, as well as persons in vulnerable situations, for shaping governance processes, engaging in dialogue, and promoting and protecting human rights and antidiscrimination, to ensure their effective participation in urban and territorial development decision making.” (2017, p.39)

Nevertheless, although NUA included the mention of important groups such as women and migrants, it has deemed invisible racial groups, who often have their citizenships rights denied. Gender issues, beyond the binary conceptions, were also left out of the document. Finally, implementation and enforcement mechanisms were missing in the Declaration as well, which can hinder its deference.
Inclusive citizenship and the right to the city international agendas

Beyond the UN framework, it is relevant to mention the efforts of civil society and local governments to elaborate international framework agendas aiming at promoting more inclusive urban realities, also addressing the efforts of claiming and enacting citizenship rights through the local governments. In that sense, the right to the city is a key demand which is being mobilized internationally by diverse urban stakeholders.

Box 2. About the Right to the City

The right to the city is an alternative paradigm to the neoliberal forces of production of cities and human settlements, based on social justice, sustainability, democratic participation, and the guarantee of human rights. According to the Global Platform for the Right to the City (GPR2C), it’s defined as: “the right of all inhabitants, present and future, permanent and temporary, to inhabit, use, occupy, produce, transform, govern and enjoy just, inclusive, safe sustainable and democratic cities, villages and human settlements”. Hence, it is a unified demand against urban inequalities that helps materialize human rights in the territory.

Inclusive citizenship is one of the central components of the right to the city that must be considered in a transversal and relational perspective with the other components:

- Free of discrimination
- Gender equality
- Enhanced participation
- Social function of the city/human settlements
- Quality public spaces
- Diverse and inclusive economies
- Rural-urban linkages

The international efforts to mobilize the right to the city resulted in the elaboration of global charters that work as recognized parameters for the devising of local public policies and advocacy.


10.
The World Charter for the Right to the City and the Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City provide important elements for the comprehension of an inclusive urban citizenship, based on the right to the city, advancing the aforementioned international frameworks already approved by the UN scope.

These documents work as important guidelines for the inclusive citizenship elements that will be discussed later in this thematic paper.

Besides the contributions for the conceptualization of inclusive citizenship itself, those charters also innovate by acknowledging the central and strategic role of local governments in promoting and guaranteeing human rights. As the GPR2C Thematic Paper on Non-Discrimination in Cities and Human Settlements addresses, the statutory of the International Human Rights framework often considers local governments marginally, only as parts of the national states’ compliance obligations, but not as central agents in accomplishing rights. Nevertheless, the global charters elaborated with a R2C perspective, beyond acknowledging the essential role of local governments in advancing human rights, also consider their responsibility in complying with human rights.

The World Charter for the Right to the City\(^\text{10}\), was elaborated in the context of the World Social Forum (2006) and in its preamble, it highlights that the commitments “must be assumed by civil society, local and national governments, members of parliament, and international organizations, so that all people may live with dignity in our cities”. It also reinforces that those public policies should consider popular contributions in the construction of citizenship. It establishes in article I that “for the effects of this Charter, all the persons who inhabit a city, whether permanently or transitonally, are considered its citizens.” (2006, p.3, emphasis added). It also recognizes in its article II, the “full exercise of citizenship and democratic management of the city” by all city’s residents. According to the text, “All persons have the right to find in the city the necessary conditions for their political, economic, cultural, social, and ecological realization, assuming the duty of solidarity”.

The Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City\(^\text{11}\), in its turn, adopted by the World Council of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG)\(^\text{12}\), also provides an important contribution to the scope of urban citizenship rights. In its preamble, for instance, as well as highlighting the role of local governments “in guaranteeing the effective exercise of the human rights of all their inhabitants”, it also acknowledges that citizenship is “particularly expressed at the level of the city”. According to the document, “All Charter-Agenda provisions apply to all city inhabitants, individually and collectively, without discrimination. For purposes of this Charter-Agenda, all inhabitants are citizens without any distinction” (emphasis added).

Moreover, the Global Charter-Agenda evokes the right of appropriation of the urban space by all citizens, and their right to participate in the political process of city management. Connected to this, it is relevant to highlight that the document does not exclude immigrants from their political rights to participate in urban policies. One of the suggested actions proposed by the Charter is to “promote before the competent national and international authorities the legal recognition of the right to vote in local elections for all the residents of the city, irrespective of their country of citizenship”. Finally, it foresees, as a way of guaranteeing the right to the city for all, institutionalized independent mechanisms for citizens to obtain information about their own rights and ways to properly claim them.

11. Available at: https://www.uclg-cisdp.org/sites/default/files/CISDP%20Carta-Agenda_ENG_0.pdf
12. UCLG is a global local and regional governments’ network that works to advance the municipalist movement by representing local and regional governments in the international arena, fostering their political international participation and decentralized cooperation mechanisms. More information in: https://www.uclg.org
### CITIZENSHIP IN THE INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human Rights International Law Framework</th>
<th>Sustainable Development and Urban Agendas</th>
<th>R2C Charters</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Examples</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the New Urban Agenda (NUA).</strong></td>
<td><strong>World Charter for the Right to the City and the Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Civil and Political Rights Covenant, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Covenant; Covenants for specific vulnerable groups’ rights.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Elaborated by</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nation-States, with participation of local governments and civil society.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Local governments and civil society.</strong></td>
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<td>National Governments.</td>
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<td><strong>Vision on Citizenship</strong></td>
<td><strong>Acknowledges the specific demands of vulnerable groups but still lacks the inclusion of very marginalized groups; recognizes the importance of considering the local level in achieving human rights.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Considers as citizen every person that inhabits or transits within a city and the collective dimension of rights; places local governments as protagonists in guaranteeing and promoting citizenship rights.</strong></td>
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<td>State-centric; acknowledgement of individual rights; links with national citizenship defined by the national government.</td>
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*Table 1: Elaborated by the author.*
B. Citizenship: a conceptual debate
To further the discussion of the definition of inclusive citizenship, it is first necessary to clarify what citizenship enacts, and why it can be considered as an “agglutinating discursive resource” mobilized by different social and political actors (ÁLVAREZ, 2021, p.9). As Holston affirms, citizenship is “unsettled and unsettling” (p.3, 2008) and its assortment of uses is also based on dissenting interpretations of it. According to Ruth Lister (2003), “citizenship” is an essentially contested concept.

Traditional definitions and centrality of the Nation-State

Historically, within the western tradition, the concept was addressed mainly by two approaches: the rights/status stream (influenced by the liberalism tradition) and the responsibilities/practice stream (influenced by civic republicanism tradition). The former, connected to the citizen as a (civil, political, and cultural) rights holder and the latter, referencing the citizen as having collective responsibilities and duties, which encompass the engagement in formal political processes (LISTER, 2003). Mathiason (2012) defends the idea that the “architecture of citizenship” must be necessarily comprised of three concepts: along with rights and responsibility, the author also considers authority, meaning the authority of citizens over their governments.

The status of citizen as being a “member” of a society gained new prevalence with the transition to capitalist modern societies (Raguette, 1982 apud SANTOS, 2013) and the advent of “nation-states” in Europe – directly translating to being part of a “sovereign territorial political society” (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2017, p.158). This interpretation has been the most disseminated and perpetuated until the present days. Being a “citizen” generally implies that one is considered as part of a society or community, having, in that sense, rights and duties coupled with that status, usually recognized, and defined by established legal norms.

13. Unfortunately, this is the weakness of this paper, since the great majority of references and academic literature available still come from western and northern sources which reflect and reinforce a single one-dominant point of view. In that sense, some authors – such as the black feminists Lélia González, Grada Kilomba and Djamila Ribeiro – call attention for the need of “decolonizing knowledge”. For this paper, efforts were made to mobilize scholars and perspectives from the Global South.
Reconfiguring the meaning of citizenship

This traditional notion of citizenship, defined by the national governments, varies according to different social, cultural, and political contexts that reflect the nation’s historical legacies. Therefore, it can be associated with social, cultural, and political biases connected to race, gender, and class structures of power and discrimination that operate within modern societies (LISTER, 2013).

This has a direct impact in who can effectively have their rights enacted and respected in daily life, or in who can be fully recognized as a citizen. Having citizenship rights formally stipulated does not mean they will be respected and applied (ÁLVAREZ, 2017). At the same time, this more fixed and traditional perspective of citizenship is misfitting the changes and dynamism of the present which is permeated by transnational connections, new political actors and new social claims and demands.

The formal citizenship fosters a narrative of universalism, that all citizens have equal rights and obligations, but citizenship is “differentially experienced” (DOMINELLI, 2014, p.18).

It becomes clear that citizenship can be an instrument of simultaneously including and excluding individuals from a collectivity. Many authors highlight that those traditional definitions do not seem to consider the unequal conditions of citizenship, and the diversity within this unifying category of citizenship.

Brazilian geographer Milton Santos still affirms that there are some who can claim more citizenship than others, and those who cannot even be citizens at all, or those who live non-citizen lives, being in that way “mutilated citizens”. (SANTOS, 2013).

As an alternative for this formal unequal citizenship, Álvarez (2017) highlights that another perspective of citizenship is being claimed: the substantive citizenship. This alternative perspective acknowledges that there are different ways to be a citizen, and that citizenship is a condition that goes beyond the civic and political practices (2017, p.02), aiming at turning citizenship an effective inclusive practice:

“...This type of Citizenship is one that is situated in the reality of the existing social inequality, within the differential distribution of resources in society and in the cultural heterogeneity within the political community of reference, seeking to generate spaces of inclusion. “It is the result of opposition, conflict and struggle between individuals and groups for access to and control of resources.” (Tamayo, 2010; 22).” (ÁLVAREZ, 2016, p.9, free translation, emphasis added).

14. Here, the geographer is making direct reference to the black population in Brazil.
Thus, it also expresses the negotiating relationships between inhabitants and the governing state, and between inhabitants themselves (LISTER, 2013). Therefore, this struggle for generating new forms of citizenship, which include groups that were excluded from the traditional definition, can be also connected to the discussion of “differentiated citizenship”.

This perspective tries to dismantle the idea of a universal and homogenous citizenship, recognizing the diversity within the equality, since “a political system that fails to recognize difference therefore marginalizes groups outside the privileged majority culture” (STAHL, 2020, p.212). In that sense, this view claims that different groups and identities can all be part of a common civic society. By focusing within the US political context, Stahl affirms that “The relationship between particular racial or ethnic groups and places has enabled those groups to organize and push for policies that meet their collective demands, and often for direct political control over the territory they inhabit” (2020, p.214). The author exemplifies this by mentioning the struggle from civil society to have district elections for city council representatives – instead of general elections – since in that way, it is possible to have legislators representing the interests of marginalized neighborhoods.

It’s also relevant to consider that the concept of “global citizenship” is being recently mobilized, from an inter-connected perspective. According to the United Nations (UN), it can “refer to the belief that individuals are members of multiple, diverse, local and non-local networks rather than single actors affecting isolated societies” (CARLIN; CHOI, 2016), and in that sense, exercising their citizen’s agency.

The debate over new forms of citizenship questions the centrality on the nation-state, allowing for the recognition of other contributions in the definition and negotiation of citizenship. Álvarez (2016) reminds the two dimensions brought by Saskia Sassen on the reformulation of citizenship:

“[…] the recognition of a process of denationalization of citizenship that refers to a “global”, “transnational” citizenship; and from the recognition of a process of construction of a post-national citizenship, which refers to a “local or urban citizenship” (ÁLVAREZ, 2016, p.5, free translation, emphasis added).

According to Sassen, both dynamics are not “mutually exclusive” and allow disputing “the easy determinisms about the impact of globalization, and they signal the potential for change in the institution of citizenship” (SASSEN, 2006, p.305). The denationalization of citizenship refers to a “transformation of the national” – although it remains somehow connected to the national sphere – that can be linked to the global dynamics. The post-national citizenship, for its part, is deemed “outside of the national”, acknowledging new forms of citizenship considered before. (SASSEN, 2006, p.305). The components of an inclusive citizenship proposed in the next section are more related to this last notion of “post-national citizenship” brought by Sassen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional perspective of Citizenship</th>
<th>Alternative new forms of Citizenship</th>
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<tr>
<td>Rights formally granted by the national government in a top-down perspective.</td>
<td>Different social actors mobilize their understandings on substantive citizenship bottom-up.</td>
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<tr>
<td>National citizenship linked to a nationality.</td>
<td>Post-national / de-national citizenship, considering local and global perspectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalism – all citizens have equal rights and obligations.</td>
<td>Differentiated citizenship – acknowledgement of diversity within equality.</td>
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Table 2: Traditional x Alternative forms of Citizenship. Elaborated by the author.

C. What is an inclusive citizenship? Key components

#LEAVE NO ONE BEHIND
The conceptual discussion highlights the complexity of addressing a single definition or interpretation of citizenship, since it is not a fixed concept, mobilizing diverse and dynamic frameworks, according to where and when one is speaking. The perspective of the right to the city, then, helps to connect “fragmented citizenships”.

The first question that seems relevant to be asked regarding this matter is: What is meant by inclusive citizenship and what are the elements with which this concept is composed? (GÓMEZ, 2010). This paper does not have the intention to establish a restricted and immutable list of components which will constitute the perspective of a right to the city inclusive citizenship, but its goal is to highlight important aspects that should be considered while mobilizing citizenship rights through the local level. It also aims at discussing the widely disseminated interpretation of citizenship that is state-centric, closely tied to nation-state belonging, by offering an alternative perception of citizenship, which can be more inclusive, localized and human-rights based.

For this analysis on inclusive citizenship based on the right to the city, four main sources of information were taken into consideration:

(1) The definition and components of the right to the city established by the GPR2C;

(2) The aforementioned international guidelines elaborated by local governments and civil society: the World Charter for the Right to the City and the Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City;

(3) Reports and studies already assembled by international organizations and cities networks, such as the UCLG’s peer learning note on “Local Citizenship and Migration; and

(4) The specialized literature on citizenship in social and political sciences.

The collective meaning and construction of citizenship, the centrality of the participatory mechanisms, the acknowledgement of all individuals as active subjects and non-discriminatory law and policies are some of the elements that could be highlighted through the analysis and synthetized by the four following components: (1) community sense of belonging and identity; (2) participation (not only the institutionalized one); (3) agency; and (4) non-discriminatory rights access. Important to mention that these components must not be considered in an isolated way, but quite the opposite: they are interrelated, they reinforce each other mutually.
Once more, it is important to highlight that this paper was restricted to comprehensively analyzing the western perspective of citizenship. This means that the citizenship components listed ahead depart from a notion of human rights and inclusiveness that is still mostly westernized – even though decolonial literature was also considered.

By acknowledging the limitations of this western approach, this session aims at calling attention to alternative perspectives on defining and advancing citizenship and human rights. The *African Charter on Human and People’s Rights* is an example that other rights’ charters and frameworks should also consider while addressing non-western realities. This document was adopted in 1981, ratified by all African states except for Morocco, and as its name indicates, it considers the centrality of “people’s rights”. Its definition goes: “All peoples shall be equal; they shall enjoy the same respect and shall have the same rights. Nothing shall justify the domination of a people by another.” (art. 20). This centrality on people’s rights does not appear in the occidentalized human rights charters, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights itself.

Relating to the discussion on citizenship rights, the traditional western perspective, in all its conception, is problematic when considering the heterogenous realities of the existent 55 African countries. Citizen’s membership in the African continent was defined by reckless imperialist powers that did not take into consideration ethnical, cultural, and collective diverse traditions. As Bronwen Manby (2018), author of “Citizenship in Africa: the law of belonging” affirms:

> “The nature of membership of African States is not so easy to fit into the etymologies and historical frames of either nationality or citizenship: neither the idea of a ‘nation’ as a group of people linked by a common cultural, ethnic, linguistic, religious or other identity; nor the model of a ‘republic’ made up of citizens voluntarily assenting to submit to and participate in their government. African States are only too obviously neither unified cultural families nor voluntary comings-together. Since their borders were established by conquerors who have now left […]” (2018, p.27, emphasis added).

This context also risks at producing what the international law calls as “statelessness”.

17. The full charter is available at: https://www.achpr.org/legalinstruments/detail?id=49
18. Available at: https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/36390-sl-african_charter_on_human_and_peoples_rights_2.pdf
when groups of individuals, usually from specific ethnic groups, are not acknowledged as citizens of any country, and in that way, lack legal and social protection. As the “Citizenship Rights in Africa Initiative”\(^{19}\) points out, the protection against statelessness is recognized by the African human rights system, even though there are populations in some countries with higher risk of statelessness such as in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, Zimbabwe, among others.\(^{20}\)

As this paper is trying to propose alternatives to the traditional understanding of citizenship, scholars of African studies are also carrying out efforts to problematize this *occidental imposed citizenship*, suggesting a more local and cultural notion of citizenship:

> “Scholars such as Peter Geschiere, who explores a rich field of investigation into the meaning of autochthony or indigeneity, highlight the ‘return of the local’, as democratization and decentralization have revitalized an obsession with belonging. He argues that the idea of national citizenship, previously ‘a very icon of modernity’ is being called into question in debates over special rights for minorities and the cultural meaning of citizenship.” (MANBY, 2018, p.30)

Authors refer to the emergence of new forms of local governance and the resonance of the “urban voice” of the most vulnerable groups, what includes, for example, migrants and informal workers. As such: “Cities in Africa have experienced a retreat into localism, with social collectivism bypassing official channels (Murray and Myers, 2006, p.5).” (BROWN; LYONS; DANKOCO, 2010, p.669).

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20. Available at: [http://citizenshiprightsafrica.org/theme/statelessness](http://citizenshiprightsafrica.org/theme/statelessness)
But even this localist perspective can generate relevant social conflict, due to the echoes of the colonial understandings of citizenship that establishes institutional mechanisms to include some and exclude others. The Nigerian case can exemplify this local peculiarity of citizenship: “Nigeria’s citizenship management was delegated in large part to the local level, and ungoverned by statute” (MANBY, 2018, p.248). The author explains that citizenship definition in the country is based in the membership of a community, and, consequently, in the status of “indigene”, defined and certified by each local government, and required for obtaining official documents, such as passports. This is generating, nevertheless, “questions of discrimination around indigeneship”.

Therefore, while addressing some specific case-studies, Manby also highlights how this colonial past, beyond devaluing all ethnical diversity, was actually responsible for defining the local categories of citizenship, which reproduces harmful consequences until present days.

To further develop the inclusive citizenship components listed beforehand, some recommendations will be suggested in each section, seeking to support and guide different local actors in promoting alternative models of a more inclusive citizenship. These recommendations are part of a long-term process of transformation that requires collective efforts, symbolic and political disputes about the rights’ understandings and guarantees.

Additionally, some relevant initiatives will be also described as a demonstration of the recommendations’ practical approach. The experiences were selected among local government and civil society efforts in different regions of the globe. A more extensive list of initiatives – although it still constitutes a very limited sample – can be found in the Annex II. It is important to highlight that since all listed components are interrelated, the initiatives, although indicated as addressing one component, usually cover more than one, and sometimes, all of them.
Box 4. An intersectional approach

A fundamental analytical lens that should be considered while addressing all aforementioned components of an inclusive citizenship is intersectionality, which also contributes to an antiracist approach. This concept, originated in black feminist literature, more specifically coined by the scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, defines that:

“Intersectionality is a conceptualization of the problem that seeks to capture the structural and dynamic consequences of the interaction between two or more axes of subordination. It deals specifically with how racism, patriarchy, class oppression and other discriminatory systems create basic inequalities that structure the relative positions of women, races, ethnicities, classes and others.” (CRENSHAW, 2002, p.177, free translation, emphasis added).

Figure 1: Example of Intersectional approach (elaborated by the author).
Thus, by acknowledging that **multiple oppressions combined** result in different inequalities toward specific individuals, it is possible to have better comprehension that: (1) when not considering intersectional variables, citizenship rights will not properly address individuals of the most vulnerable groups:

> “Specifically, intersectionality draws attention to aspects of policy that are largely uninvestigated or ignored altogether: the complex ways in which multiple and interlocking inequities are organized and resisted in the process, content, and outcomes of policy. In so doing, the exclusionary nature of traditional methods of policy, including the ways in which problems and populations are constituted, given shape and meaning, is revealed.” (HANKIVSKY; JORDAN-ZACHERY, 2019, p.2)

And, regarding this matter, (2) **citizenship cannot be considered under a universal perspective**, since it is experienced in different ways, requiring specific oriented approaches according to the intersectional forms of oppression:

> “Examining the intersectional and differentiated experiences of citizenship facilitates comprehension of its diverse expressions in relationships between individuals and the state. Universalist approaches to citizenship traditionally have assumed ‘sameness’, i.e., a shared singular identity that submerges differences and ignores their relevance to and meaning in everyday lives” (DOMINELLI, 2014, p.19).

The “traditional” proposed definition of citizenship does not consider intersectional variables, which result in a flawed version of reality. **Considering intersectionality helps to propose a more accurate and efficient form of citizenship, which can properly address all social groups’ needs.**

> “Black Lives Matter” protests including the intersectional approach of black transgender rights (2020). Source: Stephanie Keith / REUTERS / Left Voice.22
C. What is an inclusive citizenship? Key components

**Figure 2:** Proposed components of inclusive citizenship (elaborated by the author).
Citizenship entails being part of a community that is not homogenous, but which can still create the sense of belonging regarding the diversity of its members.

Thus, an inclusive citizenship is based on the respect of diversity, in the shared collective experience and co-responsibility of the community well-being.

In that sense, the recovering and protection of the collective memory can be central to consolidate this shared common experience, which is in constant transformation and development. The urban memory forges the “narratives that allow us to understand how the city in which we live came to be like this and what different places, directions and/or spaces they occupy represent to its inhabitants.” (GÓMEZ, MENDOZA; FUENTES, 2021, p.233, free translation). Furthermore:

“Living memory, as a forger of urban identity, allows the inhabitants to appropriate their colonies, neighborhoods, housing units or indigenous communities, to perceive them as places full of meanings and, therefrom, by a retrospective vision, disrupt from the impersonal, uprooted and anonymous experience of cities.” (2021, p.233, emphasis added, free translation).

In that sense, Álvarez (2017) highlights strategies for fostering the sense of belonging inside a community: (1) the identification and appreciation of the public goods and urban patrimonies; (2) the recovering of the common history and memory of the community and (3) the development of civic education initiatives.

The process that promotes shared collective experience and memory is very attached to the use of public spaces by the multiple actors within the community, which creates meeting and interacting spaces and, consequently, cement bonds between individuals and between individuals and the community itself. Furthermore, also working as a strategy for guaranteeing that one feels “recognized as part of the community” (UCLG, 2021), the beforementioned civic education initiatives can be added to sensibilization public campaigning efforts against discrimination of certain groups in public and private spaces.

Recommendations

Developing educational initiatives and campaigns (with different approaches to reach different audiences) to mobilize and inform the community about their common local history.

Incentive to forms of registering and keeping the local memory alive through different formats – written, oral, visual.

Supporting diverse cultural and artistic forms of occupying the local public spaces, stimulating the permanence in the public space.

Establishing mechanisms and channels for permanent participation in the local decision-making and in urban designing.
The non-profit Indian organization Drishti works to strengthen community radio stations in the country, by facilitating workshops and training for station managers and providing technical support.
Participation

At the local level, the closest level of individuals, is the privileged space where democracy can be strengthened, being reclaimed by local actors and social movements, and considered as “democracy schools” (ALGUACIL, 2008, apud AGOPYAN, 2019, p.452). Political and social participation are fundamental mechanisms that allow all individuals to interfere and contribute to their community’s well-being. It also advances the individual’s sense of belonging to a collectivity and their importance in being active actors, co-responsible for their community’s public life (ÁLVAREZ, 2017). Participatory democracy practices recover the public and citizen’s dimension of politics (SADER, 2002, apud AGOPYAN, 2019, p. 454), contributing to the transparency of urban policies and the equitable urban governance (GPR2C, 2016).

Therefore, it is central to acknowledge and strengthen citizen’s participatory capacities, whether through institutionalized formal channels (public hearings and audiences, municipal councils, participatory budget mechanisms, etc.), or through social practices, (self-managing practices, neighborhood councils, focal groups, artistic demonstrations, collaborative community media, etc), in what Alvarez calls the “autonomy participation” (ÁLVAREZ, 2017). This is directly related to guaranteeing access to equipped and safe public spaces as participatory arenas (MC2CM; UCLG, 2021).

Recommendations

Guaranteeing the means and mechanisms that allow everyone, without any kind of discrimination, to participate in the local decision-making.

Providing and disseminating practical and clear information about participatory processes and democratic planning.

Acknowledging all forms and modalities of participatory activities, including the non-institutionalized ones.

Actively incentivizing specific vulnerable groups – who are often misrepresented in the power instances – to be part of participatory processes.

Creating accessible and permanent channels to bring together the community and elected representatives.
MUNICIPAL POLICY FOR THE MIGRANT POPULATION IN THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO (BRAZIL)

It was elaborated through a participatory process with migrants communities and approved as a municipal law in the City Council, in 2016 (Act n. 16.478). The policy has the following objectives: “I – ensure the immigrant’s access to social rights and public services; II – promote respect for diversity and interculturalism; III – prevent rights violations; IV - promote social participation and coordinated activities with civil society”. (2016, p.1).27

Furthermore, the law institutionalized the right for migrants (regardless of their legal “status” or documentation), residing in the city, to participate as candidates and voters in the Municipal Participatory City Councils. Finally, the act also established a Municipal Council for Migrants (CMI), a specific consultative organ, composed by 32 members, with parity between the City Hall representatives and civil society, to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the Migrants’ Municipal policy28.

2021 elections for the representatives of the Municipal Council for Migrants. Source: São Paulo City Hall / SMDHC29

ANACEJ’S NETWORK FOR YOUTH’S PARTICIPATION (FRANCE)30

Anacej mobilizes a national network of locally elected politicians, territorial youth’s collectives, and popular education movements, promoting children’s and youth’s participation in the local decision making.

It also organizes development for the promotion of territorial instances of children and youth’s participation, such as local councils. The approximation of elected politicians to the youth help to strengthen participatory democracy mechanisms, and the sense of co-responsibility for the elaboration of public policies. It also contributes to consolidating the sense of effectively belonging to that community, creating important bounds to the territory.

Overseas territories delegation representatives comprised of young people and representatives, working on proposals for promoting youth participation in the construction of public polices (2020).31

27. Available in English at: https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/upload/direitos_humanos/Policy%20for%20migrants.pdf
29. Available at: https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/direitos_humanos/noticias/?p=312748
31. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/anacej/photos/a.10159520893439806/10159520888704806

29.
A participatory and inclusive citizenship is also connected to the notion of “human agency”. It is, in a more specific social science perspective, related to the possibility of individuals to be purposeful and creative in the political arena, being effectively agents of choice (LISTER, 2013). This concept, which is frequently mobilized by feminists, the black movement (and black feminists), indigenous peoples and youth movements, emphasizes the struggle for recognizing the agency of marginalized groups, to be recognized as subjects, not objects, of policies and decision making.

For instance, the Brazilian philosopher Lélia González calls attention to the ideological system of domination which “suppresses our [black women] humanity precisely because it denies us the right to be subjects not only of our own discourse, but of our own history” (2011, p.14, free translation). In that sense, the Iranian feminist scholar Haideh Moghissi also emphasizes agency as a “conscious resistance against domination” for “personal and social transformation” (2011, p.19).

Thus, various authors highlight that this concept does not refer to the capacity to act in searching for individual benefits, but it has a collective empowering sense:

“Agency, limited to this western and masculinist definition under capitalist development would be individualist with a tendency towards autocracy for the achievement of its own ends. A broader understanding would be to see human agency as that inherent capacity in each person to think, make choices and act, within and based on the socio-economic, political and cultural forces around them, in order to improve themselves and their families and communities.” (HERON, 2008, p.87, emphasis added).

Agency is also often linked to the debate of children’s and youth capacity in participating in the urban life, since, in general, “the differentiated ability of children and adolescents to interpret the world around them and express themselves about it is seen as incapacity” (NETO, 2007, apud IACOVINI, 2021, free translation) and their voices are not acknowledged by the adulthood-centric structure.

This theme is, for instance, addressed in the human geography studies that began to advocate for “the founding conception that children are competent social actors whose agency is important in the ‘construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of societies in which they live’ (Prout and James, 1990: 8).” (HOLLOWAY; HOLT; MILLS, 2019, p.459).

### Recommendations

- Acknowledging the right of vulnerable groups to choose and stipulate their own preferences and needs.
- Valuing and considering the contributions of all groups to the collective decision-making.
- Creating safe spaces of active listening to the vulnerable groups demanding and giving suggestions.
- Promoting communication strategies to empower and amplify the voice of vulnerable groups in the community.
- Advocating for vulnerable groups representatives’ participation in spaces of power and public events.
CATALYTIC ACTION’S PARTICIPATORY INTERVENTION IN KARANTINA NEIGHBORHOOD IN BEIRUT (LEBANON)

By employing co-designing approaches, Catalytic Action, a Lebanese non-profit organization, in partnership with Terre Des Hommes Italy and UNICEF, has developed an intervention project in the multi-ethnical neighborhood of Karantina, in Beirut, between 2020 and 2021. The intervention is part of a more comprehensive research, that comprised interviews, consultations and workshops with local residents as well as activities of documenting, activating and monitoring the uses of the neighborhood’s public spaces.

Among their priorities, brought by the community’s children and adults, several items can be listed: children’s “right to play in safe spaces”, “greenery, seating areas in the shade, lighting to keep women safe, and a safe place that could be used by all age groups.” Part of the neighborhood’s intervention also included the rehabilitation of Beirut’s Port blast (2020) devastated areas, which encompass the Karantina’s park. By conducting activities (such as storytelling and drawing) with children and their caregivers, they obtained the indications of their desire for collective play infrastructure and a “TikTok” stand, that was incorporated into the project. The creation of channels to hear children and adolescents’ needs and demands is a relevant demonstration of the acknowledgement of their agency.

INUITS TAPIRIIT KANATAMI’S FOOD SECURITY STRATEGY (CANADA)

A population of 65,000 people, the inuit are the indigenous people that reside in four regions in the northern part of Canada, that constitutes the “Inuit Nunangat”. The non-profit organization Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami works to guarantee health and the welfare of this indigenous group, by strengthening their self-determination.

This specific project focuses on the context of food insecurity of this population and the lack of public policies to address this problem. The strategy carried out by the organization was to propose an inuit-drive solution to this issue, by considering the inuit population’s needs and their own perceptions of what consists food sovereignty. In this regard, the initiative also demonstrates the strength of inuit’s agency in claiming for their rights, defending their own point on view on a specific matter that is directly affecting their wellbeing.

HARM REDUCTION EDUCATORS IN NEW YORK – (UNITED STATES)

NYHRE is a grassroots nonprofit organization that works in the Harlem neighborhood, in New York City, aiming at improving health and wellbeing of marginalized groups, especially drug users, sex workers and the homeless population. It provides integrated social and health

33. Available at: https://www.catalyticaction.org/karantina-2
34. More information in: https://www.itk.ca
35. More information in: https://www.facebook.com/NYHarmReduction
services (harm reduction services, counseling, syringe exchange, condom distribution, HIV testing, case management, among others), and develops advocacy for changing the social stigma faced by those groups and promoting their rights. Thus, the initiative acknowledges and defends the marginalized population agency in making decisions about their own lives and the policies that affect them, focusing on their empowerment and dignity.

36. According to the Harm Reduction Coalition: “Harm reduction is a set of practical strategies and ideas aimed at reducing negative consequences associated with drug use. Harm Reduction is also a movement for social justice built on a belief in, and respect for, the rights of people who use drugs.” More information available in: https://harmreduction.org.

37. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/NYHarmReduction/photos/a.383573035115620/383573018448955.

Finally, inclusive citizenship also implies that all the rights foreseen by the citizenship “condition” will be respected and guaranteed to all individuals, without any kind of discriminatory biases. This aspect is directly connected to the effective access to public services and legal guarantees, articulating the formal and substantive citizenship, in an integral way (ÁLVAREZ, 2017). It’s also relevant to highlight the importance of consolidating non-discriminatory legislation and laws, backing the protection of vulnerable groups’ collective rights.

According to MC2CM and UCLG’s learning note focused on migrants (2021), one strategy that can foment the citizens acknowledgement of their rights in accessing public services is the elaboration and diffusion of practical guides and toolkits. The awareness about their rights can also lead to the claim for their compliance. In that sense, the learning note also indicates the implementation of human rights strategies to ensure that the rights are being respected, such as an ombudsman structure, which also allows citizens to formally complain against any rights violations, including the ones perpetrated by the local government itself.

Non-discriminatory rights’ guarantee

Recommendations

Creating accessible channels to gather the population’s complaints about the non-compliance of rights, with the possibility, when necessary, of litigation and access to judicial mechanisms for proper reparation.

Elaborating and diffusing relevant and clear information on human rights and diversity to different audiences and through different channels.

Stimulating educational, cultural, and artistic activities to discuss human rights and diversity within the community.

Mobilizing communication and media channels to expose and publicize discrimination episodes and rights violations.

Promoting human rights education formation of public authorities, civil servants, and local police officers.
**Initiatives**

**TRANSCITIZENSHIP PROGRAM – SÃO PAULO (BRAZIL)**

São Paulo City Hall launched the Transcitizenship Program in 2015, whose aim is providing citizenship rights to the transgender population, one of the most vulnerable populations in the city. According to the research carried out by CEDEC about transgender people in the city of São Paulo (2021)\(^{38}\), 43% of the interviewed alleged to have already suffered physical violence due to their gender identity. Only 12% completed undergraduate education, and 67% have a monthly revenue between 1/2 and 2 minimum wages\(^{39}\).

Considering this context, the two-year program’s beneficiaries can conclude their education and/or participate in professional skills training. They also receive a monthly aid, and also social, psychological, and legal support. Transcitizenship currently benefits 510 trans people\(^{40}\).

Another relevant policy concerning the trans population in the city of São Paulo was the 57.559/2016\(^{41}\) decree, promoted by the City Hall, recognizing the gender identity and the social name of the transgender citizens within the Municipal Administration and all its services and institutions.

This initiative is a relevant example of guaranteeing dignity and rights of a historical population frequently made invisible, that is marginalized in all sectors of society, being deprived of labor, educational and social rights opportunities. Without a specific target public policy, this group would hardly reach a program like this, since the discrimination is a constant obstacle for access, reproducing the structural inequalities.

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**“DEFENSORÍA DEL PUEBLO” (OMBUDSMAN) OF BUENOS AIRES**\(^{42}\) (ARGENTINA)

The Ombudsman of the city of Buenos Aires is an autonomous body that aims at protecting and promoting the rights of those who live, transit, work or study in the city. The body receives complaints made by the population related to inadequacies in public services provision, violation of rights, discrimination, environmental degradation, among others. Additionally, it provides legal and rights information, developing sensitization campaigns and carrying out important human rights studies.

Relatively, it is relevant to mention the Homeless Population Census of the City of Buenos Aires, organized in 2019, by the Ombudsman with the partnership with other Argentinian civil society organizations such as “Asociación Civil por la Igualdad y la Justicia” (ACIJ), “Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales” (CELS), among others. The realization of a specific census of this population is extremely relevant since it gives important information and data about vulnerable groups, which can help guide the local public policies. Without reliable data about the homeless population, their needs remain invisible for the local authorities, so initiatives such as this are essential to guarantee the elaboration of specific and more effective policies, and the non-discriminatory access to the city’s services.

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\(^{39}\) From R$ 543.00 to R$ 2,090.00, equivalent to USD 106 to USD 409, approximately.


\(^{42}\) Available (in Spanish) at: [https://defensorio.org.ar](https://defensorio.org.ar)
The Botswana Network on Ethics, Law and HIV/AIDS is a non-profit organization focusing on guaranteeing the right to health for Botswanans. It provides free legal and aid services for those who are suffering discrimination in accessing health services (including sexual and reproductive health services), and those suffering from gender-based violence. By providing access to justice and the protection of the right to proper health services, the organization allows for this essential human right to be properly guaranteed and accessed by everyone without discrimination.

Bonela's poster about its aid programme
Source: Bonela (facebook)  

43. Available at: https://bonela.org
44. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/BONELA.HumanRights/photos/a.1385226034824476/4289828824364168/
D. How to achieve an inclusive citizenship?
After discussing the key components of an inclusive citizenship, it is also relevant to understand how it can be achieved, what Mitchell (2007) called “the process of citizenship”. Regarding the lenses of the right to the city, it appears relevant to consider the following elements during this process:

1. the socio-historic and territorial context;
2. the enactment of citizenship through urban popular movements; and
3. the collective perspective of the inclusive citizenship construction.

Socio-historic and territorial context

As the initiatives brought up the previous section exemplified, local efforts to reconfigure citizenship, aiming at advancing social justice and inclusiveness, can bring important advances in the understandings of citizenship. Since the local level is the closest level to the “citizens”, it is where specific socio-historic aspects and specificities can be taken into account, where grassroots needs and demands can be heard, and rights realized.

Kuri affirms that the city is the special place of “construction and reconstruction” of the citizenship:

“[…] cities in different parts of the world express perhaps like no other place the shifting of citizenship based on the changes experienced in the State-society relationship, as well as in physical and social morphology, which has influenced by weakening the rules and altering the traditionally assigned meanings. (Holston and Appadurai, 1996).” (KURI, 2007, p.96, free translation).

Alvarez (2017, p.5) adds that is not the only place where citizenship can be enacted but the most tangible one: “the city is the lived space where belonging to a territory, a political regime and a system of rules becomes tangible. It is the closest thing to a “political community” where rules, regulations, territory and codes of coexistence are shared.” (p.6, free translation). Therefore, a new alternative vision of citizenship finds in the local level the instruments to be more inclusive.
Enaction of citizenship through popular movements

An inclusive citizenship in the local level is enacted by popular groups and movements. It means that vulnerable groups “break out of the status of being rights-deprived, and to enact their own citizenship by demanding a basic level of rights as inhabitants of the city (Iisin, 2013, p. 29–30).” (HINTJENS; KURIAN, 2019, p.74). Through this notion of “enacting citizenship”, the authors affirm that more than demanding “traditional” citizenship rights, urban groups begin to demand those new forms of citizenship, taking into account their individual territorial context.

Relatedly, the authors mention that attending the LGBTQ+ Pride Parade in Riga (Latvia)45, for example, could be considered as an enactment of citizenship, since the individuals “became political subjects and were able to express their own conception of their basic rights” (HINTJENS; KURIAN, 2019, p. 74).

Because of the efforts to reconfigure the meanings of citizenship by mobilizing local experiences, Blokland et al (2015) argue that citizenship has been “rescaled” towards a bottom-up and community-oriented perspective. Authors address the aspect of the city being a place of innovation, with transforming dynamics and possibilities, multiple regulations, and new diversity norms. Thus, cities are the places through where it becomes possible to articulate political and administrative agendas, “where living and struggles for citizenship are intermingled” (HOLSTON, 2007, apud BLOCKLAND et al, 2015) and where an “insurgent citizenship” can emerge and challenge the “national regime of citizen inequality” (HOLSTON, 2009, p.248). Anthropologist James Holston justified his choice of analyzing Brazilian citizenship, because according to him, Brazilians considered this subject as “critical”. He affirms that citizenship became a “ubiquitous word” for Brazilians’ daily life, evocating alternative futures.

Therefore, Brazilians changed their considerations about citizenship “from something static, already given, and even alienating into something insurgent and indispensable, yet also deficient and risky” (HOLSTON, 2008, p.XIII). For him, insurgent citizen movements – in the Global South in a general manner, but also more specifically in Brazilian urban peripheries – can destabilize the inequitable entrenched citizenship regimes:

“[…] it is not in the civic square that the urban poor articulate this demand with greatest force and originality. It is rather in the realm of everyday and domestic life taking shape in the remote urban peripheries around the construction of residence. It is an insurgence that begins with the struggle for the right to have a daily life in the city worthy of a citizen’s dignity.” (HOLSTON, 2009, p.248, emphasis added).


The collective construction of citizenship

Finally, besides being enacted locally, from the lower scale to a higher one, citizenship should also be pursued by a collective perspective in order to be inclusive. When summarizing the discussion brought up by this paper, it is possible to verify that the collective dimension appears in all described components (sense of belonging, participation, agency, non-discrimination). This collective perspective of inclusive citizenship is directly bound to the collective dimension of the right to the city. According to David Harvey:

“...The right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart’s desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization.” (p.1, emphasis added).46

Thus, it is not the grant of an individual citizen right, but a collective one, also proposed and established by the collectivity. In that way, all groups that reside, circulate and work in the city, which are part of this urban community, should be able to have their rights fully established, acknowledged as subjects of choice and needs, and empowered to interfere in the production and transformation of their community. If citizenship rights guarantee only some groups’ rights in detriment of others, it will not be able to break the social unequal barriers that affect whole community individuals through different intersectional structures of power.

In conclusion, we hope to have touched some central aspects that will contribute to an alternative human-rights based approach of promoting citizenship rights. This alternate path should consider the heterogeneity of social and territorial contexts and the dynamism of the urban residents’ collective demands. In that way, this paper did not have the goal to propose a unique inclusive citizenship definition, but to provide a unexhausted, but still useful source of theoretical and practical information on the subject, through the lenses of the right to the city, acknowledging that the local context is key in concretizing human rights.

Annex I.
SDG’S specific targets related to inclusive citizenship
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<th>SDG</th>
<th>SPECIFIC SDGS’ TARGETS RELATED TO INCLUSIVE CITIZENSHIP</th>
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| 1 NO POVERTY | 1.3 – “Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable.”  
1.4 – “By 2030, ensure that all men and women, in particular the poor and the vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services, ownership and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance, natural resources, appropriate new technology and financial services, including microfinance.” |
| 2 ZERO HUNGER | 2.1 – “By 2030, end hunger and ensure access by all people, in particular the poor and people in vulnerable situations, including infants, to safe, nutritious and sufficient food all year round.”  
2.3 – “By 2030, double the agricultural productivity and incomes of small-scale food producers, in particular women, indigenous peoples, family farmers, pastoralists and fishers, including through secure and equal access to land, other productive resources and inputs, knowledge, financial services, markets and opportunities for value addition and non-farm employment.” |
| 3 GOOD HEALTH AND WELL-BEING | 3.7 – “By 2030, ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services, including for family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programmes.”  
3.8 – “Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health-care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all.” |
| 4 QUALITY EDUCATION | 4.1 – “By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes.”  
4.5 – “By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations.” |
| 5 GENDER EQUALITY | 5.5 – “Ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life.”  
5.6 – “Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences.”  
5.a “Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws.” |
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| 6   | 6.1 – “By 2030, achieve **universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all.**”  
|     | 6.2 – “By 2030, achieve **access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all** and end open defecation, paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations.”  
|     | 6.b – “Support and strengthen the **participation of local communities** in improving water and sanitation management.”  |
| 7   | 7.1 – “By 2030, ensure **universal access to affordable, reliable and modern energy services.**”  |
| 8   | 8.5 – “By 2030, achieve **full and productive employment and decent work** for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value.”  
|     | 8.8 – **“Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers,** including migrant workers, in particular women migrants, and those in precarious employment.”  
|     | 8.10 – “Strengthen the capacity of domestic financial institutions to encourage and expand access to banking, insurance and financial services for all.”  |
| 9   | 9.1 – “Develop **quality, reliable, sustainable and resilient infrastructure**, including regional and transborder infrastructure, to support economic development and human well-being, with a focus on affordable and equitable access for all.”  
|     | 9.c – “Significantly increase access to information and communications technology and strive to **provide universal and affordable access to the Internet** in least developed countries by 2020.”  |
| 10  | 10.2 – “By 2030, **empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status.**”  
<p>|     | 10.3 – “Ensure <strong>equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws</strong>, policies and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies and action in this regard.”  |</p>
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| 11  | 11.1 – “By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums.”  
11.2 – “By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons.”  
11.3 – “By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries.”  
11.4 – “Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage.”  
11.7 – “By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities.” |
| 12  | 12.8 – “By 2030, ensure that people everywhere have the relevant information and awareness for sustainable development and lifestyles in harmony with nature.”  
12.8.b – “Develop and implement tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products.” |
| 13  | 13.3 – “Improve education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning.”  
13.8.b – “Promote mechanisms for raising capacity for effective climate change-related planning and management in least developed countries and small island developing States, including focusing on women, youth and local and marginalized communities.” |
<p>| 14  | 14.b – “Provide access for small-scale artisanal fishers to marine resources and markets.” |
| 15  | 15.c – “Enhance global support for efforts to combat poaching and trafficking of protected species, including by increasing the capacity of local communities to pursue sustainable livelihood opportunities.” |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SDG</th>
<th>SPECIFIC SDGS’ TARGETS RELATED TO INCLUSIVE CITIZENSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>16.1 – “Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.2 – “End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.3 – “Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.7 – “Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.9 – “By 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.10 – “Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.b – “Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>17.8 – “Fully operationalize the technology bank and science, technology and innovation capacity-building mechanism for least developed countries by 2017 and enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.18 – “By 2020, enhance capacity-building support to developing countries, including for least developed countries and small island developing States, to increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Annex II. List of inclusive citizenship initiatives
## List of inclusive citizenship initiatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIATIVE</th>
<th>CITY / REGION / COUNTRY</th>
<th>REALIZED BY</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>MORE INFO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMMUNITY-SHARED SENSE OF BELONGING AND IDENTITY</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRE FOR MEMORIES’ EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME</td>
<td>Enugu / Nigeria</td>
<td>Civil Society</td>
<td>It aims at preserving and disseminating the history and culture of the “Ndigbo” people in Nigeria. Its “Nzuko Umuaka” educational program works with children and adolescents from local schools by developing activities about Igbo poetry, folktales, and music, besides organizing Igbo language and history classes.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.centreformemories.org">https://www.centreformemories.org</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLECTIVE BLACK CARTOGRAPHY</td>
<td>São Paulo / Brazil</td>
<td>Civil Society</td>
<td>This urban civil society’s collective aims at mapping and re-signifying the black historic territories in the city of São Paulo, which were erased by the racist production of the city. The collective brings together black researchers to build a cartography that indicates places of resistance for the black population, but also places where violations of rights occurred.</td>
<td><a href="https://cartografianegracoma.com.br">https://cartografianegracoma.com.br</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMMUNITY RADIO PROJECTS</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ahmedabad / India</strong></td>
<td><strong>Civil Society</strong></td>
<td>The non-profit Indian organization Drshti works to strengthen community radio stations in the country, by facilitating workshops and training for station managers and providing technical support. It also manages a communitarian radio telling local resident’s stories.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.drishtime-dio.org">https://www.drishtime-dio.org</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>MEMORY HOUSE MUSEUM</strong></td>
<td><strong>Medellín / Colombia</strong></td>
<td><strong>Local Government</strong></td>
<td>An initiative from the Medellin’s City Hall aiming at promoting the construction of the collective memory of the Colombian, and more specifically, of the Medellin’s region, for a better comprehension of the armed conflict, allowing, in that way, for social and symbolic reparation. It contributes in sharing and preserving the collective memory to consolidate the common identity.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.museo-cadelaememoria.gov.co">https://www.museo-cadelaememoria.gov.co</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MOBILE HOUSE: CITIZENSHIP IN THE STREETS OF LUZ</strong></td>
<td><strong>São Paulo / Brazil</strong></td>
<td><strong>Local Government + Civil Society</strong></td>
<td>Promoted by the Municipal Secretariat for Human Rights and Citizenship (São Paulo City Hall) and the Casadalpa civil society urban collective, it consists in developing different urban interventions (e.g., handcraft workshops, social dialogues, communitarian gardens, open air performances, etc) bringing together artists, neighborhood residents, and the beneficiaries of a harm reduction municipal program for drug users. By engaging residents and frequent visitors to collectively occupy and transform the public space, it was possible to build new identity bonds within the neighborhood.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/direitos_humanos/promocao_do_direito_a_cidade/noticias/?p=173880">https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/direitos_humanos/promocao_do_direito_a_cidade/noticias/?p=173880</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MUNICIPAL POLICY FOR THE MIGRANT POPULATION</strong></td>
<td><strong>São Paulo / Brazil</strong></td>
<td><strong>Local Government</strong></td>
<td>Municipal law that guarantees immigrant’s access to social rights and public services. It also institutionalizes their right to participate as candidates and voters in the Municipal Participatory City Councils and in the Municipal Council for Migrants.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/upload/direitos_humanos/Policy%20for%20Immigrants.pdf">https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/upload/direitos_humanos/Policy%20for%20Immigrants.pdf</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Municipal Network for Youth's Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Civil Society</td>
<td>Anacej mobilizes a national network of local elected politicians, territorial youth's collectives and popular education movements, fostering children's and youth's participation in the local decision making by approximating youth movements to the local elected representatives.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.anacej.fr">https://www.anacej.fr</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Participatory Budgeting Experiment for Migrant Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taoyuan / Taiwan</td>
<td>Local Government</td>
<td>The municipality held a Participatory Budgeting Experiment for Migrant Workers in 2017/2018. The migrant target group was Southeast Asian workers, mainly from Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam, who usually suffered from cultural discrimination. Through this experience, those groups could propose the budget for leisure and recreation activities.</td>
<td><a href="https://bulletin.tfd.org.tw/tdb-vol-1-no-15-tw-migr-budget">https://bulletin.tfd.org.tw/tdb-vol-1-no-15-tw-migr-budget</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Participatory Data Collection Methodology with People with Disabilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| Surakarta and Banjarmassin / Indonesia | Civil Society | Kota Kita, a non-profit Indonesian organization, promoted a participatory data collection methodology with people with disabilities in Indonesian cities aiming at reducing the gap of local data related to disability, in order to provide reliable information to a more effective policy-making decision towards those groups, and to build awareness about their demands and rights. | http://www.kotakita.org/project-disability-inclusive-city.html  
http://www.kotakita.org/project-disability-inclusive-banjarmasin.html |

### Children and Adolescents' Participatory Budget

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| Belo Horizonte / Brazil | Local Government | The city of Belo Horizonte established in 2014 a participatory budget for municipal schools where children and adolescents (between 6 and 15 years of age) can propose and vote for upgrading projects in their educational environment. More than 50,000 students from 70 municipal schools already participated in this initiative. | https://oidp.net/jt/practice.php?id=1129  
https://prefeitura.pbh.gov.br/noticias/aberto-o-orcamento-participativo-do-crescimento-de-criancas-e-adolescentes |

### Inuit Food Security Strategy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inuit Nunangat / Canada</td>
<td>Civil Society</td>
<td>This non-profit organization Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami specific project brings attention to the context of food insecurity of this population and the lack of public policies to address this problem. The strategy carried out by the organization is proposing an inuit-drive solution to this issue, by considering what the inuit population needs and their own perceptions of what food sovereignty means, strengthening their self-determination.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.itk.ca">https://www.itk.ca</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Participation of Children and Adolescents in Urban Planning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Links</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bogotá / Colombia</td>
<td>Local Government</td>
<td>Bogotá has established some participatory mechanisms to allow and stimulate the participation of children and adolescents in the development of urban policies. Three examples can be highlighted: pedagogical rounds with children and adolescents for the elaboration of the 2020-2024 District Development Plan; participatory process for the elaboration of Bogotá’s 2022-2035 Land Management Plan and, at the neighborhood level, the possibility of voting for the Joint Action Boards (for teenagers over 14 years-old).</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sdp.gov.co/sites/default/files/ppt_pdd_nnaj_sep10_1.pdf">http://www.sdp.gov.co/sites/default/files/ppt_pdd_nnaj_sep10_1.pdf</a>&lt;br&gt;<a href="http://www.sdp.gov.co/sites/default/files/guia_ninos_pot_digital_24-09-2020_0.pdf">http://www.sdp.gov.co/sites/default/files/guia_ninos_pot_digital_24-09-2020_0.pdf</a>&lt;br&gt;<a href="https://www.participacionbogota.gov.co/centros/default/files/Elecciones%202021%20%COMPLETA%20-%20%EF%BF%BFD%20%20Jun%2020.pdf">https://www.participacionbogota.gov.co/centros/default/files/Elecciones%202021%20%COMPLETA%20-%20%EF%BF%BFD%20%20Jun%2020.pdf</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beirut / Lebanon</td>
<td>Civil Society</td>
<td>Catalytic Action, a non-profit organization, in partnership with Terre Des Hommes Italy and UNICEF, has developed an intervention project in the neighborhood of Karantina, between 2020 and 2021. The intervention is part of a more comprehensive research, that comprised interviews, consultations, and workshops with local residents – including children and adolescents – as well as documenting, creating and monitoring activities of the uses of the neighborhood’s public spaces.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.catalyticaction.org/karantina-neighbourhood-intervention">https://www.catalyticaction.org/karantina-neighbourhood-intervention</a>&lt;br&gt;<a href="https://www.catalyticaction.org/karantina-2">https://www.catalyticaction.org/karantina-2</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oaxaca / Mexico</td>
<td>Civil Society</td>
<td>The non-profit organization “Flor y Canto Centro de Derechos Indígenas” Water Project is working to guarantee the indigenous communities access to water, as a collective human right, by empowering communities to claim for their right, and making their demands heard by mobilizing legal mechanisms.</td>
<td><a href="http://cdiflorycanto.org">http://cdiflorycanto.org</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Participatory Intervention in Karantina Neighborhood

### Water Project and Indigenous Rights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Links</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barcelona / Spain</td>
<td>Local Government + Civil Society</td>
<td>It is a participatory initiative to promote public-private cooperation, besides strengthening the joint action of Barcelona’s City Hall and social organizations for a more inclusive city. The Agreement has more than 700 signatory organizations which have also launched the Strategy for Inclusion and Reducing Inequalities (2017-2027) aiming at safeguarding rights for all citizens.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.bcn.cat/barcelonainclusiva/ca/2018/6/strategy_inclusion_2017-2027_en.pdf">http://www.bcn.cat/barcelonainclusiva/ca/2018/6/strategy_inclusion_2017-2027_en.pdf</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEFENSORÍA DEL PUEBLO (OMBUDSMAN)</strong></td>
<td>Buenos Aires / Argentina</td>
<td>Local Government (with functional autonomy)</td>
<td>The Ombudsman is an autonomous body that aims at protecting and promoting the rights of those who live, transit, work, or study in the city. The body receives complaints by the population – related to inadequacies in public services provision, violation of rights, discrimination, environmental degradation, among others. Additionally, it provides legal and rights information, developing sensitization campaigns and carrying out important human rights studies.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIGNITY NOT DESTITUTION CAMPAIGN</strong></td>
<td>Bristol / United Kingdom</td>
<td>Civil Society</td>
<td>The campaign started in 2009, by local civil society mobilization, seeking for local support in opposition to the national destitution policy that was backed by the 2002 Asylum Act. The initiative was successful in mobilizing public opinion and was spread out to other cities which had also passed motions in supporting the cause. Bristol and other UK cities now integrate the “City of Sanctuary UK” network.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENDER AND WASTE PROJECT</strong></td>
<td>Belo Horizonte / Brazil</td>
<td>Civil Society</td>
<td>Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO), a global network, launched the Gender and Waste project, seeking to raise awareness, through educational workshops, of gender labor inequalities, in a collaborative initiative with waste pickers organizations. Toolkits were also created in different languages so they could be used in other parts of the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LEGAL AID PROGRAMME FOR HEALTH RIGHTS</strong></td>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>Civil Society</td>
<td>The Botswana Network on Ethics, Law and HIV/AIDS is a non-profit organization focusing on guaranteeing the right to health for Botswanans. It provides free legal and aid services for those who are suffering discrimination in accessing health services (including sexual and reproductive health services), and those suffering from gender-based violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRANSCITIZENSHIP PROGRAM</strong></td>
<td>São Paulo / Brazil</td>
<td>Local Government</td>
<td>The two-year municipal program promoted by the City Hall aims at improving life conditions to the transgender population, one of the most vulnerable in the city. Through the initiative, beneficiaries can finish their education and/or participate in professional skills training. They also receive a monthly aid, besides social, psychological, and legal support.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Action Aid India, an international non-governmental organization, had launched “The Charter of Women Workers: an agenda for Women in the Informal Economy” calling attention for the demands of rights’ protection of women workers, also the need for labor legislation improvement. It also works in association with other grassroots partners, through seven Indian states, to engage with domestic workers and strengthen their awareness about their labor rights.

Figures and boxes
Figures and boxes

**Figure 1.** Example of an intersectional approach.
**Figure 2.** Proposed components of inclusive citizenship

**Box 1.** Critical analysis on the international Human Rights Framework.
**Box 2.** About the Right to the City.
**Box 3.** Citizenship rights in African countries.
**Box 4.** An intersectional approach.
START CROSSING

DON'T START
Finish Crossing
If Started

TIME REMAINING
To Finish Crossing

FREE THE
PEOPLE
TO CROSS
PUSH BUTTON


GPR2C. Right to the City Agenda: For the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the New Urban Agenda, 2016.


MOGHISSI, Haideh. *Islamic Feminism Revisited.* Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East, v. 31, n.1, 2011.


References
NO BORDER NO NATION
Abbreviations

GPR2C  Global Platform for the right to the city
NUA   New Urban Agenda
R2C   Right to the city
SDGs Sustainable Development Goals
UCLG United Cities and Local Governments
UN    United Nations

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p.12 “Unequal Scenes – Durban, South Africa” by Global Landscapes Forum
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p.30 “Working from home during the COVID-19 pandemic” © World Bank / Henitsoa Rafalia
p.31 www.street-heart.com
p.42 Graffiti at Wolfgang Borchert Theater in the port of Münster, North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany by Dietmar Rabich
p.48 “The masked artist of Shoreditch” by Loco Steve
This Thematic Paper is part of a series of seven documents produced by the **Global Platform for the Right to the City** (GPR2C).

These documents are the result of a **process of collective learning** on the Right to the City. Each author was supported by a reference group formed by different organisations members of the Platform. These groups closely followed the drafting of the documents and provided assistance to the experts.

Additionally, a series of webinars were held for each topic in order to broaden discussions and collect suggestions and proposals from a wider range of organizations (including grassroots and social movements, NGOs, professionals, academics and local governments’ representatives from different countries and regions).

The **Global Platform for the Right to the City (GPR2C)** is an action-oriented advocacy network committed to social change and with the promotion of the Right to the City as a core value for policies, commitments, projects and actions at the local, national and international levels. We gather organizations, networks and individuals from a wide range of backgrounds: local-based and international social movements, NGOs, forums, academics, representatives from local governments, and other institutions committed to create more just, democratic and sustainable cities and territories.

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right2city.org
contact@right2city.org

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