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## **Adolescent girls in public space: Toward a framework for action in urban design and planning**

Read in English (p. 115)

## **Mladostnice v javnem prostoru: razvoj okvira za ukrepanje v prostorskem oblikovanju in načrtovanju**

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## Adolescent girls in public space: Toward a framework for action in urban design and planning

This article reviews recent academic literature on adolescent girls in public spaces with the objective of defining a framework for action in designing and planning public spaces for adolescent girls. There is growing global relevance of this age group, which now represents over 16% of the world population. Despite their demographic weight, adolescent girls are often overlooked in urban studies, which tend to focus on either children or adult women. Anchored in a gender-sensitive planning framework, this study conducts a scoping literature review following PRISMA guidelines, reviewing 2,737 documents and analysing sixty-eight publications indexed in Scopus and Web of Science Core Collection between 2010 and 2025.

The findings are grouped by implications for planning and design. The review also identifies significant gaps in the literature, including limited evaluation of effective strategies or design elements that promote adolescent girls' use of public space, minimal focus on leisure environments, and scarce integration of cultural and social norms that shape gendered mobility. The findings underscore the fragmented research of intersecting issues such as violence, safety, adolescent needs, and spatial justice.

**Keywords:** public spaces, adolescent girls, gender-based violence, scoping review

## 1 Introduction

The urban adolescent population has surged, with more than 732 million adolescents living in urban areas worldwide (UNICEF, 2022). This geographic and demographic shift highlights the growing importance of recognizing adolescent girls as active participants in urban life. Entering adulthood is becoming more difficult as young people face challenges such as the climate crisis, unstable employment, health epidemics, displacement, insecurity, and violence (Majeed & Lee, 2017; Gharabaghi & Anderson-Nathe, 2018; Jones, 2019). These pressures often affect adolescent girls more severely, highlighting the need for intentional efforts to support their agency and empowerment (Banati et al., 2021).

Consequently, their needs must be considered in urban policies as well as in designing and programming public spaces in urban environments. Although there is abundant literature on public space, there is still limited research on adolescents, especially girls, as well as disaggregated city-level data by age and sex worldwide (Braverman-Bronstein et al., 2023). Previous scoping reviews have focused on barriers to use and remain anchored in physical and mental health disciplines (Hjort & Larsen, 2025).

This study develops an evidence-informed framework for planning and designing public spaces for adolescent girls by synthesizing recent research from various disciplines on their interactions with public spaces across diverse geographical contexts. Guided by the question “What is being said about adolescent girls and their engagement with public space, and what common themes can be identified across studies?”, the review examines how this topic has been addressed in the literature and what implications emerge for urban planning and design. It is based on the assumption that research at the intersection of adolescent girls and public spaces remains relatively limited and dispersed across disciplines, and that a synthesis of existing knowledge can help identify recurring themes, gaps in the literature, and opportunities for future research and practice. When places are designed and programmed with an evidence-based approach, they have greater probabilities of success (Gootman & Eccles, 2002; Lippman, 2010; Marcus & Sachs, 2013; Sandström et al., 2024).

Within feminist geography and girlhood studies, the concept of an adolescent girl is not static or universal, but is shaped by historical, cultural, and contextual factors (Bettis & Adams, 2005; Driscoll, 2008; Mazzarella, 2008, 2019). The range for adolescent girlhood includes aspects beyond biological factors, such as social roles, behaviours, and expectations associated with femininity and youth. In many societies, girls are socialized into gender roles and norms that shape their opportunities

and participation in public spheres, such as public spaces. In the context of this research, the term *adolescent girl* is used to refer to a young person transitioning from childhood to adulthood, loosely between the ages of ten and nineteen, who identifies as female or is assigned female at birth. Although policy documents such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child cover all individuals under eighteen, understanding the unique challenges faced by adolescent girls requires focused attention. Critical spatial scholarship has long maintained that spatial divisions and gender roles are socially constructed and mutually reinforcing (Gilbert, 1997; Women and Geography Study Group, 2014; Blidon & Zaragocin, 2019). This body of work shows how experiences in urban spaces (Rose, 2017; Hayden, 1980) are deeply gendered (Massey, 2013), shaped by social norms (Fenster, 2005; Beebejaun, 2017), power relations, and historical intersectional inequities (McDowell, 1983; Ruddick, 1996) that often marginalize women’s needs and perspectives. These social, racial, age, and gender inequalities influence people’s ability to claim and inhabit space (Teelucksingh, 2006; Listerborn, 2008, 2016). Within this context, young women construct their identities (Bettie, 2014), embody difference (Francombe-Webb & Silk, 2016; Toussaint, 2018), and negotiate their presence in public space. Yet, as girls reach puberty, their engagement with public spaces often contracts, whereas boys’ spatial freedom tends to expand (Valentine, 1997; Chant et al., 2017).

Building on these insights, gender-responsive planners, designers, and researchers have emphasized the need to design public spaces that support safety, mobility, comfort, and inclusion (Muxí Martínez et al., 2011; Massey, 2013; Soto Villagrán, 2016; Sánchez-de Madariaga & Zucchini, 2020). Research highlights the importance of spatial features such as lighting (Sumartojo, 2022), visibility (Navarrete-Hernandez et al., 2021), seating arrangements (Lesan & Gjerde, 2021), pathways, and facilities in shaping how welcoming and accessible public spaces are perceived to be (Loebach et al., 2020). These design considerations are particularly relevant for adolescent girls, whose opportunities to use and appropriate public space are often constrained by broader gendered inequalities. In architecture, urban planning, and geography, the desires and experiences of adolescent girls have often been overlooked (Gleason, 2008). Discussions on inclusion in urban strategies have predominantly centred on younger children or older adults, neglecting the distinct needs and preferences of teenagers (Khalifa et al., 2024; Bain, 2003; Kern, 2020). Sometimes, when there are data about teenagers, they are not disaggregated by gender (Chant et al., 2017) or, when there are gendered data, they are not disaggregated by age. Despite extensive studies on parks and recreational spaces for children and adolescents (Bedimo-Rung et al., 2005; Cohen et al., 2007; Ding et al., 2011), which primarily emphasize physical activity for

health benefits, gender-based differences in motivation to visit such spaces are frequently disregarded. Consequently, public space and park design criteria tend to prioritize active play while overlooking other crucial aspects such as socializing or rest and relaxation, contributing to a decline in girls' presence as they transition into adolescence (González Palomares & Sánchez Vela, 2014; Cohen et al., 2021).

Public spaces, defined as accessible areas for social interaction, recreation, and civic engagement, are vital components of community life, contributing to overall well-being and quality of life (Francis et al., 2012; Burke et al., 2016; Van Hecke et al., 2018; Carmona, 2019). These spaces are, and must be seen as, multifunctional areas for social interaction and cultural expression among a wide diversity of people. This review includes all types of publicly accessible spaces. It is for urban planning to establish and organize these public spaces, and for urban design to facilitate and encourage their use while enhancing a sense of identity and belonging. Public space is not only a physical space but also a socially constructed space that is deeply shaped by gender power dynamics (Navarrete-Hernandez et al., 2021). It is a "gendered, sexualized and racialized arena" (Scraton & Watson, 1998: 123). These factors can restrict the freedom of movement of adolescent girls, shaping both their decisions about accessing these spaces and their perception of them.

## 2 Materials and methods

This study conducted a scoping review to examine how existing research addresses the relationship between adolescent girls and public space, with the aim of identifying key implications for their inclusion in public space design and planning. A scoping review approach was chosen due to its suitability for exploring broad research topics, identifying key characteristics of a concept, and analysing gaps in current knowledge (Munn et al., 2018; Levac et al., 2010; Lockwood et al., 2019).

The initial search was conducted in two databases. The first search, in the SCOPUS database, focused on peer-reviewed literature published between January 2010 and July 2025. This initial search identified 130 records. The search of the second database, Web of Science Core Collection, identified 2,607 records, although it was already evident in the title of the articles that many were unrelated to public spaces and adolescent girls. The initial screening process was made via abstract review by two researchers and two research assistants. The process of identification, screening, eligibility, and inclusion is shown in Figure 1.

The review process followed three stages. First, titles were screened to identify studies explicitly related to adolescent girls and public spaces. Second, abstracts of potentially rele-

vant articles were reviewed to assess their alignment with the research objective. Finally, full articles deemed relevant were analysed in detail for inclusion in the review. After abstract screening and repeat record elimination, sixty-eight records were eliminated from the Scopus search, and most of the Web of Science results, 2,602, were eliminated.

This scoping review focused on studies that explicitly addressed adolescent girls' interactions with public space. Although this approach was effective in capturing a diverse and relevant body of work, future research may benefit from incorporating broader search terms that could complement and enrich this perspective.

To identify themes or dimensions emerging from the research, the resulting sixty-seven documents were jointly reviewed and analysed using an expanded database. Descriptive characteristics (author, year, country, and disciplinary field) were used to contextualize literature, and qualitative synthesis focused on conceptual content related to adolescent girls' experiences in public space. The guiding question was the following: What is being said about adolescent girls and their engagement with public space, and what common ideas or patterns can be identified across studies?

The identification of dimensions followed an inductive and iterative process. Each of the sixty-seven texts was examined to detect insights, and the database was analysed to detect recurring concepts, allowing shared meanings to surface progressively through comparison across studies. Key concepts were identified first, and the strategic dimension emerged from there (Hinojosa Hinojosa & Casillas Zapata, 2026).

## 3 Results

Building on the methodological analysis described in the previous section, the emerging themes are discussed in this section as potential strategic dimensions for action in public space design and programming that includes adolescent girls, as shown in Table 1. More than one theme was identified in most articles.

The studies reviewed include thirty-four countries with different cultural contexts, from western Europe and North America to South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America. The degree to which adolescent girls differ from boys or other user groups in their use of public space likely varies across these settings. In highly gender-segregated contexts, restrictions on girls' mobility are likely more pronounced than in more egalitarian ones, a distinction that western-centric literature tends to underrepresent. To make this geographic spread transparent,

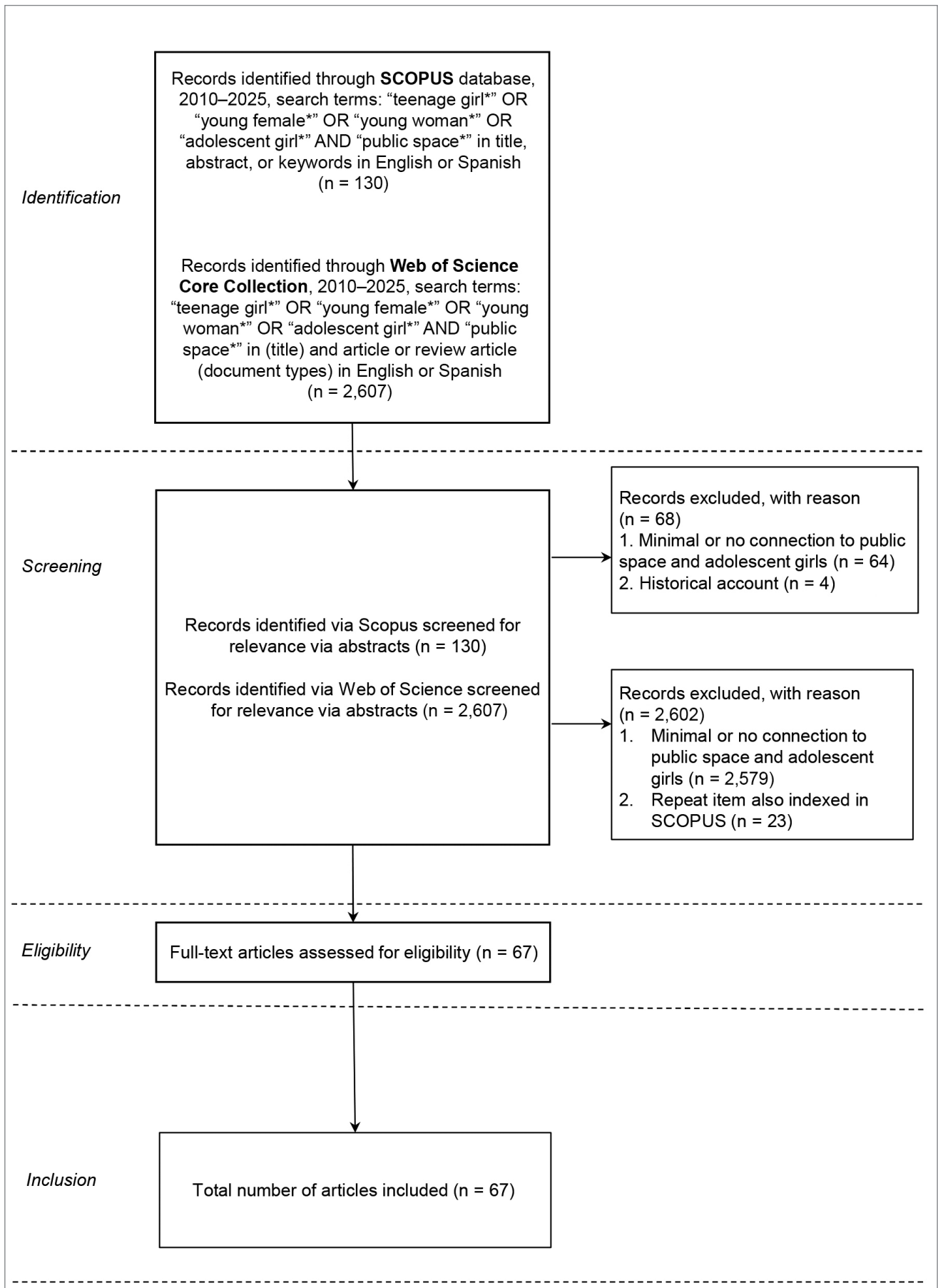
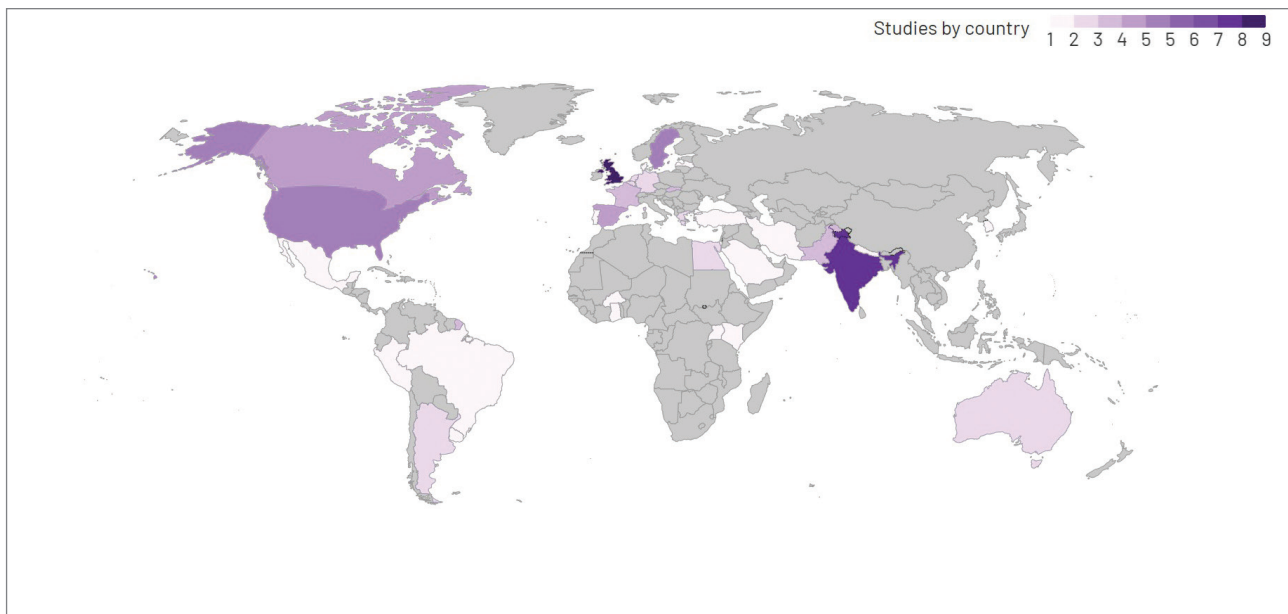


Figure 1. PRISMA flow diagram of the scoping literature review process (source: authors).

**Table 1:** Key concepts and emerging themes.

| Key concepts identified  | Emerging themes   | Definition   | Studies discussing theme |
|--|-------------------|--|--------------------------|
| Peer connection, social interaction, shared experiences, opportunities for encounter, socialization, social support, social behaviour, social cohesion, social disorganization, social inclusion                               | Social connection | Relationships and interactions that enable individuals to engage and form networks in public space           | 5                        |
| Representation, inclusion, visibility, identity, participation, intersectionality, racism, discrimination, gender identity, social discrimination, placemaking, social participation, affordances, affect theory               | Belonging         | Sense of acceptance, visibility, and inclusion experienced by individuals in a shared environment            | 15                       |
| Perceived safety, comfort, social surveillance, safety, sexual harassment, violence, gender-based violence, street harassment, harassment, perception, place avoidance, fear of crime, psychological distress, sexual violence | Safety            | Physical, emotional, and perceived conditions that allow users to occupy and move through space without fear | 41                       |
| Play, mobility, recreation, mental health, physical activity, skateboarding, space use, physical activities, sedentary time, non-competitive sports  | Activity          | Range and intensity of behaviours that animate public life and reflect everyday spatial use                  | 19                       |
| Sidewalk, walkability, walking, Google street view, GPS tracking, active travel, bicycle, internal displacement, metro system, mobilization, coping strategies, gender norms, restricted movement                              | Mobility          | Ability of people to move through the city using several means of transportation                             | 8                        |

Source: authors.



**Figure 2:** Geographic distribution of studies reviewed by country of origin (source: authors, based on publication count and country of origin as published in the articles on a World Bank official boundaries basemap).

we have mapped the distribution of the studies included in Figure 2. Future reviews would strengthen the evidence base further by explicitly analysing how cultural context moderates findings across settings.

### 3.1 Social connection

Social connection is essential to adolescent girls because it supports their development, identity formation, and well-being. Social connection is also a way to achieve feelings of safety, autonomy, and empowerment. Group companionship protects

adolescent girls from unwanted interactions with strangers and provides collective strategies to navigate gendered risks in public spaces. Social connection functions as a protective social infrastructure that allows access to public life (Spierings et al., 2016). For example, Dutch Moroccan teenage girls in disadvantaged neighbourhoods socialize in privately owned public places to avoid misinterpretation and minimize encounters with young men (Wijntuin & Koster, 2019). For adolescent girls, opportunities for social connection are closely linked to spatial preferences.

Cities and the public space they offer shape preferences. For example, in Barcelona, public spaces in urban centres such as plazas, parks, and markets are appealing because they allow collective presence and group socialization, which reinforce peer connection and belonging (Pérez et al., 2012). Further research from various cities shows other public space preferences; for example, a small qualitative study using structured interviews with adolescents from Tel Aviv, Hannover, Volos, and Lisbon found that adolescent girls tended to prefer semi-public environments such as malls, museums, and cinemas, where they could gather informally with peers while maintaining a sense of safety and comfort (Menezes et al., 2023).

When social connection is difficult in public spaces, online platforms have become alternative arenas where adolescent girls cultivate social ties and exchange experiences. Young Hispanic and Latinx feminists use digital networks and online groups to overcome the difficulties of meeting in physical public spaces (Delgado, 2018). Similarly, further research from Cerva Cerna (2021) shows how adolescent girls and young women protest in public spaces through physical presence and collective organization through digital platforms, which amplify their visibility, claims, and forms of resistance, expanding the reach of their engagement with public space. Digital tools can also increase the participation of girls in the design and planning of urban environments by allowing them to express spatial needs and preferences, while also generating social connections. However, technological gaps can reproduce existing inequalities when girls in rural or marginalized urban areas have limited access and no alternative channels for participation and connection (Geropanta & Cornelio-Marí, 2022).

Participation in sports offers another meaningful pathway for social connection. Adolescent girls appreciate recreational spaces where physical activity emphasizes collaboration and shared enjoyment rather than competition (Kalniņa & Stokmane, 2022). The need for social connection often coexists with a wish for distance. Although girls value proximity to peers, they also seek spaces that provide privacy and autonomy. Research in neighbourhood parks shows that girls tend to prefer areas away from playgrounds and residential build-

ings, where they can converse freely without being disturbed or disturbing others (Pyry, 2015; Li et al., 2018; Sundevall & Jansson, 2020). This balance between closeness and control over space reveals that social connection also depends on the ability to choose when and how to engage with others.

### 3.2 Belonging

Belonging, in the deepest sense, means recognizing aspects of one's identity in space and with others. It emerges through identification with specific environments, such as places perceived as for women, K-pop fans (Fedorenko, 2021), or skaters (Paechter et al., 2023), and through relationships with peers that share similar experiences or traits. Within peer socialization, belonging reflects the intersection of multiple identities such as being a woman, an adolescent, a young person, or a skateboarder, and how these shape individuals' sense of self and group affiliation. Ultimately, belonging links social identity to the appropriation and meaning of public space.

Adolescent girls and those advocating for them employ diverse gender inclusion strategies to navigate and reclaim spaces often dominated by males. These strategies reflect both individual and collective efforts to foster affiliation and visibility in the public realm, showing that belonging is an active and negotiated process.

Two Swedish cases exemplify distinct approaches to creating belonging. The first, called strategic visibility, emphasizes girls' presence by designating girls-only spaces, making them visible and protected from male dominance (van der Burgt, 2015). The second, strategic entitlement, assumes girls' participation as natural and unquestioned, reinforcing their right to occupy spaces such as skateparks (Bäckström & Nairn, 2018). Both cement the idea that adolescent girls belong in public spaces.

Programming is also very relevant in fostering a sense of belonging. Programs that build life skills and confidence enable girls to navigate public spaces safely and assertively (Gillespie et al., 2025), empowering them to take active roles in their communities (Asghar et al., 2018).

Methodological approaches that view girls as subjects rather than objects of study become inclusion practices in themselves. Participatory and qualitative methods such as focus groups, observational mapping (Paechter et al., 2023), sensory ethnographic methods (Bäckström & Nairn, 2018), and walking interviews (Sundevall & Jansson, 2020) capture the depth of girls' lived experiences.

Acts of reclaiming space, such as decorating subway stations by K-pop fans in Seoul (Fedorenko, 2021), or participating

in civic initiatives (Cele, 2013), illustrate how girls and young women express belonging through creative and political agency in public life. Further research also documents mural painting as one of these forms of claiming space (Roy & Chatterjee, 2020).

### 3.3 Safety

Safety in public spaces is a central concern for adolescent girls, with gender-based violence emerging as the dominant theme across the literature reviewed. Outside the body of literature analysed, gender-based violence is defined as violence directed toward a person because of his or her gender, or violence that disproportionately affects persons of dissident genders due to structural power imbalances (van Daalen et al., 2022). Gender-based violence shapes how adolescent girls perceive and use public spaces, often leading to their exclusion and limited participation (Zietz & Das, 2018). Within the body of literature analysed, gender-based violence frequently intersects with other forms of discrimination, exacerbating vulnerability and exclusion (Sahu et al., 2017; Wringe et al., 2019). Of the articles included, thirty-nine address gender-based violence directly and two others indirectly, making safety the most prevalent dimension in research focused on adolescent girls.

The main idea is that there is a perception of public spaces as unsafe. Even in the absence of direct personal experience, culturally normalized fear of violence limits girls' participation in public life, reflecting narratives that are as consequential as actual crime rates (Bromley & Stacey, 2012; Fanghanel, 2014; Rišová & Sládeková Madajová, 2020). Further research suggests that women usually adopt avoidance behaviour because of fear of crime in public spaces, and they place restrictions on their own lives (Erkan & Sevin Topçu, 2021).

This perception is associated with mobility restrictions and control. Patriarchal norms dictate what girls wear, where they go, when they occupy certain spaces, and which activities are considered appropriate (Avendaño et al., 2022). This is further described in the section on mobility.

Sexual harassment occurs in public spaces. Sexual harassment is most commonly associated with streets and public workplaces (Bevilacqua et al., 2022; Casanovas et al., 2022). In some contexts, girls internalize these experiences as normative, compounding their exclusion (Asghar et al., 2018).

However, adolescent girls adopt collective responses and protective factors. Support networks including mothers, female peers, and mentors enable girls to remain active in public spaces despite safety barriers (Bankar et al., 2018; Cislighi et al., 2020). Sports programs tailored for girls, such as those

documented in Delhi, further support this by building confidence and breaking down participation barriers (Chawansky & Mitra, 2015). Positive emotions such as confidence, freedom, and empowerment drive proactive engagement in public life (van der Burgt, 2015; Delgado, 2018; Galanakis, 2016; McCammon et al., 2023; Bankar et al., 2018). At a broader level, collective political action in public spaces is a direct mechanism through which young women contest systemic inequality and assert their right to occupy public space (Bäckström & Nairn, 2018). Further research also suggests that community cohesion acts as a protective buffer against visible forms of public violence (Poix et al., 2022).

### 3.4 Mobility

Mobility consists of the capacity or action of moving to different places, using several means of transportation. Mobility restrictions can be understood as limitations that hinder or disrupt free movement and the use of public space. Mobility restrictions in public spaces are closely tied to violence, sexual harassment, and social mobility opportunities for adolescent girls. Recent research outside the body of literature reviewed suggests that these restrictions may stem from a lack of affordable transportation options and safety concerns (Nasrin & Chowdhury, 2024). Among the findings in the articles reviewed, including fear of gender-based violence in public spaces, it was observed that cultural gender norms within families and communities may significantly curtail young women's mobility and perpetuate their dependency on being accompanied, hindering their access to education and well-paid employment opportunities (Sahu et al., 2017).

Adolescent girls adopt various coping strategies in their mobility in several ways. Some strive for independent mobility despite social restrictions such as strict curfews, chaperoning, not using public transport, and avoiding unsafe spaces (Chawansky & Mitra, 2015), whereas others resort to roaming within safer, familiar areas to experience freedom while still adhering to social norms and expectations (Wijntuin & Koster, 2019) such as being sensible, respectable, modest, and accommodating, and avoiding risk. Walking quickly to minimize time spent in public spaces and using public transport, despite its own safety concerns (Avendaño et al., 2022), are also common strategies.

In response to perceived risks, adolescent girls adopt individual protective strategies: avoiding male-dominated activity areas, altering their attire, selecting safer routes, and restricting the times they use public spaces (Reimers et al., 2018; Tanner et al., 2020; Rišová, 2021). Family and community hypervigilance, although framed as protection, reinforces these restrictions and reproduces control through fear (Bernard & Carlile, 2021).

### 3.5 Activity

Activity refers to the range of recreational engagements that adolescent girls experience in public spaces, which are not all physical or social in nature. Research shows that well-designed environments can encourage active lifestyles that contribute to adolescent health and development (Dias et al., 2018; Reimers et al., 2018; Van Hecke et al., 2018). Although not part of the body of literature included in this review, broader evidence indicates that physical activity levels among adolescents remain low worldwide, with nearly 80% of young people eleven to seventeen years old not meeting the recommended sixty minutes of daily moderate-to-vigorous physical activity (Sallis et al., 2016). This wider context highlights public space as a potentially important, yet underutilized, setting for adolescent activity and well-being.

Although addressing this issue is crucial, the research reviewed on adolescent girls' activity and public spaces has predominantly focused on physical activity. Few studies explore what types of activities girls actually enjoy in public environments. Most focus on combating inactivity (Schoeppe et al., 2014; Van Hecke et al., 2018; Dias et al., 2018; Menezes et al., 2019; Leduc, 2021) rather than understanding activities that are emotionally or socially fulfilling (McCammon et al., 2023).

In Australia, independent outdoor play has been linked to improved physical and mental health outcomes among adolescent girls (Schoeppe et al., 2014). Non-competitive activities, including informal play and recreational movement, are preferred by many adolescent girls. These allow participation without the pressure of performance or comparison (Kalniņa & Stokmane, 2022).

Beyond the studies included in this review, previous research indicates that cultural norms, socioeconomic conditions, and the design of public spaces can shape the range of activities available to adolescent girls. Gendered restrictions, safety concerns, and park environments oriented toward competitive sports or children's play may constrain opportunities for recreation and leisure, influencing how and where girls choose to spend their time in public space (Pérez-Tejera et al., 2018; Marquet et al., 2019; Roberts et al., 2019; Loukaitou-Sideris & Sideris, 2009).

Environmental qualities of public space influence how adolescent girls engage in activities. Elements such as ambient noise, the presence of others, and natural surroundings enhance comfort and facilitate more relaxed forms of movement (Li et al., 2018).

Some sports that used to be male dominated, such as skateboarding, increasingly allow girls to participate visibly and confidently in open urban environments (Bäckström & Nairn, 2018). Access to appropriate equipment and women-only areas expands the range of recreational activities available to adolescent girls (Paechter et al., 2023). Nonetheless, intolerance toward gender non-conformity continues to restrict their participation in some spaces. Broader sports literature suggests that experiences of exclusion linked to gender non-conformity remain a barrier to participation. A meta-analysis of non-accidental violence in sport found heightened vulnerability among gender non-conforming athletes (Staurowsky et al., 2020) which can include adolescent girls, highlighting a factor that may influence access to and engagement with recreational public spaces.

## 4 Discussion

For adolescent girls, social connection in public space is a constant balancing act between seeking visibility with peers and escaping surveillance from everyone else, all while using group companionship as a literal safety shield.

Belonging in public spaces is both a feeling and an active negotiation to reclaim space. They achieve it by gathering in protected "girls-only" spaces, or by asserting an unapologetic right to be there in male-dominated spaces, frequently cementing that connection by physically transforming the environment through creative and civic action. Belonging happens when adolescent girls see their own identities and subcultures reflected in a space or through the peers that gather there.

Safety emerged as the single most prevalent theme across the literature reviewed, with a substantial volume of research focusing on how the pervasive fear of gender-based violence acts as a regulatory force that restricts girls' mobility and presence in public spaces. It also forces girls to rely on coping strategies such as dependence on peer networks, girl-centred programming, and political action to navigate public spaces. Given its severe social consequences, gender-based violence is a humanitarian crisis; however, as van der Harst et al. (2023) note, public attention often focuses on a single category of harm, which in this case has obscured other structural dynamics, such as participation or inclusion opportunities. A critical research gap exists regarding the examination of how public space design and programming can create an inclusive and engaging environment for adolescent girls, in which they can feel free, not just safe.

Within this reviewed body of work, mobility emerged as a key theme, strongly linked with safety, illustrating how adolescent girls face systemic restrictions in public spaces. The literature

shows that community hypervigilance and patriarchal norms enforce strict boundaries, such as curfews and chaperoning, restricting girls access to public life. Adolescent girls navigate this policing through individual coping strategies to reduce their visibility through their clothes, walking rapidly, or sticking to small, familiar zones. One gap is that research, at least in this body of work, remains stuck on cataloguing restrictions and behavioural workarounds rather than proposing urban solutions that guarantee adolescent girls' freedom of movement.

Activity emerged as a key theme restricted by a narrow public health lens, focused heavily on combating physical inactivity. The critical implication and gap is that research and planning fail to investigate leisure, lingering, and collaborative activity instead of conflating all activity with physical activity, and physical activity with sports. A few studies focused on adolescent girls' preferred activities and interests (Kalniņa & Stokmane, 2022; Sayagh & Dusong, 2022; Paechter et al., 2023; Hjort & Larsen, 2025).

Two broader implications emerge from this review. First, although inclusive design for adolescent girls addresses age- and gender-specific needs, its benefits extend to a wider range of users, including adult women, older adults, and people with disabilities, supporting the case for treating adolescent girls as a distinct planning subject, but one that generates wider public benefit. Second, realizing the transformative potential of inclusive urban design and social programming requires a holistic understanding of daily experience, supported by participatory approaches that invite adolescent girls to shape the public spaces they inhabit.

## 5 Recommendations for urban design and planning practice

The following recommendations are grounded in the findings of the scoping review on adolescent girls and public space, and they are organized along the five themes that emerged from it, although safety and mobility were integrated because of their interrelation.

**Safety and mobility: design for protection and freedom.** The fear of gender-based violence functions as a structural force that limits girl's presence and mobility in public space. The dominant research and design responses have been protective rather than liberatory. Spatial design should create conditions in which girls feel safe and free.

- Configure lighting, sightlines, circulation paths, and furniture so that girls can move through spaces safely.
- Design for girls' sense of control over their own visibility, including how exposed they want to be, through subtle thresholds, seating arrangements, and spatial arrange-

ments that support appropriation without full enclosure.

- Incorporate girls' own definition of safety into design processes, which often include freedom from surveillance, not only from harm.
- Map adolescent girls' mobility patterns and incorporate them into planning decisions, including transit access, pedestrian infrastructure, and location of amenities they use.

**Belonging: making spaces feel theirs.** The literature shows that belonging requires active negotiation and is strengthened when girls can see their identities reflected in a space.

- Design spaces that encourage girls' regular, visible presence, reinforcing their right to occupy and enjoy them.
- Designate specific zones or time-based programming where adolescent girls can gather exclusively and be free from harassment.
- Leave room for appropriation, allowing girls to personalize and transform spaces.

**Activity: diverse activities beyond sports.** Research and programming have largely ignored the leisure, lingering, and collaborative activities that adolescent girls prefer and that serve important social and developmental functions.

- Support a range of activity types beyond competitive sports, including informal play, socializing, creative activity, skill-building, and rest.
- Provide comfortable, welcoming areas designed for low-pressure interaction where girls can linger without a defined purpose or structured program.
- Actively include adolescent girls in the design and programming of active play and competitive sports spaces, rather than assuming their participation or absence from them.

**Social connection: supporting peer networks as infrastructure.** Peer companionship is a primary coping and belonging strategy and a key aspect of how adolescent girls use public space.

- Include areas that facilitate group gathering, informal conversation, and peer interaction.
- Treat girl-centred social programming as a complement to spatial design, and involve girls in shaping both.
- Genuine connection also requires the ability to disconnect: girls need places to rest, recover, and re-engage on their own terms.

## 6 Conclusion

This article defines a framework for action in designing and planning public spaces for adolescent girls through a scoping review of sixty-seven studies. The scholarship on adolescent girls and public spaces remains limited and prioritizes risk,

particularly gender-based violence, over aspirations, everyday practices, leisure, and the positive conditions that allow participation. Spaces need to allow belonging, social connection, and the freedom to linger without purpose or pressure. Concrete strategies include seating that supports conversation, semi-enclosed zones that offer privacy without isolation, non-competitive programming at accessible hours, and lighting along routes. Practitioners can use the guiding questions in this article as a site-specific assessment tool alongside these principles. Design recommendations, global case studies, and diverse examples for practitioners have been described by collectives such as *Make Space for Girls* (2026) and *Collectiu Punt 6* (2026). The five dimensions identified here – Belonging, Activity, Mobility, Social Connection, and Safety – provide a practical lens for analysis, design, and programming that can be adapted across cultural and geographic contexts.

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### Data availability statement

The dataset supporting the findings of this study is publicly available in the Zenodo repository: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.20347525>.

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## Mladostnice v javnem prostoru: razvoj okvira za ukrepanje v prostorskem oblikovanju in načrtovanju

Članek obravnava novejšo akademsko literaturo o mladostnicah v javnih prostorih zaradi opredelitve okvira za ukrepanje pri oblikovanju in načrtovanju javnih prostorov za mladostnice. Pomen te starostne skupine na svetovni ravni narašča, saj zdaj sestavlja več kot 16 % svetovnega prebivalstva. Kljub svoji demografski teži so mladostnice v urbanih študijah pogosto spregledane, saj se te večinoma osredinjajo bodisi na otroke bodisi na odrasle ženske. Študija, umeščena v okvir spolno občutljivega načrtovanja, vključuje pregled obsega literature po smernicah PRISMA, pri čemer sta avtorici pregledali 2.737 dokumentov in analizirali osemindeset publikacij, indeksiranih v bazah Scopus in Web of Science Core Collection med letoma 2010 in 2025. Ugotovitve

so razvrščene glede na implikacije za načrtovanje in oblikovanje. Pregled opredeljuje tudi pomembne vrzeli v literaturi, vključno z omejenim vrednotenjem učinkovitih strategij ali oblikovalskih elementov, ki spodbujajo rabo javnega prostora med mladostnicami, minimalno osredinjenostjo na okolja za prosti čas ter skromnim vključevanjem kulturnih in družbenih norm, ki oblikujejo spolno zaznamovano mobilnost. Ugotovitve poudarjajo razdrobljenost raziskovanja prepletajočih se vprašanj, kot so nasilje, varnost, potrebe mladostnikov in mladostnic in prostorska pravičnost.

**Ključne besede:** javni prostori, mladostnice, nasilje na podlagi spola, pregled obsega literature

## 1 Uvod

Urbana mladostniška populacija se je močno povečala. Po svetu živi na urbanih območjih več kot 732 milijonov mladostnikov in mladostnic (UNICEF, 2022). Ta geografski in demografski premik poudarja vse večji pomen prepoznavanja mladostnic kot dejavnih udeleženk urbanega življenja. Prehod v odraslost postaja težavnejši, saj se mladi soočajo z izzivi, kot so podnebna kriza, nestabilna zaposlitev, zdravstvene epidemije, razseljevanje, negotovost in nasilje (Majeed in Lee, 2017; Gharabaghi in Anderson-Nathe, 2018; Jones, 2019). Ti pritiski mladostnice pogosto prizadenejo huje, kar poudarja potrebo po namernih prizadevanjih za podporo njihovi zmožnosti delovanja in opolnomočenju (Banati idr., 2021).

Zato je treba njihove potrebe upoštevati v urbanih politikah ter pri oblikovanju javnih prostorov in načrtovanju njihove uporabe v urbanih okoljih. Čeprav je literature o javnem prostoru veliko, je raziskav o mladostnikih in mladostnicah, zlasti dekletih, še vedno malo, prav tako pa po svetu primanjkuje razčlenjenih podatkov na ravni mest po starosti in spolu (Braverman-Bronstein idr., 2023). Prejšnji pregledi obsega literature so se osredinjali na ovire pri rabi ter ostajajo zasidrani v disciplinah telesnega in duševnega zdravja (Hjort in Larsen, 2025).

Ta študija razvija z dokazi podprt okvir za načrtovanje in oblikovanje javnih prostorov za mladostnice s sintezo novejših raziskav iz različnih disciplin o njihovih interakcijah z javnimi prostori v raznolikih geografskih kontekstih. Pregled, ki ga usmerja vprašanje »Kaj literatura govori o mladostnicah in njihovem vključevanju v javni prostor in katere skupne teme je mogoče prepoznati med študijami?«, proučuje, kako je bila ta tema obravnavana v literaturi ter kakšne implikacije izhajajo iz nje za prostorsko načrtovanje. Temelji na predpostavki, da raziskovanje na presečišču mladostnic in javnih prostorov ostaja razmeroma omejeno in razpršeno po disciplinah ter da lahko sinteza obstoječega znanja pomaga prepoznati ponavljajoče se teme, vrzeli v literaturi in priložnosti za prihodnje raziskovanje in prakso. Kadar so prostori oblikovani na podlagi dokazov in je tako načrtovana tudi njihova uporaba, imajo večje možnosti za uspeh (Gootman in Eccles, 2002; Lippman, 2010; Marcus in Sachs, 2013; Sandström idr., 2024).

V feministični geografiji in študijah deklitstva pojem mladostnice ni statičen ali univerzalen, temveč ga oblikujejo zgodovinski, kulturni in kontekstualni dejavniki (Bettis in Adams, 2005; Driscoll, 2008; Mazzarella, 2008, 2019). Obseg mladostniškega deklitstva vključuje vidike, ki presegajo biološke dejavnike, kot so družbene vloge, vedenja in pričakovanja, povezana z ženskostjo in mladostjo. V številnih družbah so dekleta socializirana v vloge na podlagi spola in norme, ki

oblikujejo njihove priložnosti in sodelovanje v javnih sferah, kot so javni prostori. V okviru te raziskave se izraz *mladostnica* uporablja za mlado osebo, ki prehaja iz otroštva v odraslost, okvirno med desetim in devetnajstim letom starosti, ki se opredeljuje kot ženska ali ji je bil ob rojstvu pripisan ženski spol. Čeprav dokumenti javnih politik, kot je Konvencija Združenih narodov o otrokovih pravicah, zajemajo vse posameznike, mlajše od osemnajst let, je za razumevanje posebnih izzivov, s katerimi se soočajo mladostnice, potrebna usmerjena pozornost. Kritično prostorsko raziskovanje že dolgo zagovarja, da so prostorske delitve in spolne vloge družbeno konstruirane in se medsebojno krepijo (Gilbert, 1997; Women and Geography Study Group, 2014; Blidon in Zaragocin, 2019). Ta korpus del kaže, da so izkušnje v urbanih prostorih (Rose, 2017; Hayden, 1980) globoko spolno zaznamovane (Massey, 2013), oblikovane z družbenimi normami (Fenster, 2005; Beebejaun, 2017), razmerji moči in zgodovinskimi intersekcijskimi neenakostmi (McDowell, 1983; Ruddick, 1996), ki pogosto marginalizirajo potrebe in poglede žensk. Te družbene, rasne, starostne in spolne neenakosti vplivajo na zmožnost ljudi, da si prostor prisvojijo in ga naseljujejo (Teelucksingh, 2006; Listerborn, 2008, 2016). V tem kontekstu mlade ženske konstruirajo svoje identitete (Bettie, 2014), utelešajo razliko (Francombe-Webb in Silk, 2016; Toussaint, 2018) in se pogajajo o svoji prisotnosti v javnem prostoru. Kljub temu se ob vstopu deklet v puberteto njihovo vključevanje v javne prostore pogosto zoži, medtem ko se prostorska svoboda fantov navadno razširi (Valentine, 1997; Chant idr., 2017).

Na podlagi teh spoznanj so načrtovalci, oblikovalci in raziskovalci, ki se odzivajo na spol, poudarili potrebo po oblikovanju javnih prostorov, ki podpirajo varnost, mobilnost, udobje in vključevanje (Muxí Martínez idr., 2011; Massey, 2013; Soto Villagrán, 2016; Sánchez-de Madariaga in Zucchini, 2020). Raziskave poudarjajo pomen prostorskih značilnosti, kot so osvetlitev (Sumartojo, 2022), vidnost (Navarrete-Hernandez idr., 2021), razporeditev sedišč (Lesan in Gjerde, 2021), poti in oprema, pri oblikovanju zaznavanja javnih prostorov kot prijaznih in dostopnih (Loebach idr., 2020). Ti oblikovalski premisleki so posebej pomembni za mladostnice, katerih priložnosti za uporabo in prisvajanje javnega prostora so pogosto omejene s širšimi spolno zaznamovanimi neenakostmi. V arhitekturi, urbanističnem načrtovanju in geografiji so bile želje in izkušnje mladostnic pogosto spregledane (Gleason, 2008). Razprave o vključevanju v urbanih strategijah so bile večinoma osredinjene na mlajše otroke ali starejše odrasle, pri čemer so zanemarile posebne potrebe ter preference najstnikov in najstnic (Khalifa idr., 2024; Bain, 2003; Kern, 2020). Včasih podatki o najstnikih in najstnicah niso razčlenjeni po spolu (Chant idr., 2017), kadar pa obstajajo spolno razčlenjeni podatki, niso razčlenjeni po starosti. Kljub obsežnim študijam o parkih in rekreacijskih prostorih za otroke ter mladostnike in mladostnice (Bedimo-

-Rung idr., 2005; Cohen idr., 2007; Ding idr., 2011), ki primarno poudarjajo telesno dejavnost zaradi zdravstvenih koristi, so pogosto prezrte razlike po spolu v motivaciji za obisk takih prostorov. Posledično merila za oblikovanje javnega prostora in parkov praviloma dajejo prednost aktivni igri, pri tem pa spregledajo druge ključne vidike, kot sta druženje ali počitek in sprostitev, kar prispeva k upadu prisotnosti deklet ob njihovem prehodu v mladostništvo (González Palomares in Sánchez Vela, 2014; Cohen idr., 2021).

Javni prostori, opredeljeni kot dostopna območja za družbeno interakcijo, rekreacijo in državljsko udejstvovanje, so ključni sestavni deli skupnostnega življenja ter prispevajo k splošnemu blagostanju in kakovosti življenja (Francis idr., 2012; Burke idr., 2016; Van Hecke idr., 2018; Carmona, 2019). Ti prostori so in morajo biti razumljeni kot večnamenska območja za družbeno interakcijo in kulturno izražanje med zelo raznolikimi ljudmi. Ta pregled vključuje vse vrste javno dostopnih prostorov. Naloga urbanizma je vzpostaviti in organizirati te javne prostore, naloga urbanističnega oblikovanja pa olajšati in spodbujati njihovo rabo ter hkrati krepiti občutek identitete in pripadanja. Javni prostor ni le fizični prostor, temveč tudi družbeno konstruiran prostor, ki ga globoko oblikujejo spolne dinamike moči (Navarrete-Hernandez idr., 2021). Je »arena, ki je spolno zaznamovana, seksualizirana in zaznamovana z rasizmom« (Scraton in Watson, 1998: 123). Ti dejavniki lahko omejujejo svobodo gibanja mladostnic ter oblikujejo njihove odločitve o dostopu do teh prostorov in tudi njihovo zaznavanje teh.

## 2 Gradivo in metode

V tej študiji je bil izveden pregled obsega literature, da bi proučili, kako obstoječe raziskave obravnavajo razmerje med mladostnicami in javnim prostorom, zaradi opredelitve ključnih implikacij za njihovo vključevanje v oblikovanje in načrtovanje javnega prostora. Pristop pregleda obsega literature je bil izbran zaradi svoje primernosti za raziskovanje širokih raziskovalnih tem, prepoznavanje ključnih značilnosti pojma in analizo vrzeli v obstoječem znanju (Munn idr., 2018; Levac idr., 2010; Lockwood idr., 2019).

Začetno iskanje je bilo izvedeno v dveh bazah podatkov. Prvo iskanje v bazi Scopus se je osredinilo na recenzirano literaturo, objavljeno med januarjem 2010 in julijem 2025. To začetno iskanje je opredelilo 130 zapisov. Iskanje v bazi Web of Science Core Collection je opredelilo 2.607 zapisov, čeprav je bilo že iz naslovov člankov razvidno, da številni niso povezani z javnimi prostori in mladostnicami. Začetni postopek presejanja je bil izveden s pregledom povzetkov, ki sta ga opravila raziskovalca

in raziskovalni asistentki. Postopek identifikacije, presejanja, preverjanja upravičenosti in vključitve je prikazan na sliki 1.

Postopek pregleda je potekal v treh fazah. Najprej so bili pregledani naslovi, da bi se opredelile študije, izrecno povezane z mladostnicami in javnimi prostori. Nato so bili pregledani povzetki potencialno relevantnih člankov, da bi se ocenila njihova skladnost z raziskovalnim ciljem. Nazadnje so bili celotni članki, ocenjeni kot relevantni, podrobno analizirani za vključitev v pregled. Po presejanju povzetkov in odstranitvi podvojenih zapisov je bilo iz iskanja v Scopusu izključenih osemindeset zapisov, izločen pa je bil tudi večji del rezultatov iz baze Web of Science, in sicer 2.602 zapisa.

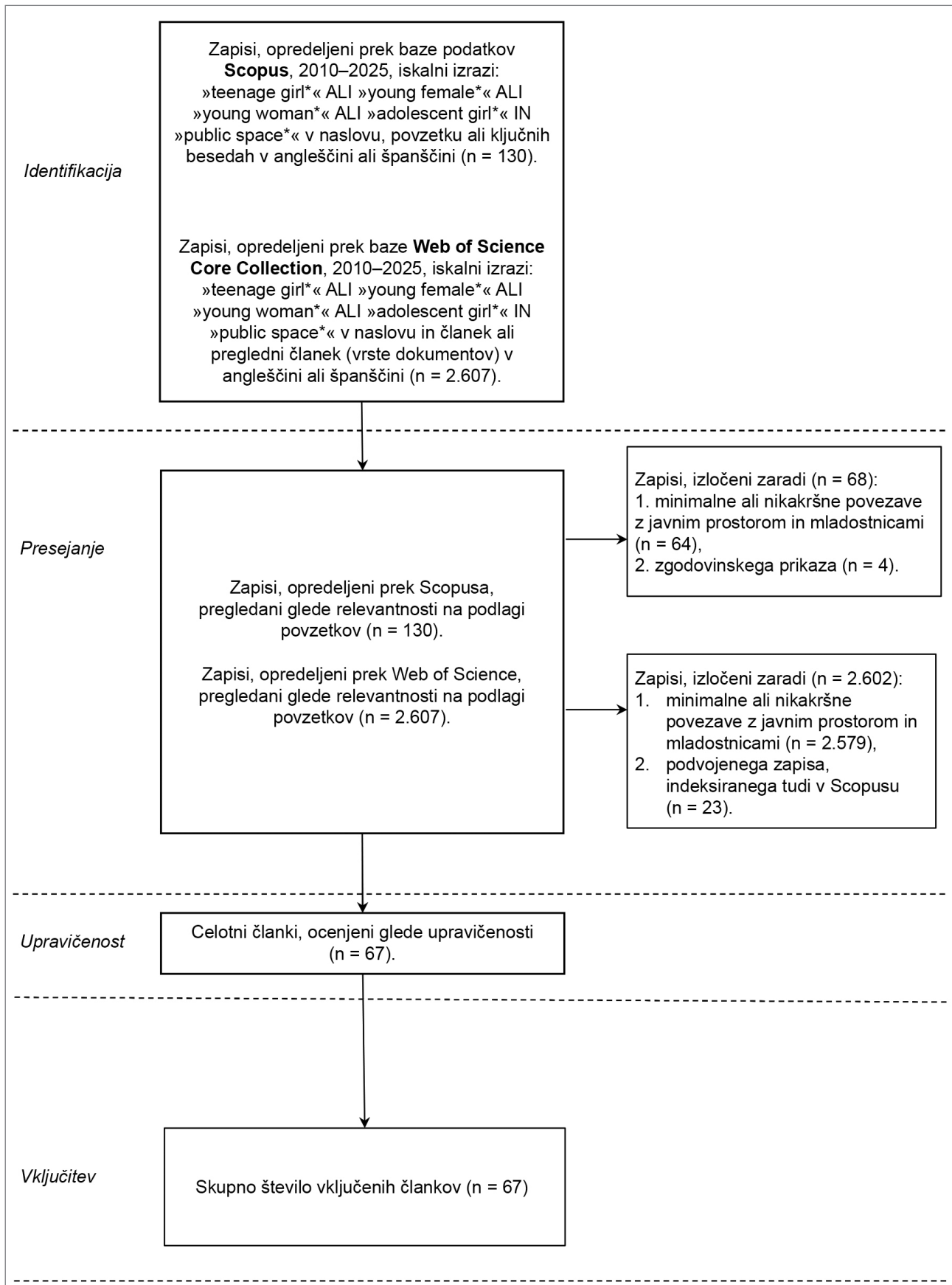
Ta pregled obsega literature se je osredinil na študije, ki so izrecno obravnavale interakcije mladostnic z javnim prostorom. Čeprav je bil ta pristop učinkovit pri zajemanju raznovrstnega in relevantnega korpusa del, bi prihodnjim raziskavam lahko koristila vključitev širših iskalnih izrazov, ki bi lahko dopolnili in obogatili ta vidik.

Za prepoznavanje tem ali razsežnosti, ki izhajajo iz raziskav, je bilo uporabljenih sedemindeset dokumentov, ki so bili pregledani in analizirani z uporabo razširjene baze podatkov. Opisne značilnosti (avtor, leto, država in disciplinarno področje) so bile uporabljene za kontekstualizacijo literature, kvalitativna sinteza pa se je osredinila na konceptualno vsebino, povezano z izkušnjami mladostnic v javnem prostoru. Vodilno vprašanje je bilo: Kaj literatura govori o mladostnicah in njihovem vključevanju v javni prostor in katere skupne ideje ali vzorce je mogoče prepoznati med študijami?

Prepoznavanje razsežnosti je sledilo induktivnemu in iterativnemu procesu. Vsako od sedemindesetih besedil je bilo pregledano zaradi odkrivanja spoznanj, baza podatkov pa je bila analizirana za prepoznavanje ponavljajočih se pojmov, kar je omogočilo, da so se skupni pomeni postopoma izoblikovali s primerjavo med študijami. Najprej so bili prepoznani ključni pojmi, iz njih pa se je nato razvila strateška razsežnost (Hinojosa in Casillas Zapata, 2026).

## 3 Rezultati

Na podlagi metodološke analize, opisane v prejšnjem poglavju, so v tem poglavju obravnavane nastajajoče teme kot potencialne strateške razsežnosti za ukrepanje pri oblikovanju in načrtovanju uporabe javnega prostora, ki vključuje mladostnice, kar prikazuje preglednica 1. V večini člankov je bila prepoznana več kot ena tema.

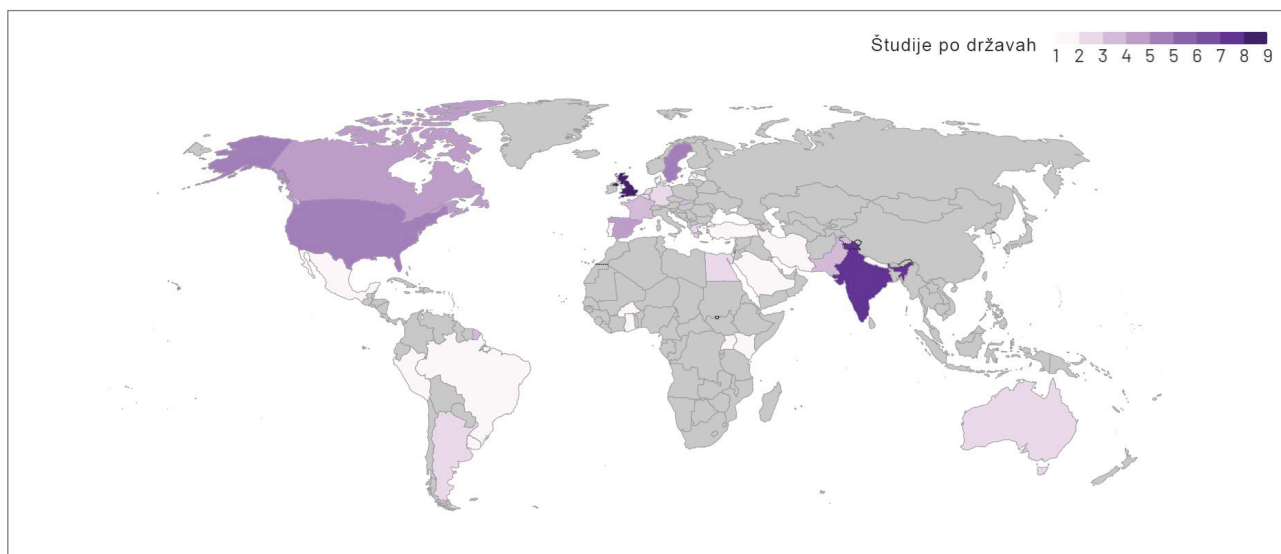


Slika 1: Diagram poteka PRISMA, ki ponazarja postopek pregleda obsega literature (vir: avtorici).

Preglednica 1: Ključni pojmi in nastajajoče teme

| Prepoznani ključni pojmi   | Nastajajoče teme    | Opredelitev  | Študije, ki obravnavajo temo |
|--|---------------------|--|------------------------------|
| Povezanost z vrstniki, družbena interakcija, skupne izkušnje, priložnosti za srečanje, socializacija, družbena podpora, družbeno vedenje, družbena kohezija, socialna dezorganizacija, družbena vključenost                              | Družbena povezanost | Odnosi in interakcije, ki posameznikom omogočajo vključevanje in oblikovanje mrež v javnem prostoru.                   | 5                            |
| Reprezentacija, vključevanje, vidnost, identiteta, sodelovanje, interseksionalnost, rasizem, diskriminacija, spolna identiteta, družbena diskriminacija, ustvarjanje kraja, družbeno sodelovanje, omogočevalnosti, teorija afekta        | Pripadanje          | Občutek sprejetosti, vidnosti in vključenosti, ki ga posamezniki doživljajo v skupnem okolju.                          | 15                           |
| Zaznana varnost, udobje, družbeni nadzor, varnost, spolno nadlegovanje, nasilje, nasilje na podlagi spola, ulično nadlegovanje, nadlegovanje, zaznavanje, izogibanje krajem, strah pred kriminaliteto, psihološka stiska, spolno nasilje | Varnost             | Fizični, čustveni in zaznani pogoji, ki uporabnikom omogočajo, da prostor zasedajo in se po njem gibljejo brez strahu. | 41                           |
| Igra, mobilnost, rekreacija, duševno zdravje, telesna dejavnost, rolanje, raba prostora, telesne dejavnosti, sedeči čas, netekmovalni športi   | Dejavnost           | Razpon in intenzivnost vedenj, ki poživljajo javno življenje in izražajo vsakdanjo prostorsko rabo.                    | 19                           |
| Pločnik, hodljivost, hoja, Google Street View, sledenje GPS, aktivno potovanje, kolo, notranja razseljenost, sistem podzemne železnice, mobilizacija, strategije spoprijemanja, spolne norme, omejeno gibanje                            | Mobilnost           | Zmožnost ljudi, da se premikajo po mestu z uporabo različnih prevoznih sredstev.                                       | 8                            |

Vir: avtorici



Slika 2: Geografska porazdelitev pregledanih študij po državi izvora (vir: avtorici; prikaz na podlagi števila publikacij in države izvora na karti uradnih meja Svetovne banke, kot sta objavljena v člankih).

Pregledane študije vključujejo štiriintrideset držav z različnimi kulturnimi konteksti, od Zahodne Evrope in Severne Amerike do Južne Azije, podsaharske Afrike in Latinske Amerike. Stopnja, do katere se mladostnice pri rabi javnega prostora razlikujejo od fantov ali drugih uporabniških skupin, se med temi okolji verjetno razlikuje. V izrazito spolno segregiranih kontekstih so omejitve mobilnosti deklet verjetno izrazitejše

kot v bolj egalitarnih okoljih, kar je razlika, na katero zahodnocentrična literatura praviloma premalo opozarja. Da bi bila ta geografska razpršenost pregledna, smo razporeditev vključenih študij kartirali na sliki 2. Prihodnji pregledi bi dodatno okrepili dokazno podlago z izrecno analizo tega, kako kulturni kontekst moderira ugotovitve med različnimi okolji.

### 3.1 Družbena povezanost

Družbena povezanost je za mladostnice bistvena, ker podpira njihov razvoj, oblikovanje identitete in blagostanje. Je tudi način za doseganje občutkov varnosti, avtonomije in opolno-močenja. Skupinsko druženje mladostnice varuje pred nezaželenimi interakcijami z neznanci in zagotavlja kolektivne strategije za krmarjenje po spolno zaznamovanih tveganjih v javnih prostorih. Družbena povezanost deluje kot zaščitna družbena infrastruktura, ki omogoča dostop do javnega življenja (Sperings idr., 2016). Nizozemsko-maroške najstnice v socialno ogroženih soseskah se na primer družijo v zasebno upravljanih javnih prostorih, da bi se izognile napačnim interpretacijam in omejile srečanja z mladimi moškimi (Wijntuin in Koster, 2019). Za mladostnice so priložnosti za družbeno povezanost tesno povezane s prostorskimi preferencami.

Mesta in javni prostor, ki ga ponujajo, oblikujejo preference. V Barceloni so na primer javni prostori v urbanih središčih, kot so trgi, parki in tržnice, privlačni, ker omogočajo kolektivno prisotnost in skupinsko socializacijo, kar krepi povezanost z vrstniki in pripadanje (Pérez idr., 2012). Nadaljnje raziskave iz različnih mest kažejo druge preference glede javnega prostora, na primer majhna kvalitativna študija s strukturiranimi intervjuji z mladostniki in mladostnicami iz Tel Aviva, Hannovera, Volosa in Lizbone je ugotovila, da mladostnice praviloma dajejo prednost poljavnim okoljem, kot so nakupovalna središča, muzeji in kinematografi, kjer se lahko neformalno zbirajo z vrstniki, hkrati pa ohranjajo občutek varnosti in udobja (Menezes idr., 2023).

Kadar je družbena povezanost v javnih prostorih otežena, so postale alternativna prizorišča spletne platforme, kjer mladostnice gojijo družbene vezi in si izmenjujejo izkušnje. Mlade španske in latinskoameriške feministke uporabljajo digitalna omrežja in spletne skupine za premagovanje težav pri srečevanju v fizičnih javnih prostorih (Delgado, 2018). Podobno nadaljnja raziskava Cerve Cerne (2021) kaže, kako mladostnice in mlade ženske protestirajo v javnih prostorih s fizično prisotnostjo in kolektivno organizacijo prek digitalnih platform, ki povečujejo njihovo vidnost, zahteve in oblike odpora in širijo doseg njihovega vključevanja v javni prostor. Digitalna orodja lahko prav tako povečajo sodelovanje deklet pri oblikovanju in načrtovanju urbanih okolij, saj jim omogočajo izražanje prostorskih potreb in preferenc, hkrati pa ustvarjajo družbene povezave. Vendar lahko tehnološke vrzeli povečajo obstoječe neenakosti, kadar imajo dekleta na podeželju ali v marginaliziranih urbanih območjih omejen dostop ter nimajo alternativnih kanalov za sodelovanje in povezovanje (Geropanta in Cornelio-Marí, 2022).

Sodelovanje v športu ponuja še eno smiselno pot do družbene povezanosti. Mladostnice cenijo rekreacijske prostore, v katerih telesna dejavnost poudarja sodelovanje in skupno uživanje, ne pa tekmovalnosti (Kalniņa in Stokmane, 2022). Potreba po družbeni povezanosti pogosto soobstaja z željo po odmiku. Čeprav dekleta cenijo bližino vrstnikov, iščejo tudi prostore, ki zagotavljajo zasebnost in avtonomijo. Raziskave parkov v soseskah kažejo, da dekleta praviloma dajejo prednost območjem, oddaljenim od igrišč in stanovanjskih stavb, kjer se lahko nemoteno pogovarjajo, ne da bi jih kdo motil njih ali da bi one motile druge (Pyyry, 2015; Li idr., 2018; Sundevall in Jansson, 2020). To ravnovesje med bližino in nadzorom nad prostorom razkriva, da je družbena povezanost odvisna tudi od zmožnosti izbire, kdaj in kako se vključiti v odnose z drugimi.

### 3.2 Pripadanje

Pripadanje v najglobljem smislu pomeni prepoznavanje vidikov lastne identitete v prostoru in z drugimi. Nastaja pri identifikaciji s specifičnimi okolji, kot so kraji, zaznani kot namenjeni ženskam, oboževalkam K-popa (Fedorenko, 2021) ali rolkarjem in rolkarkam (Paechter idr., 2023), in v odnosih z vrstniki, ki delijo podobne izkušnje ali značilnosti. V okviru vrstniške socializacije izraža pripadanje presečišče več identitet, kot so biti ženska, mladostnica, mlada oseba ali rolkarka, ter način, na katerega te identitete oblikujejo posameznikov občutek sebe in pripadnosti skupini. Navsezadnje pripadanje povezuje družbeno identiteto s prisvajanjem in pomenom javnega prostora.

Mladostnice in tisti, ki jih zagovarjajo, uporabljajo raznovrstne strategije vključevanja na podlagi spola, da bi prve našle svoje mesto v prostorih, v katerih pogosto prevladujejo moški, in si jih ponovno prisvojile. Te strategije izražajo individualna in kolektivna prizadevanja za spodbujanje povezanosti in vidnosti v javni sferi, kar kaže, da je pripadanje aktiven in izpogajan proces.

Švedska primera ponazarjata različna pristopa k ustvarjanju pripadanja. Prvi, imenovan strateška vidnost, poudarja prisotnost deklet z določanjem prostorov samo za dekleta, s čimer postanejo vidna in zaščitena pred moško prevlado (van der Burgt, 2015). Drugi, strateška upravičenost, predvideva sodelovanje deklet kot naravno in samoumevno in krepi njihovo pravico do zasedanja prostorov, kot so rolkarski parki (Bäckström in Nairn, 2018). Oba utrjajeta idejo, da mladostnice spadajo v javne prostore.

Načrtovanje uporabe je prav tako zelo pomembno pri spodbujanju občutka pripadanja. Programi, ki krepijo življenjske

veščine in samozavest, dekletom omogočajo, da javne prostore uporabljajo varno in samozavestno (Gillespie idr., 2025), in jih opolnomočajo za aktivne vloge v njihovih skupnostih (Asghar idr., 2018). Metodološki pristopi, ki dekleta obravnavajo kot subjekte in ne kot objekte raziskovanja, postanejo prakse vključevanja. Participativne in kvalitativne metode, kot so fokusne skupine, opazovalno kartiranje (Paechter idr., 2023), senzorne etnografske metode (Bäckström in Nairn, 2018) in intervjuji med sprehodom (Sundevall in Jansson, 2020), zajamejo globino dekliskih življenjskih izkušenj.

Dejanja ponovnega prisvajanja prostora, kot je okraševanje postaj podzemne železnice s strani oboževalk K-popa v Seulu (Fedorenko, 2021) ali sodelovanje v državljskih pobudah (Cele, 2013), ponazarjajo, kako dekleta in mlade ženske izražajo pripadanje prek ustvarjalne in politične zmožnosti delovanja v javnem življenju. Nadaljnje raziskave dokumentirajo tudi poslikavo muralov kot eno od oblik prisvajanja prostora (Roy in Chatterjee, 2020).

### 3.3 Varnost

Varnost v javnih prostorih je osrednja skrb za mladostnice, pri čemer se nasilje na podlagi spola v pregledani literaturi pojavlja kot prevladujoča tema. Zunaj analiziranega korpusa literature je nasilje na podlagi spola opredeljeno kot nasilje, usmerjeno proti osebi zaradi njenega spola, ali nasilje, ki nesorazmerno prizadene osebe disidentskih spolov zaradi strukturnih neravnovesij moči (van Daalen idr., 2022). Nasilje na podlagi spola oblikuje, kako mladostnice zaznavajo in uporabljajo javne prostore, kar pogosto vodi v njihovo izključevanje in omejeno sodelovanje (Zietz in Das, 2018). V analiziranem korpusu literature se nasilje na podlagi spola pogosto prepleta z drugimi oblikami diskriminacije, kar pogloblja ranljivost in izključenost (Sahu idr., 2017; Wringe idr., 2019). Med vključenimi članki jih nasilje na podlagi spola neposredno obravnava devetintrideset, dva pa posredno, zaradi česar je varnost najpogostejša razsežnost v raziskavah, osredinjenih na mladostnice.

Glavna ideja je, da javni prostori veljajo za nevarne. Tudi ob neobstoju neposredne osebne izkušnje kulturno normaliziran strah pred nasiljem omejuje sodelovanje deklet v javnem življenju, kar izraža narative, ki imajo enako pomembne posledice kot dejanske stopnje kriminalitete (Bromley in Stacey, 2012; Fanghanel, 2014; Rišová in Sládeková Madajová, 2020). Nadaljnje raziskave kažejo, da se ženske zaradi strahu pred kriminaliteto v javnih prostorih običajno vedejo izogibalno in si same omejujejo življenje (Erkan in Sevin Topçu, 2021).

To zaznavanje je povezano z omejitvami mobilnosti in nadzorom. Patriarhalne norme določajo, kaj dekleta nosijo, kam gredo, kdaj zasedajo določene prostore in katere dejavnosti se

štejejo za primerne (Avenidaño idr., 2022). To je natančneje opisano v poglavju o mobilnosti.

Spolno nadlegovanje se dogaja v javnih prostorih ter je najpogosteje povezano z ulicami in delovnimi mesti, ki se izvajajo na javnih površinah (Bevilacqua idr., 2022; Casanovas idr., 2022). V nekaterih kontekstih dekleta te izkušnje ponotranjijo kot normativne, kar še povečuje njihovo izključenost (Asghar idr., 2018).

Vendar mladostnice sprejemajo kolektivne odzive in varovalne dejavnike. Podporne mreže, ki vključujejo matere, vrstnice in mentorice, dekletom omogočajo, da kljub varnostnim oviram ostanejo aktivna v javnih prostorih (Bankar idr., 2018; Cislighi idr., 2020). Športni programi, prilagojeni dekletom, kot so dokumentirani v Delhiju, to dodatno podpirajo s krepitevijo samozavesti in odpravljanjem ovir za sodelovanje (Chawansky in Mitra, 2015). Pozitivna čustva, kot so samozavest, svoboda in opolnomočenje, spodbujajo proaktivno vključevanje v javno življenje (van der Burgt, 2015; Delgado, 2018; Galanakis, 2016; McCammon idr., 2023; Bankar idr., 2018). Na širši ravni je kolektivno politično delovanje v javnih prostorih neposreden mehanizem, s katerim mlade ženske izpodbijajo sistemsko neenakost in uveljavljajo svojo pravico do zasedanja javnega prostora (Bäckström in Nairn, 2018). Nadaljnje raziskave kažejo tudi, da kohezija skupnosti deluje kot zaščitni blažilnik pred vidnimi oblikami javnega nasilja (Poix idr., 2022).

### 3.4 Mobilnost

Mobilnost obsega zmožnost ali dejanje premikanja na različne kraje z uporabo več prevoznih sredstev. Omejitve mobilnosti lahko razumemo kot omejitve, ki ovirajo ali prekinjajo prosto gibanje in rabo javnega prostora. V javnih prostorih so tesno povezane z nasiljem, spolnim nadlegovanjem in priložnostmi za družbeno mobilnost mladostnic. Novejše raziskave zunaj pregledanega korpusa literature kažejo, da lahko te omejitve izvirajo iz pomanjkanja cenovno dostopnih prevoznih možnosti in skrbi za varnost (Nasrin in Chowdhury, 2024). Med ugotovitvami v pregledanih člankih, vključno s strahom pred nasiljem na podlagi spola v javnih prostorih, je bilo opaženo, da lahko kulturne spolne norme v družinah in skupnostih znatno omejijo mobilnost mladih žensk in utrujejo njihovo odvisnost od spremstva, kar ovira njihov dostop do izobraževanja in dobro plačanih zaposlitvenih priložnosti (Sahu idr., 2017).

Mladostnice pri svoji mobilnosti na različne načine sprejemajo raznovrstne strategije spoprijemanja. Nekatere si prizadevajo za samostojno mobilnost kljub družbenim omejitvam, kot so stroge policijske ure, spremstvo, neuporaba javnega prevoza in izogibanje nevarnim prostorom (Chawansky in Mitra, 2015), medtem ko se druge zatekajo k pohajkovanju znotraj

varnejših, znanih območij, da bi izkusile svobodo, hkrati pa še vedno upoštevale družbene norme in pričakovanja (Wijntuin in Koster, 2019), kot so razumnost, spoštljivost, skromnost, prilagodljivost in izogibanje tveganju. Pogosti strategiji sta tudi hitra hoja, da bi se skrajšal čas, preživet v javnih prostorih, in uporaba javnega prevoza kljub skrbem za varnost, povezanimi z njim (Avendaño idr., 2022).

Kot odziv na zaznana tveganja mladostnice sprejemajo individualne zaščitne strategije: izogibajo se območjem dejavnosti, kjer prevladujejo moški, spreminjajo svoj način oblačenja, izbirajo varnejše poti in omejujejo čas uporabe javnih prostorov (Reimers idr., 2018; Tanner idr., 2020; Rišová, 2021). Družinska in skupnostna hipervigilanca, čeprav je uokvirjena kot zaščita, krepí te omejitve in ustvarja nadzor prek strahu (Bernard in Carlile, 2021).

### 3.5 Dejavnost

Dejavnost se nanaša na razpon rekreacijskih vključevanj, ki jih mladostnice doživljajo v javnih prostorih, pri čemer niso vsa telesne ali družbene narave. Raziskave kažejo, da lahko dobro oblikovana okolja spodbujajo aktivne življenjske sloge, ki prispevajo k zdravju in razvoju mladostnikov in mladostnic (Dias idr., 2018; Reimers idr., 2018; Van Hecke idr., 2018). Čeprav širši dokazi niso del korpusa literature, vključenega v ta pregled, kažejo, da ostajajo ravni telesne dejavnosti med mladostniki in mladostnicami po svetu nizke, saj skoraj 80 % mladih med enajstim in sedemnajstim letom starosti ne dosega priporočenih šestdeset minut dnevne zmerne do intenzivne telesne dejavnosti (Sallis idr., 2016). Ta širši kontekst poudarja javni prostor kot potencialno pomembno, vendar premalo izkoriščeno okolje za dejavnost in blagostanje mladostnikov in mladostnic.

Čeprav je obravnava tega vprašanja ključna, so se pregledane raziskave o dejavnosti mladostnic in javnih prostorih pretežno osredinjale na telesno dejavnost. Malo študij raziskuje, katera vrste dejavnosti dejansko veselijo dekleta v javnih okoljih. Večina se osredinja na boj proti nedejavnosti (Schoeppe idr., 2014; Van Hecke idr., 2018; Dias idr., 2018; Menezes idr., 2019; Leduc, 2021), namesto da bi razumela dejavnosti, ki so čustveno ali družbeno izpolnjujoče (McCammon idr., 2023). V Avstraliji je bila samostojna igra na prostem povezana z boljšimi izidi telesnega in duševnega zdravja med mladostnicami (Schoeppe idr., 2014). Številne mladostnice imajo raje netekmovalne dejavnosti, vključno z neformalno igro in rekreacijskim gibanjem, saj omogočajo sodelovanje brez pritiska uspešnosti ali primerjanja (Kalniņa in Stokmane, 2022).

Onkraj študij, vključenih v ta pregled, prejšnje raziskave kažejo, da lahko kulturne norme, družbenogospodarske razmere in oblikovanje javnih prostorov oblikujejo razpon dejavnosti, ki so na voljo mladostnicam. Omejitve glede na spol, skrbi glede varnosti in okolja v parkih, usmerjena v tekmovalne športe ali otroško igro, lahko omejujejo priložnosti za rekreacijo in prosti čas ter vplivajo na to, kako in kje se dekleta odločajo preživljati čas v javnem prostoru (Pérez-Tejera idr., 2018; Marquet idr., 2019; Roberts idr., 2019; Loukaitou-Sideris in Sideris, 2009).

Okoljske lastnosti javnega prostora vplivajo na to, kako se mladostnice vključujejo v dejavnosti. Dejavniki, kot so zvok okolja, prisotnost drugih in naravno okolje, povečujejo udobje in omogočajo bolj sproščene oblike gibanja (Li idr., 2018).

Nekateri športi, ki so bili nekoč domena moških, kot je rokanje, dekletom vse bolj omogočajo vidno in samozavestno sodelovanje v odprtih urbanih okoljih (Bäckström in Nairn, 2018). Dostop do ustrezne opreme in območij samo za ženske razširja razpon rekreacijskih dejavnosti, ki so na voljo mladostnicam (Paechter idr., 2023). Kljub temu nestrpnost do spolne nekonformnosti še naprej omejuje njihovo sodelovanje v nekaterih prostorih. Širša športna literatura kaže, da izkušnje izključevanja, povezane s spolno nekonformnostjo, ostajajo ovira za sodelovanje. Metaanaliza nenaključnega nasilja v športu je ugotovila povečano ranljivost med športniki in športnicami, ki so spolno nekonformni (Staurowsky idr., 2020), kar lahko vključuje mladostnice ter poudarja dejavniki, ki lahko vpliva na dostop do rekreacijskih javnih prostorov in vključevanje vanje.

## 4 Razprava

Za mladostnice je družbena povezanost v javnem prostoru nenehno lovljenje ravnotežja med iskanjem vidnosti z vrstniki in vrstnicami in izogibanjem nadzoru vseh drugih, pri čemer skupinsko druženje uporabljajo kot dobesedni varnostni ščit.

Pripadanje v javnih prostorih je hkrati občutek in aktivno pogajanje za ponovno prisvajanje prostora. Dosegajo ga z zbiranjem v zaščitnih prostorih »samo za dekleta« ali z uveljavljanjem pravice do prisotnosti v prostorih, kjer prevladujejo moški, brez opravičevanja, pri čemer to povezavo pogosto utrjujejo s fizičnim preoblikovanjem okolja prek ustvarjalnega in državljanskega delovanja. Pripadanje se zgodi, ko mladostnice v prostoru ali prek vrstnikov in vrstnic, ki se tam zbirajo, vidijo odsev lastnih identitet in subkultur.

Varnost se je izkazala kot najpogostejša posamezna tema v pregledani literaturi, pri čemer se obsežen del raziskav osredinja na to, kako vseprisotni strah pred nasiljem na podlagi spola deluje kot regulativna sila, ki omejuje mobilnost in prisotnost

deklet v javnih prostorih. Dekleta tudi sili, da se pri soočanju z izzivi v javnih prostorih zanašajo na strategije spoprijemanja, kot so odvisnost od vrstniških mrež, načrtovanje uporabe, osredinjeno na dekleta, in politično delovanje. Zaradi svojih hudih družbenih posledic je nasilje na podlagi spola humanitarna kriza, vendar, kot ugotavljajo van der Harst idr. (2023), se javna pozornost pogosto osredinja na samo eno kategorijo škode, kar je v tem primeru zasenčilo druge strukturne dinamike, kot so priložnosti za sodelovanje ali vključevanje. Kritična raziskovalna vrzel obstaja pri proučevanju, kako lahko oblikovanje in načrtovanje uporabe javnega prostora ustvarita vključujoče in privlačno okolje za mladostnice, v katerem se lahko počutijo svobodne, ne le varne.

V tem pregledanem korpusu del se je mobilnost pojavila kot ključna tema, močno povezana z varnostjo, kar ponazarja, kako se mladostnice v javnih prostorih soočajo s sistemskimi omejitvami. Literatura kaže, da skupnostna hipervigilanca in patriarhalne norme uveljavljajo stroge meje, kot so policijske ure in spremstvo, in omejujejo dostop deklet do javnega življenja. Mladostnice skozi to nadzorovanje krmarijo z individualnimi strategijami spoprijemanja, da bi zmanjšale svojo vidnost z oblačili, hitro hojo ali zadrževanjem na majhnih, znanih območjih. Ena od vrzeli je, da raziskovanje, vsaj v tem korpusu del, ostaja ujeto v katalogiziranje omejitev in vedenjskih obvodov, namesto da bi predlagalo urbane rešitve, ki zagotavljajo svobodo gibanja mladostnic.

Dejavnost se je pojavljala kot ključna tema, omejena na ozek javnozdravstveni vidik, ki se močno osredinja na boj proti telesni nedejavnosti. Kritična implikacija in vrzel sta, da raziskovanje in načrtovanje ne raziskujeta prostega časa, zadrževanja in sodelovalne dejavnosti, temveč vso dejavnost zamenjajeta s telesno dejavnostjo, telesno dejavnost pa s športom. Nekaj študij se je osredinjalo na dejavnosti in interese, ki jim mladostnice dajejo prednost (Kalniņa in Stokmane, 2022; Sayagh in Dusong, 2022; Paechter idr., 2023; Hjort in Larsen, 2025).

Iz tega pregleda izhajata dve širši implikaciji. Prvič, čeprav vključujoče oblikovanje za mladostnice obravnava starostno in spolno pogojene potrebe, njegove koristi segajo v širši krog uporabnikov, vključno z odraslimi ženskami, starejšimi odraslimi in osebami z invalidnostmi, kar podpira utemeljitev, da je treba mladostnice obravnavati kot poseben načrtovalski subjekt, vendar tak, ki ustvarja širšo javno korist. Drugič, uresničitev transformativnega potenciala vključujočega urbanističnega oblikovanja in družbenega programiranja zahteva celostno razumevanje vsakdanje izkušnje, podprto s participativnimi pristopi, ki mladostnice vabijo k oblikovanju javnih prostorov, ki jih zasedajo.

## 5 Priporočila za prakso urbanističnega oblikovanja in načrtovanja

Naslednja priporočila temeljijo na ugotovitvah pregledanega obsega literature o mladostnicah in javnem prostoru in so organizirana po petih temah, ki so izšle iz njega, čeprav sta varnost in mobilnost zaradi medsebojne povezanosti združeni.

Varnost in mobilnost: oblikovanje za zaščito in svobodo. Strah pred nasiljem na podlagi spola deluje kot strukturna sila, ki omejuje prisotnost in mobilnost deklet v javnem prostoru. Prevladujoči raziskovalni in oblikovalski odzivi so bili zaščitni, ne pa osvobajajoči. Prostorsko oblikovanje bi moralo ustvarjati pogoje, v katerih se dekleta počutijo varna in svobodna.

- Oblikujte osvetlitev, vidne linije, poti gibanja in urbano opremo tako, da se lahko dekleta varno premikajo skozi prostore.
- Oblikujte tako, da imajo dekleta občutek nadzora nad lastno vidnostjo, vključno s tem, kako izpostavljena želijo biti, z diskretnimi prostorskimi ločnicami, razporeditvami sedišč in prostorskimi ureditvami, ki podpirajo privzemanje brez popolne zaprtosti.
- V oblikovalskih procesih omogočite, da lahko dekleta sama opredeljujejo svojo varnost, kar pogosto vključuje svobodo pred nadzorom, ne le pred škodo.
- Proučite vzorce mobilnosti mladostnic in jih upoštevajte pri načrtovalskih odločitvah, vključno z dostopom do javnega prevoza, infrastrukturo za pešce ter lokacijo storitev in opreme, ki jo uporabljajo.

Pripadanje: ustvarjanje občutka, da so prostori njihovi.

Literatura kaže, da pripadanje zahteva aktivno pogajanje in se krepi, kadar dekleta lahko vidijo odsev svojih identitet v prostoru.

- Oblikujte prostore, ki spodbujajo redno, vidno prisotnost deklet in krepijo njihovo pravico, da jih zasedajo in uživajo v njih.
- Določite posebna območja ali časovno opredeljeno načrtovanje uporabe območij, na katerih se lahko zbirajo izključno mladostnice in niso deležne nadlegovanja.
- Pustite prostor za privzemanje, tako da dekletom omogočite personalizacijo in preoblikovanje prostorov.

Dejavnost: raznovrstne dejavnosti onkraj športa.

Raziskovanje in načrtovanje uporabe sta večinoma prezrla prosti čas, zadrževanje in sodelovalne dejavnosti, ki jih imajo mladostnice raje ter opravljajo pomembne družbene in razvojne funkcije.

- Podprite razpon vrst dejavnosti onkraj tekmovalnega športa, vključno z neformalno igro, druženjem, ustvar-

jalno dejavnostjo, razvijanjem veščin in počitkom.

- Zagotovite udobna, prijazna območja, ki so zasnovana za neobremenjeno interakcijo, da se lahko dekleta tam zadržujejo brez določenega namena ali strukturiranega programa.
- Mladostnice aktivno vključite v oblikovanje in načrtovanje uporabe prostorov za aktivno igro in tekmovalne športe, namesto da bi predvidevali njihovo sodelovanje pri njih ali odsotnost.

Družbena povezanost: podpiranje vrstniških mrež kot infrastrukture.

Vrstniško druženje je primarna strategija spoprijemanja in pripadanja in ključni vidik tega, kako mladostnice uporabljajo javni prostor.

- Vključite območja, ki omogočajo skupinsko zbiranje, neformalne pogovore in vrstniško interakcijo.
- Družbeno programiranje, osredinjeno na dekleta, obravnavajte kot dopolnilo prostorskemu oblikovanju in dekleta vključite v oblikovanje obojega.
- Pristna povezanost zahteva tudi zmožnost odklopa: dekleta potrebujejo kraje za počitek, okrevanje in ponovno vključitev pod lastnimi pogoji.

## 6 Sklep

Ta članek opredeljuje okvir za ukrepanje pri oblikovanju in načrtovanju javnih prostorov za mladostnice s pregledom obsega sedemdesetih študij. Znanstvena literatura o mladostnicah in javnih prostorih ostaja omejena ter daje prednost tveganju, zlasti nasilju na podlagi spola, pred željami, vsakdanjimi praksami, prostim časom in pozitivnimi pogoji, ki omogočajo sodelovanje. Prostori morajo omogočati pripadanje, družbeno povezanost in svobodo zadrževanja brez namena ali pritiska. Priporočene strategije vključujejo sedišča, ki podpirajo pogovor, polzaprt območja, ki ponujajo zasebnost brez izolacije, načrtovanje uporabe ob dostopnih urah in osvetlitev vzdolž poti. Praktiki lahko vodilna vprašanja v tem članku uporabljajo kot orodje za presojo primernosti posamezne lokacije glede navedenih načel. Oblikovalska priporočila, globalne študije primerov in raznovrstne primere za prakse so opisale strokovne skupine, kot sta *Make Space for Girls (2026)* in *Collectiv Punt 6 (2026)*. Pet razsežnosti, opredeljenih v tem članku – pripadanje, dejavnost, mobilnost, družbena povezanost in varnost –, zagotavlja praktično izhodišče za analizo, oblikovanje in načrtovanje uporabe, ki jo je mogoče prilagoditi različnim kulturnim in geografskim kontekstom.

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## Izjava o dostopnosti podatkov

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