RESEARCH SERIES FAIR MOBILITY

ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA - SHE MOVES SAFELY

A STUDY ON WOMEN’S PERSONAL SECURITY AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN THREE LATIN AMERICAN CITIES
Acknowledgements

This is the summary of the Ella se mueve Toolkit that can be downloaded from the following websites in Spanish and English: http://www.fiafoundation.org & http://sioteca.caf.com/

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The FIA Foundation Research Paper series seeks to provide interesting insights into current issues, using rigorous data analysis to generate conclusions which are highly relevant to current global and local policy debates.

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The views expressed in this report and the accuracy of its findings are matters for the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of or confer liability on the FIA Foundation.

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PELLA SE MUEVE
SEGURA - SHE MOVES SAFELY

A STUDY ON WOMEN’S PERSONAL SECURITY AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN THREE LATIN AMERICAN CITIES
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We are delighted to present the findings from the study Ella se mueve segura – She moves safely, a study jointly funded by CAF- Latin American Development Bank and FIA Foundation.

Neither organization is new to this subject, as they have been researching and investigating differing aspects of gender, security, urban development and sustainable transport for a number of years. However, the publication by the FIA Foundation of the report Safe and Sound in 2016 stimulated the creation of this joint study.

This study shows that in Latin America, both men and women perceive most transport systems to be unsafe and insecure. Moreover, for women and girls, sexual harassment and other gender-related forms of violence are important concerns, multiplied further by their role as care-givers, as they often travel accompanied by children, older adults and/or people with physical and other disabilities.

The stakes are high. As cities struggle with transport challenges such as congestion, improving or at least retaining public transport ridership, and aspire to become inclusive, women seem to hold the key to them achieving much of this if they are willing to engage and understand their needs better. These results are highly significant as they indicate serious potentially worsening barriers to meeting sustainable transport and social equity goals, if the issue of personal security is not addressed in a timely and effective fashion by cities and transport operators.

We believe that this summary and the toolkit, available online in English and Spanish, will help to encourage cities and planners to consider the needs of women better and help address this important topic so women can travel safely and soundly, and without fear.

Both FIA Foundation and CAF are fully committed to taking these issues further in the future with cities, project developers, transport operators and civil society to see how best we can make a difference. We feel that this is the start of a long and challenging journey.

Sheila Watson
Director of Environment and Research
FIA Foundation
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Three multidisciplinary teams investigated the issue of women’s personal security and public transport in three Latin American cities (Quito, Ecuador, Buenos Aires, Argentina and Santiago, Chile), supported by the FIA Foundation and CAF-Latin American Development Bank. The research teams collected information and mapped key issues regarding women, harassment (sexual and other) and public transport in each city, and the results have been compared and collectively analyzed into recommendations and guidance.

This is the summary of the findings of this study. It has been developed for a wide audience including:

- national and local policy makers;
- international development banks and agencies;
- public transport organizing authorities and operators (privately and publicly owned);
- security agencies; and
- academics, civil society and non-governmental groups.

From its outset, the study had three main objectives. Firstly, to investigate this issue in three different urban situations using a common methodology to allow a comparison of results; secondly, to investigate if insecure transport restrains women from taking an active role in society, (such as taking up education and economic opportunities); and thirdly, to build a regional network of research and knowledge that can be used to improve the current situation in the region.

A mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods were used and examples of good practices, especially for national and local policy makers, international development banks and agencies, and public transport operators, collected. Local multidisciplinary teams carried out the field work and collaborated on the analysis. The cities prepared a case study with more details of their approach and results, which were combined into general conclusions common to all cities and guidance for action developed.

Each city followed the same methodology which included collecting approximately 800 surveys of public transport users (male and female), holding at least four focus group discussions, the creation of a local advisory council, as well as semi-structured interviews and desk research.

The toolkit, available online in English and Spanish, documents the methodology and the results from each city, combining and contrasting them, and provides suggestions for action to implement gender sensitive transport planning and operations in order to achieve sustainable development and inclusive cities. It is set out in sections following the acronym KITS – Knowledge, Information and Inspiration, Tools and Sharing and Stakeholders. A more detailed analysis and specific details on each city can be found in the toolkit available on-line at these websites: www.fiafoundation.org and http://sioteca.caf.com/.
HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS RESEARCH

The following are the highlights of this research from the results in all three cities.

Women account for more than half of public transport users in Buenos Aires (54%), Santiago (52%). In Quito 64% of all trips made by women are made on public transport. This is consistent with findings from other countries, both within the region and globally.

Most users interviewed in each city felt unsafe and were concerned about security on public transport. This ranged from 66% in Santiago, 64% (Buenos Aires), and 60% in Quito. Women displayed higher levels of concerns - 72% versus 58% among men, Buenos Aires; 61% women compared to 59% for men, Quito, and 73% of women versus 59% men, Santiago.

The majority of users (both women and men) have experienced or witnessed sexual harassment and in the larger cities (Santiago and Buenos Aires) 89% of women have experienced it at least once and in Buenos Aires 49% of women interviewed had experienced it in the last 12 months. There were some distinct differences in the perceptions of this between men and women in the different cities – men in Quito did not admit to either seeing or experiencing any harassment, while in Buenos Aires they witnessed it almost as often as women, but experienced it at significantly lower rates. In Quito, men expressed a high level of fear of attacks and robbery, and focus group discussions showed that this came from a concern that small incidents can quickly escalate out of control and turn violent.

FIGURE 1: PERCEPTION OF INSECURITY FROM SURVEY RESPONDENTS (WOMEN AND MEN).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>% of survey respondents who felt insecure on public transport (total)</th>
<th>% of female &amp; male survey respondents who felt insecure on public transport</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>72 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>73 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>61 59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The chart only indicates the three types of incident that cause feelings on insecurity.
Much of the harassment was experienced on the journey to or from public transport, which is often neglected by transport planners, as well as inside the vehicles. In Buenos Aires, women experienced 5 times more harassment on buses than on metros (subways) and this was similar, in a lesser degree, in Santiago.

Women experience greater emotional distress than men while using public transport, and researchers identified a number of typical reactions. In all cities, most incidents are not reported to the authorities and in some cases not even shared with friend and family. For example, 56% of all incidents in Buenos Aires were not reported and the respondents in all cities lacked trust in the grievance and justice systems available. This makes it difficult for authorities and planners to gauge the extent of levels of insecurity from harassment, and leaves the victims to deal with consequences alone, while the perpetrators are seldom caught nor prosecuted.

The study identified a high level of intent of current public transport riders to switch to another mode, cars being the first choice for both men and women, should economic circumstances permit. Already there are instances of women (especially low and mid-income) planning and taking more expensive transport options such as taxis or private hire vehicles to avoid taking public transport. This was most frequently mentioned in Buenos Aires and Santiago. The survey also indicated that women will leave the system silently and quickly when other mobility choices become available for them, and in some places they are already doing so. Indeed, from our results there is every indication that that they will do this faster than men are prepared to do. From this, this study highlighted the need to collect further information on the subject.

Discussions in the focus groups revealed that women pass their negative attitudes and personal security concerns onto their children, especially their daughters, which in turn makes them fearful when they use public transport, even into their adulthood. Most women (but particularly low-income women) share a sense that society has abandoned them to fight for their own security, to the extent of implying that they should carry blame for provoking incidents and also actively take responsibility for neighborhood security. This was highlighted in El Bosque district of Santiago.

From this study, it is clear that women have deep concerns about their security while travelling on public transport and that this is a main determinant of their travel behavior and mobility patterns. These concerns affect a woman’s decision on where and when to use public transport, especially if they are travelling accompanied by small children, and frequently leads them to curtail or reduce their use of public transport for activities after dark. In extreme cases, they may choose to stop using it altogether or only to use it only when accompanied by another adult. Men and women share similar perceptions about personal security but they respond differently to these concerns. Women carry a double burden of fear of theft and robbery and a fear of sexual harassment, and consequently they worry more about them.

Although, many people seeing or experiencing harassment and/or theft, neither women nor men report their experiences to the authorities, making it difficult for city officials and public transport operators to gauge its effects or to put measures in place to address it.

Despite being the majority of transport users, women’s needs are hardly considered at all in transport planning, yet the stakes are high if their ridership declines. In the cities studied, even when disaggregated data is available, there was little evidence of more gender sensitive transport or its use in major transport projects so they would attract and benefit women as well as men. As the gender role of women as caregivers persists, the continuous fear that many women experience in their daily travels can be transferred to their children, which may influence how younger generations view public transport when they become adults.

This information and the conclusions from this study provide beacons for national, regional and city authorities to start addressing this issue urgently.
More than 50% of the world’s population live in cities. Latin America is highly urbanized with around 80% of the region’s population settled in urban areas. Statistics show that more women than men now live in urban areas. People move to urban areas because they see them as centers of opportunity, but this population growth brings many challenges, especially for decision-makers who are responsible for the provision of services that make city life attractive and livable. Public transport is an essential public service, serving millions of people daily and playing an important role in the economic and social life of both men and women in cities.

Access to affordable transport is essential to help lift people out of poverty, a key challenge for Latin America and the Caribbean, where 36% of the region’s population live in poverty. Women now make up the majority of the world’s poor. Consistent with the ILO global statistics (nearly a quarter of all women are defined as ‘unpaid contributing family workers’), women carry out 75% of unpaid work in the region. This contribution to economic development may be unpaid, but it is essential to social wellbeing and economic development, and it sets the level for getting more women into formal employment.

Several international agreements such as the Sustainable Development Goals, the 2030 Agenda and the New Urban Agenda, stress the need for inclusive and sustainable development of urban areas, and many include gender equality as criteria for success. Regional and national conventions include the CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women), and work by agencies such as UN Women to eliminate violence against women and girls (VAWG), and the empowerment of women economically, politically and socially are making encouraging progress. Ensuring that women can travel freely and safely is seen as part of these efforts and making transport and cities safer for women and girls also benefits many other groups, helping to make cities more inclusive and equitable.
An integrated multi-modal and safe public transport system provides access to education, work, health care, cultural and other important activities and it is crucial to women’s participation in society overall, as well as, increasing their contribution to economic growth. Globally, only 52% of women participate in the workforce compared to 78% of men. Indeed, the IMF (International Monetary Fund) states that ‘Closing gender gaps benefits countries as a whole, not just women and girls’.

ECLAC gender observatory (2014) shows that the average hours per week spent on work is higher for women than for men. In Argentina, women work an average of 68.6 hours per week compared to men (58.6) and in Ecuador this is respectively 61 hours and 54.2 hours. Women are in paid employment for nearly a third less time than men, (in Argentina this is 15.6 hours compared to men 17.6 hours). In Ecuador, this is respectively 20.7 hours for paid work and 40 hours of unpaid work for women and 44 hours of paid for men and 10.2 unpaid.

Indeed, CAF estimates that improving women’s participation in the work force in Latin American could add an additional 34% to the region’s GDP. It notes that the so-called ‘economic miracle’ in Latin American, with average growth rates of around 5% (between 2002 and 2008) and drastically reduced extreme poverty levels, largely resulted from the inclusion of 70 million women in the labor market over the last 20 years.

Given the potential of women to energize the economies of countries, it seems clear that increasing their economic empowerment is an efficient and secure way to ensure sustainable growth rates. Today, there is still a long way to go as in Latin America, only 50% of women participate in economic activities compared to 79% of men.
In today’s world of fast changing social dynamics, more women are taking on the roles of provider and caregiver, as there are more women heads of households, especially in urban areas. Therefore, they also need to work in paid employment. Currently, women tend to have lower paid jobs than men, frequently in the informal sector, and they rely more on public transport to access them.

Bringing more women into the labor market will also boost local and regional GDPs. There are many barriers constraining women entering the labor market, and transport is an important one. The topic of security needs to be addressed to ensure that women have equal access to education, jobs and health services as men; and this should not be restricted by code or creed. Safe and secure public transport plays a key role in providing this access and although public transport is not the only factor in this situation, it is a significant factor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Women % Participating in the Labour Market</th>
<th>Men % Participating in the Labour Market</th>
<th>Ranking Worldwide* out of total 145</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all 3 countries women earn on average 22-27% less than men for similar jobs

* McKinsey Global Institute 2014  
** UNEP Global Gender Gap Report 2015

Source: Ella se mueve segura

What would the world gain if women participated in the labour market as much as men?

If women would participate in the labour market at the same scale as men, they would add between $12-28 billion USD more to global GDP by 2025.
CURRENT WAYS OF PLANNING FOR TRANSPORT

At city level, most regularly collected transport data examines primarily (or only) work-related trips and most planning focuses almost exclusively on these trips, ignoring both the contribution of unpaid work to economic growth and women’s needs for care-related trips. From the lack of available data on women’s movements, it is apparent that we currently do not know enough about how women move about a city so it is difficult to estimate the size of any inefficiencies in transport systems, nor gauge the potential benefits of public transport if we made it work better for women.

Inefficiencies are almost always translated into higher costs. These may affect women more than men as they tend to be captive public transport riders and have fewer other transport options available to them, especially as they trip chain more than men. With limited affordable transport options, mothers will forego trips, such as to school or for health care, and will not take up employment opportunities because the costs (in time and money) of transport are greater than the benefit of employment. This affects low income women more than men and is highly relevant especially for maternal and infant health. For example, a lack of affordable and convenient transport options can result in women skipping trips to health centers during pregnancy or infant check-ups for young children and new born babies due to transport issues.

As mentioned, changing social structures show a growing number of single parent families, headed by women in towns and cities. Transport use and habits change as people age and enter different life stages – in Buenos Aires when they have children, the number of women’s trips increases by 13% while men’s remain stable.

“When women have children the number of trips increases by 13% while the number of trips by men tend to stay stable”

Encuesta de Movilidad domiciliaria
2009-2010 Buenos Aires

Source: Ella se mueve segura, Buenos Aires workshop August 2017
This study in three Latin American cities (Quito, Ecuador, Buenos Aires, Argentina and Santiago, Chile) is one of the first times this subject has been studied simultaneously in different locations using the same methodology. It combined both quantitative and qualitative research methods to develop action-based guidance for city level decision-makers, public transport organizing authorities and operators, civil society and development agencies.

The three main objectives were:

- to investigate this issue in the three different urban situations but using the same methodology, to allow a comparison of results;
- to explore how insecure transport acts as a constraint on women’s active role participation in society, and/or taking up education and economic opportunities; and
- to build a regional network of cities, research experts and knowledge tools as a legacy to continue to expand knowledge of these issues and improve the current situation once the study is completed.

**FIGURE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>Established BRT, planned and high level of PT use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>Established metro &amp; BRT growing cycling culture, declining but still high PT use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>Established metropolitan train, metro &amp; new BRT planned metro and high level of PT use, new and rapidly expanding cycling culture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ella se mueve
Each city was chosen as it has a different transport system profile and women in these countries have different levels of empowerment, reflecting local social norms and impacting their participation in the labor force. A local multidisciplinary team led the research and collected information in each city. Among the three cities transport (planning, policy, sustainability and engineering) and social science (sociology, anthropology and psychology/human behavior science) disciplines were included, or advised the research teams. A methodology was piloted and tested in South Africa and was adapted by the local teams, with the guidance from an international expert. A common methodology was developed and implemented, with minor adjustments in each city.

Each city rapidly reviewed the current legal framework for the protection of women (at national and local levels), investigating available disaggregated data at city, regional and national levels, and collected primary data using surveys and interviews. A number of focus groups (women only, mixed and men only) and semi-structured interviews complemented this information, and each city created an Advisory Council to provide additional insights and local guidance. The composition of the Advisory Council was defined by the city study team but they generally included representatives of major stakeholders and interested parties, such as local (public) transport players and/or decision-makers, ministries (including transport and/or women), academics, civil society and non-government organizations. Their role is seen as being crucial to the success of this study as they provided local insights on the subject, as well as the experience of any previous studies or programs. In addition, these meetings provided a forum for exchange between a group of interested parties that did not usually have the occasion to exchange views, ideas and experience. This is covered in greater detail with examples from the methodology in the toolkit.

The multidisciplinary study teams in each city benefitted from the combined expertise of all team members, which was particularly useful for the survey development, the analysis of the results from the three cities, and in the examples of good practices. The key findings are presented in an on-line toolkit that provides guidance for national and local policy makers, international development banks and agencies, public transport operators and civil society. It is available in English and Spanish from www.fiafoundation.org and CAF website http://sioteca.caf.com/.

The research phases included:

- Desk research to identify published national and regional literature of interest. Each team also undertook a rapid review of national, regional and local legal frameworks on the protection of women.

- The collection of data via a face-to-face survey based on the same questionnaire

- Focus discussion groups following an agreed outline developed by the research teams

- Semi structured interviews with key stakeholders and interested parties

- The creation of an Advisory Council in each city to help provide local insights and create ownership of the study results.

- A series of international seminars and local workshops to share and exchange knowledge, experience and the findings
IMPLEMENTING THE RESEARCH

In each city, the study explored:

- Perceptions of personal security among men and women using different modes of public transport.
- Women’s perceptions of security in terms of accessibility of public transport, affordability, overcrowding, time spent and distances travelled.
- How respondents react to harassment, the impacts that incidents may have, what strategies men and women use to reduce the risk and how they manage their differing level of concerns.
- How assistance is requested, from whom, who is responsible for security and what works best (visible security, segregation, panic buttons, and grassroots support/actions).
- Trust/confidence in grievance systems and assisting authorities, and suggestions for improving personal security from a women’s perspective.

Interviewees and focus group participants were selected following similar socio-economic profiles in each city. Quito interviewed 690 women and 465 men at 8 different interchange stations; Santiago 404 men and 386 women at four types of metro station and bus stop in three chosen districts (low-income, mixed-income, middle- to high-income); and Buenos Aires collected data from 379 men and 410 women at the main interchange station areas. In each case, men and women were randomly selected and interviews conducted in peak and off-peak hours. Although common guidelines were followed, each city had the flexibility to adapt surveys according to local criteria. Buenos Aires and Quito included a question in their surveys to identify interviewees willing to participate in the focus groups, while Santiago recruited using pre-existing social networks.

The objective of the qualitative research was to complement the statistical data obtained by the survey with deeper explanations, common discourse and narratives revealing how people elaborate on and interpret experiences of harassment and how that affects them, particularly with regard to their transport behavior and ability to participate fully in society.

Sampling sought representativity not for the population of each city, but rather by selecting for diversity, particularly with regards to socio-economic groups according to city zones or districts. Thus, all participants were male or female users of public transport, but in general came from different parts of the city, with different socio-economic composition and spatial relationships to the city center and other main centers of activities. Each city held at least four focus groups, two for women-only and one mixed group. In two cities (Quito and Santiago), men-only focus groups contributed additional insights. Focus groups participants were chosen based on geographical locations of surveys as their discussions could provide useful insights into some of the specific responses from the surveys. Each city defined a limited set of specific factors (typological variables), relative to the characteristics of each city, to define the groups and their facilitation.

The implementation and analysis of the focus groups were facilitated using standard social science methods. This included sharing tips and written guidelines among the cities on both facilitation and data analysis. Key findings focused on their emotional and rational reactions to harassment i.e. how they felt and what they did. This information has been incorporated into the guidance and is documented more fully in the case studies. Results were also shared and enriched with feedback from diverse citizen, government, private and academic players during interviews and the seminars and, in the case of Santiago and Buenos Aires especially, a series of analytical workshops that both involved and reinforced participation and the usefulness of the advisory council.

To complement the data gathered, each city team also conducted in-depth interviews with a number
of interested parties (government officials, transport actors, civil society and NGOs). This included an iterative set of collective conversations as the research progressed and new questions emerged, or observations/conclusions required testing. These activities sought to complement survey and focus group data with more contextual information, regarding other relevant studies or information, policy initiatives and potential political and transport agency interest in research results. They also helped to identify and commit additional actors, such as (women’s) cycling groups, private transport operators, and other government agencies, incorporating their knowledge and perspective into the final results.

Women’s Cycling School, Santiago.
Overall, it was found that public transport does not respond well to women’s security needs.

1. Transport is not gender neutral

Many care based trips are not considered in data collection nor are they recognized in most cost benefit analyses, yet these are the majority of trips for women. Many of these trips are made on foot, this is sometimes because public transport can be expensive for the numerous short trips that women need to make. From the information collected, care related trips were the majority of trips made by women in both Buenos Aires and Santiago. For example, in Buenos Aires 13% of total trips made by women are for taking and collecting children from school.

Overall, it was found that data collected at city level is not disaggregated by gender so the majority of urban transport is planned without proper information on their main user base. From the data collected it was also clear that simply disaggregating quantitative data between men and women was not enough to provide enough insight for inclusive transport planning.

Until recently transport planning and operations has assumed to be gender blind — project developers and planners taking a “one-size” fits all approach to mobility
solutions, assuming that both men and women will benefit equally. In reality, women and men have different mobility needs and patterns, and more importantly different expectations from a transport system and different perceptions of security. Thus, transport policies and operations need to respond to these differences. Currently the tools and data available to decision-makers are frequently insufficient for them to be able to make such gender informed decisions and be able to take these differences into account in their development (and transport) plans.

This study concluded that quantitative or qualitative data was insufficient on its own, and that both are needed, to be able to provide the detail that planners and authorities need to develop a new framework, or paradigm, that would provide more inclusive and affordable transport.

2. Transport has a major impact on the quality of life of women

Transport, and most especially urban transport, serves the population beyond the provision of mobility and is a key enabler for all members of society to be able to fully participate in labor markets and provides access to key functions (education, health, paid and unpaid employment, markets) and social exchanges. Women, especially those that juggle care and work roles, are very time poor. Thus, the proximity, affordability, availability and security of transport has a high impact on their quality of life.
3. Women use and rely on public transport more than men

The data collected in the three cities confirmed that women use public transport more than men, although their trips may be shorter distances. Consistent with other findings in the region, women account for more than half of public transport users in Buenos Aires (51%), Santiago (52%) and Quito (64%). In addition, women tend to use bus more than rail.10

4. A high level of general dissatisfaction from female users

Women who use public transport as their main mode tend to be captive riders and are currently dissatisfied with the transport options available to them. Low income men and women in Quito expressed relative satisfaction with the quality of public transport services, while in Buenos Aires 61% of women and men rated it as fair or poor and 66% of low income women held very negative views on public transport quality. Generally, people expressed high levels of dissatisfaction in Santiago.

Security, and the perception of personal security is a key influence on how women live and move, more than for men. It also affects how they allow their children to access activities (e.g. going to better school that is further away – of special importance for girls –, sports or taking babies and infants to health checks). For example, if transport to health centers is complicated, time consuming and expensive mothers will simply skip these checks especially if there are several children in the family.

There are three main sections of the journey where women feel most vulnerable – on the way to and from a public transport stop or station; waiting for public transport and while travelling in the vehicles themselves. In all three cities, 64% (Buenos Aires), 66% (Santiago) and 60% (Quito) of users felt unsafe on public transport, with rates higher among women 72% versus 58% among men (Buenos Aires); 61% women compared to 59% for men (Quito) and 73% among women versus 59% among men (Santiago).
5. Women experience high levels of harassment while using public transport

The study groups in all three cities confirmed that women face many types of harassment on an almost daily basis while using public transport. Men are more concerned about theft and crime than personal security or harassment. The emotional impact of harassment, and a fear of it, is significantly higher among women which can make them avoid taking public transport, change the time of day they travel and generally are more stressed about taking it. In extreme cases, the emotional distress caused by harassment or violence means that they restrict their transport horizons to the proximity of their local area and neighborhood, will only travel if accompanied or will not travel by public transport at all. This research identified a ‘ladder of violence’ and identified the strategies used by both men and women. It also found that if given the choice more women than men would choose to abandon public transport, if another mode choice was available and affordable.

6. Lack of trust in grievance systems and security responses

There is a widespread lack of trust in the ‘authorities’ responsible for security (for both men and women, but more particularly in women). Generally, people are confused and there is a lack of clarity on what to do when harassment happens (on the part of the victim and also by those witnessing the incident). Quito has put in place a series of pilot programmes that has increased the number of reported incidents and also brought those that harass underage girls and women to justice giving sentences from 1-5 years. But from the survey and focus groups discussions, there is still a surprisingly low level of awareness of these programmes, even after three or more years of concerted efforts.
7. Women can play a stronger role as part of the labour pool within the transport sector

Current stereotypes of travel behaviour between men and women remain predominant, although they are also changing to some extent.

Women are also underrepresented as employees in this sector of transport – in all subsectors including public transport operations such as drivers (bus and especially rail), maintenance and engineering roles, construction/infrastructure and planning, planning at city, regional and national level. Despite this, the study documented several initiatives to encourage more women to take up jobs in transport. An example comes from Buenos Aires, where now more than 50% of the traffic agents are women. A recent recruitment drive (July 2017) from the 216 new recruits to the force, 65% were women. Efforts have been made to get women subway drivers who now represent 20% of the 532 subway drivers. Santiago has also made strides in increasing the numbers of bus drivers on Transantiago.

8. Women are eager and willing to engage with the transport community

On the positive side – if women are encouraged with adequate opportunities, knowledge and information – they will enthusiastically engage with transport players to find local low cost and practical solutions. This has been clearly demonstrated in the collaborative initiatives with the local government and the El Bosque Women’s Centre in Santiago, Chile and this is starting in Buenos Aires especially bringing in others such as those working on human rights (e.g. Mumalá) and the cycling community.

It can be concluded from the wide and varied inputs from the number of players in each city (and in many cases the passion they expressed), that this is not ‘just’ a security issue but is a complex, wicked problem requiring diverse strategies and approaches. It was seen to be the responsibility of both men and women to address it – and to co-create solutions rather than impose what one or the other sex may feel is the appropriate response.
The research teams in each city found that there were a number of initiatives in place including public awareness campaigns targeted at women, and in several cases specific to public transport (OCAC- Metro, Santiago and Bajale al acoso, Quito). By conveying the message that this behavior is unacceptable to the wider public helps to empower women, so that they can react appropriately and report incidents.

Leadership at city level is reflected by the variety of institutional arrangements in each city, with different actors taking responsibility to invest in a campaign(s). Sometimes the initiative started among public transport operators, city officials or civil society organizations. Partnerships among different players were the preferred mode of implementation, and it is considered useful to include academics and universities in this ecosystem.

Further research should evaluate these programs, in terms of their effectiveness, as an observation from this study is the lack of rigorous evaluation of impacts of existing campaigns. It is a difficult challenge, but in Quito, where there has been the most effort made to address this in terms of communications and public awareness campaigns, the efforts and commitment started with the local municipality.
Empowering women to take action against harassment

Over the past ten years, Quito has implemented a number of campaigns. In 2011 “I want to travel safely, free from harassment” (Quiero caminar tranquila y sin acoso), was the first to target public transport, the Bus Rapid Transit system known as Trolebus.

In 2014, a similar project “Tell me about it” (Cuéntame) worked with the UN Women Safe Cities Program involved placing information booths at key BRT stations to receive and process complaints. In the kiosk, women could choose to report violence to trained staff and to file a complaint against the perpetrator or just to receive immediate attention and guidance on what to do next. Drivers for the Quito transport system have been trained to help those affected and to provide information on how and where to report incidents of VAWG. This system led to 11 people charged for serious incidents, with two convictions for underage molestation.

A new initiative “Get rid of harassment” (Bájale al acoso) is currently (2017) being tested on the El Trole BRT system. Bájale al acoso is an ambitious project using simple technologies. The victim can send an SMS text message directly to a control centre with the bus route using a widely publicized number (with adverts on the buses). The driver of the bus is immediately informed that there is an incident taking place on board, and plays a recorded alarm and voice recording to warn passengers.
that inappropriate behavior is occurring and asking them to look around and provide assistance to fellow passengers if they see someone in distress. Specially trained police or other security staff board the bus at the next stop, allowing the person affected to identify the perpetrator. The results of this pilot are not yet known but its potential is significant. In the first 6 months, there has been a significant increase in the numbers of incidents reported.

Research into criminal behavior shows that the decision to offend is highly influenced by the cues given and the perceived risk of being caught. If perpetrators feel that they are more likely to be caught, it is likely that they will refrain from the temptation to harass women, and this information was used to create this campaign, and the announcements in the buses. Such measures can be evaluated to see the extent that they reduce the temptation to offend, and if this is a cost effective or an overly costly measure to implement. From the discussions in Quito (in the focus groups and in the Advisory Council) there was also some interest in designing campaigns that addressed specific sections of the trip – walking to and from bus stops, in vehicle and also waiting time.

Other cities both in the region (such as Mexico) and internationally has developed a number of campaigns that increase public awareness (such as in London and Washington) and/or use technology such as more CCTV camera and the use of smart phone applications. As the density and use of smart phones increases this may be of more interest but from the results of this study there was no conclusive evidence on this as a preferred solution at the moment. Data roaming can be expensive and not everyone who has a smart phone may be able to afford to have this function on all the time. It is clear that lower income women are more at risk as they also use the routes that pass through low income areas of the city - it was for this reason that (amongst others) that Quito choose to use a SMS message which is cheap and available to most people. This option should be tested and evaluated for its usefulness in generating crowd-sourced data on danger points and situations, and for its effectiveness in actually making public transport safer and more responsive to women’s needs.

In 2017, Santiago’s Metro developed a poster campaign with a citizens’ organization, the Observatory against harassment of women in public spaces (OCAC). It’s message was that “Harassment is violence” (#Acoso es violencia). Two men’s civil society groups, EME Masculinidades and MenEngage Alliance cooperated with a complementary campaign: Aren’t you ashamed? (#no te da vergüenza). This approach underpins an interesting aspect that was not apparent in other cities - that in Santiago this issue was accepted that it was not only an issue for women to address but also to engage with men in behavior and social change. Other cities brought up the topic of education and a male dominant (macho) culture in the focus groups, and suggested that it would be important to engage with them.

Rutas Bakanes, also in Santiago, combines safe routes to school with gender re-education and the empowerment of girls. Public transport, walking, cycling and cycle mechanics classes help children to redefine their roles and the possibilities open to them in urban environments that may either ignore or over-protect them.
The participation and empowerment of local NGOs and citizens organizations was found to be particularly fruitful. A number of participatory workshops and a public transport-women’s security audit was carried out as part of the study in El Bosque, a low-income neighborhood in Santiago. The audit adapted a version of the women’s safety audits first developed by women’s groups in Toronto METRAC and recommended by UN Habitat for use in cities around the world. Some 30 participants (male and female) audited a preplanned route and then participated in a workshop where specific features of the public transport system were discussed and solutions co-developed. This type of audit allows the social, physical and functional aspects of a specific environment to be assessed and helps to identify how the physical characteristics of a neighborhood change at times of day and on days of the week (some bus stops for example are safe in daylight but not after dusk).

An added benefit is the discussions between players who often have not met to discuss these issues previously, thus integrating diverse perspectives into a single analysis. The groups were held at the local Women’s Center, and researchers, local women from the neighborhood and the women’s center, representatives of Carabineros (local community police), a research manager from a local bus operator as well as other interested parties took part. This is useful to address security and harassment issues and to generate on-going dialogue among local/regional authorities, organized citizens and others to find common solutions based on the resources and knowledge of all those present.

The city of Santiago has also enjoyed considerable success with a focus on ‘cycle inclusion’ that has been developed during three years of training and collaborative policy implementation by citizen organizations, local and regional governments and some private players. In a survey conducted by the Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications in Santiago, it was observed that there was a very low number of women cyclists in the city. Women either didn’t know how to ride or were afraid to use it in the city. With assistance from international and local experts, a Santiago women’s group, Living City and Macletas, set up courses to encourage women to ride bicycles as a mode of empowerment. They introduced the “Learn to pedal” course for complete beginners, and the “Get off the sidewalk” initiative aimed at women who knew how to ride a bicycle but were too frightened to use it around the city. Cycle facilities quadrupled from 50km to over 200km between 2007 and 2012, as the city government invested in an extensive network of cycle tracks. Modal share has doubled to 4%, women’s participation grew from under 10% to around 30%. Some 40,000 people can be seen cycling, walking and rollerskating on the streets of Santiago every Sunday, as part of the open streets CiclRecreoVía initiative which closes a zone of city streets to vehicular traffic to make them available for walking, running, cycling and other social activities. (Sagaris 2015).

Workshop participant in El Bosque explaining some solutions that were co-created.
Aside from private cyclists, bike share has become very popular, with significant use among women and a strong integration with public transport exchanges, particularly Metro stations. Bikes on buses, using racks that are common on bus systems throughout North America, is currently being studied, and there is an incipient circuit of free cycle-taxis in the city center.

Research by Chile’s PUC’s Centre for Sustainable Urban Development (CEDEUS) Laboratory for Social Change suggests that, in conjunction with other security-oriented measures, effective bike-bus-Metro integration could help to improve women’s safety by reducing or eliminating wait times at isolated bus stops at night, as occurs when women and girls can ride their own bikes rather than having to walk through less secure areas. Similarly, cycle-taxis operated by women and men could provide important services that reduce the isolation, the risk and the burden of carrying children or packages to and from public transport (Sagaris, Tiznado-Aitken, Steiniger 2017).
Getting more women working in transport

Currently, women only constitute a small percentage of the transport workforce although there are many opportunities within the sector with jobs that suit their skills, especially as transport shifts its focus and function from transport to mobility as a service. It is not easy to attract women to apply for jobs in the sector even if they are on offer – and there is still significant gender-based stereotyping, discrimination and stigmatization, especially in many areas of public transport operations. Women need different facilities (especially for changing and rest rooms) than men and family-friendly working conditions such as flexible schedules, child care assistance etc. – and this is often seen as an extra and unnecessary cost and administrative burden by employers, used to only dealing with male employees. All these aspects act as further barriers to speaking up about work conditions or harassment in the workplace. The International Trade Union Federation is working to highlight how to attract more women into the sector and for them to join the union in order to help bring greater diversity into the sector. Their increased involvement could be particularly strategic in cities like Santiago where a shortage of qualified drivers has limited the control over the quality and quantity of bus drivers in that city, where public transport operators must compete with large mining companies for suitable professionals in this area.
The public railway company (Trenes Argentinos, SOFSE, Buenos Aires) developed a “Gender Equality Plan” in 2014 and organized several public awareness campaigns using posters and information booths at key railway and subway stations and in the street. Some campaigns have been organized by the operators and others by the City of Buenos Aires government, with support from the Ministry of Human Development and Habitat. The most recent one was called ‘What we don’t see is also gender violence’ which helped to raise awareness on making more visible the various types of violence against women. However, they are still struggling with the drivers’ trade union to allow women to be trained as train drivers, which is still a male dominated domain.

Women can play a useful role in traffic management – and Buenos Aires has put in place a proactive target to get more women as traffic agents. A targeted recruitment drive resulted in 216 new agents being recruited of which 140 (65%) were women and 76 (35%) were men. Women now represent 50.5% of the 2191 strong corp.

Faced with prejudices against women drivers and the fact that several private operators refused to hire women bus drivers, the Transantiago public transport agency developed awards for the Best Male and Best Female Bus Driver to recognise women bus drivers and to complement the award already given to men. Within a year, all bus companies had a small, but growing contingent of women bus drivers, so that they could compete for the award, which is important for their rather low public image. This also became an opportunity to highlight women’s role and contributions to the quality of public transport before the general public. This award also provides an opportunity for the public to see that women may also apply, and succeed, to become bus drivers as well as recognizing those that are working in the system.
WHO NEEDS TO TAKE ACTION?

The issue of female security on public transport is a complex one, and there is no one cause to which a solution can be found, which when applied will overcome this issue in all situations. In order to answer who takes action, one needs to be able to answer a number of questions such as: Whose problem is it? Who is responsible, and who is not? Is this a human rights issue, a security or a transport operational issue? To what extent does this reflect the current attitudes to gender relations and violence, which is manifested in people’s behavior in public space and on public transport?

Our research suggests that diverse actors working together with their needs and strengths can provide successful solutions and effective responses. Typically, a number of solutions may have to foster a combination of top-down (legislation, policies, reinforced or reviewed justice procedures and security interventions, improved infrastructure), bottom-up (citizens’ demands, pressure, networks and local actions) and middle-out (collaborative structures, operational actions) solutions and actions. Together they can generate and identify locally appropriate and effective solutions. By combining resources and strategically applying solutions by a variety of players, changes in people’s behavior can be achieved. The ESMS TOOLKIT provides more details and guidance for how the different urban and regional players transport operators, academics and civil society can play roles in co-creating solutions and measures.

Typical solutions from different sources based on the results of the surveys, the focus groups, inputs from the advisory councils and our interviews with city authorities, transport experts, academics, citizens and women’s groups and public transport passengers themselves are put forward here. These are organized into policy, operational and communication-based clusters.

Gender working group.
WHO NEEDS TO TAKE ACTION?

In all cities, the results underlined the importance of:

- Organizing public awareness (advertising and information) campaigns with hot lines (to support centres);
- Visibly improving security (human presence and technology with CCTV cameras);
- Improving how incidents are reported and processed, and better defining what can and should be reported, so all types of serious harassment, and not only criminal offences, are reported;
- Providing better support and grievance systems (especially trained staff with security agencies but also bus drivers, station managers and other front-line responders) so staff are confident of what to do when situations arise, panic buttons and integrated security systems on buses (as Metro and train systems often have);
- Increasing levels of punishment and generating an environment of zero tolerance (this may also require local ordinances, reviewing legal frameworks to include public transport as part of public space and specifying what types of harassment is included);
- Making operational changes such as allowing buses to stop on request at night and bike-bus combinations to reduce waiting at feeder route stops;
- Improving infrastructure and maintenance especially at outlying and less frequently areas (including good lighting at stops, stations, tunnels and waiting areas, keeping sight lines clear to reduce closed spaces and seating and the removal of graffiti)

Most importantly, including men and boys in such studies is seen as crucial to better understand and identify the root causes of this type of gender based harassment and violence.
Overall, women use public transport more than men and this study has shown, suffer from the effects of inefficiencies within the system more than men, partly because they have fewer alternatives. They tend to prefer to use bus services as these services provide the connectivity that they require as trip distances are frequently short.

Personal security has an importance to them that outweighs other typical concerns. Safety, comfort, affordability or convenience and fear of theft and robbery concerns are shared among men and women, but women place higher importance on their (and their families’) personal security than men. They will also alter their behavior and perception of security, based on their own but also the experience of others beyond their immediate social circles, whom they may not even know but whose stories circulate. In other words, their fear is partly based on their own experiences and what they hear from others. Men, on the other hand, make their judgements on security based on their own experience or a close friend or family.

In extreme cases, women reduce their transport horizons to destinations that they are able to walk to, or only travel on public transport when they are accompanied by another adult or in a group.

Women’s reluctance to use public transport because of personal security concerns affects both them and their immediate family, friends and acquaintances (a key finding from the focus groups). Men may not fully understand this until a woman within their close family or friends experiences an incident, and they are able to articulate their feelings and disgust about this. Woman and girls are more likely than men to forgo educational opportunities or turn down a well-paying job for one paying less that is closer to home, if the transport connections are perceived to be unsafe, inconvenient or unaffordable. As mentioned based on this research, security is their primary concern.
Conclusions

While each city has specificities that were identified in the study (and can be found in the toolkit), the following outlines the main conclusions from this study that are shared in all three cities. This study and the literature available indicate that addressing gender as an integral part of urban transportation policies and projects offers the following benefits:

1. Women share high levels of concern about their personal security and this was found to be of similar levels between all three cities.

2. As women already use public transport more than men, ensuring gender sensitive transport and improvements can increase the rate of return on investment in transport and transport related infrastructure. Keeping women riding public transport at all their life stages therefore helps to increase the long-term sustainability of the system. The profitability of mass transport systems may be sustained, or even accelerated, as fewer women will leave the system as they have families or age;

3. Using women (and disaggregated data) as a proxy for identifying, planning and designing operational and infrastructure improvements is likely to better meet the unsatisfied demand for transport services of other vulnerable groups, and build capacity within city authorities, planning agencies and public transport operators through a better understanding of the divergent needs, preferences and constraints of end users (both women and men); Blurred borders between public transport and public space increase the complexity of addressing the issue and who is responsible – it is suggested that the notion of joint responsibility provides a better framework for action than allocating this to one or other department or agency;

4. Legal frameworks are necessary but are not enough to stop harassment: social pressure(s) by civil society at the city-regional level can make legal procedures more effective, especially through generating social values that increase the personal and reputational costs of this kind of behavior, but enforcement and clear indications that there will be prosecutions is also necessary;

5. It is crucial to recognize that there are significant differences between how men and women perceive security (this is complex but can be standardized) and this does not show up well in surveys as women and men interpret this word differently;

Walking is the mode of choice for many women, especially those with children.
6. Passengers (victims, onlookers and staff) are unsure of how to respond when incidents occur – public awareness campaigns, education and specific protocols for first responders and security agents can help to build awareness of acceptable and unacceptable behavior and to improve training of frontline staff;

7. Improving public transport’s sensitivity to women’s needs can improve their access to employment, education, and services, with substantial benefits to the general economy and society at large. Women spend more of their disposable income on their families and this in turn can improve nutrition and other welfare aspects, reducing health risks and improving social integration overall;

8. Women /mothers influence the next generation’s view and use of public transport presenting a risk to encouraging sustainable mobility behavior in the future.

9. Safe and secure public transport is more attractive for everyone to use, assisting both women and men to better meet the needs of the household for which they have primary responsibility. This in turn contributes to both resilience and sustainability, without sacrificing social equity. If women are constrained from using it, as can occur, and are only able to access work, education, health, culture, or other opportunities by walking, this in turn reduces city dynamism and opportunities for growth.

The conclusions of using this approach to study the issue are:

- Using a common methodology and multi-disciplinary teams added enormously to the quality of study design and implementation, and contributed significantly to the analysis of data, and final results. This approach increased shared learning, provided opportunities for applying a variety of analytical
methods, and helped to determine which problems were common to all three cities and which specific to local contexts, adding significant value to the final results;

- Quantitative data commonly collected by public transport and other agencies on mobility patterns and behavior at the moment does not reveal much about women’s needs or the extent of harassment. From the literature reviews and desk research, generally, there is a lack of disaggregated and gender sensitive data collection at city level. This makes it difficult to plan gender sensitive transport. Cities and operators need to address this if they are to make public transport inclusive and effective. Development and public transport agencies need to ensure that transport projects pay robust attention to gender and throughout project development and implementation.

- Qualitative data collection help to build more complete explanations of survey findings and provide rich insights on behavior and expectations. One is not sufficient without the other and this study has highlighted the need for both quantitative and qualitative approaches to build the evidence base necessary for planners, agencies and users to build safe and secure travelling environments;

- Women have developed a number of strategies that have been typified into six clusters and these can be useful as pointers for training and awareness;

- Participatory methods may appear expensive but can be cost effective, especially at the city-regional level. They provide opportunities for exchange between a number of multiplier agencies and other local actors but also provide local knowledge that may lead to avoiding expensive infrastructure mistakes – small changes in the plans early in their development can make big differences in the long run;

- As women’s incomes increase, fear of assault as a constraint on travel declines but so does their use of public transport as their main mode – poor women have fewer choices and cannot afford alternative, more secure options that would allow them more freedom of movement. This research showed that women have little loyalty to public transport and will change modes should a better option become available, more swiftly than men. This is partly due to the fact that they are used to having to plan more complicated journeys and are more flexible to change. This presents a significant risk to public transport operators, that may not yet be recognized. Women joining or leaving the system do not show up in passenger numbers and statistics without disaggregated and gender-sensitive data collection;

Sustainable and gender sensitive urban transport can make a big difference in increasing women’s productivity and promoting gender equality and equity.

This study has helped to further the understanding of this issue and build local knowledge and awareness. The next steps should look at how the guidance and toolkit can be implemented at city level and how to better evaluate impact. Changing the way transport is planned to better incorporate the needs of women will be transformation both for women and for transport.
FOOTNOTES

1 T1 Crime is a severe problem in Ecuador, with an increase in violent crime over the past few years. Pickpocketing, purse snatching, robbery, and theft are the most common forms of crime and pickpockets are particularly active on public transport. This fear of theft was strongly reflected in both men and women in the Quito survey findings, overriding other security concerns, while in the other cities personal security featured higher. Source: https://www.osac.gov/Pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=19460

2 Based on the discussions in the focus groups

3 ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean) presentation to Habitat III: https://www.cepal.org/en/pressreleases/habitat-iii-eclac-outlines-major-urbanization-trends-region


5 ILO: International Labor Organization

6 https://www.caf.com/es/actualidad/noticias/2017/03/mujeres-y-desarrollo-economico/

7 Originally ratified by all except two Latin American countries in 1978, it was updated in 2007 and is now ratified by all.

8 http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2012/03/revenga.htm

9 ECLAC – CEPAL UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean - https://oig.cepal.org/en

10 Chile was not included in the 10 countries

11 https://oig.cepal.org/en#

12 https://www.caf.com/es/actualidad/noticias/2016/06/los-beneficios-economicos-y-sociales-de-la-igualdad-de-genero/

13 https://www.caf.com/es/actualidad/noticias/2017/03/el-determinante-papel-de-las-mujeres-en-el-desarrollo-economico-de-america-latina/


16 Ella se mueve segura workshop August 2017, Encuesta de Movilidad domiciliaria 2009-2010 Buenos Aires

17 A minimum of 4 focus groups were held in each city

18 The exception was Buenos Aires where disaggregated data is available but not used to analyse gender differences in transport behavior or patterns or to design transport to respond to women’s needs.

19 Based on the focus group findings in each city.

20 It is also recognised that in Quito there is only bus transport available at the time of this study (2017).

21 Violence Against Women and Girls

22 Many are documented in the Safe and Sound report https://www.fiafoundation.org/connect/publications/safe-and-sound

23 www.itf.org.uk

24 Typically, if a car is owned in the family it is usually the man that uses it and women are allocated a smaller amount of money to use on their transport needs (this is sometimes auto-imposed as they make decisions on how to divide the money they have on food, transport, clothes, health and other requirements.

25 The areas around bus/metro stops as well as the facilities at and around major hubs and interchanges.

26 Buenos Aires was the exception in this study.
CAF - LATIN AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

CAF- Latin American Development Bank, in its commitment to sustainable development, offers technical and financial support to the region in response to its increasing urban growth, in which transport acts as a decisive enabler for creating sustainable cities. CAF’s regional strategy on sustainable urban mobility has evolved in accordance with new global and regional sector standards that call for user-based planning and design, beyond the mode of transport and/or the infrastructure project. Under this approach, in the last decade, CAF has promoted several urban mobility and infrastructure programs that contribute to improving accessibility in Latin American cities with a focus on inclusion and social equity.

CAF is aware of the social, environmental and economic costs of limited access to public transport systems for women. Safety and security is among the barriers that restrict women from enjoying in an equal manner the opportunities the city has to offer. In this endeavor, it is necessary to understand the issue through a holistic lens to effectively work to promote inclusion and gender equality in the framework of sustainable transport policies.
The FIA Foundation is an independent UK registered charity which supports an international programme of activities promoting road safety, the environment and sustainable mobility, including a focus on public safety and public health. We have an international reputation for innovative global road safety philanthropy; practical environmental research and interventions to improve air quality and tackle climate change; and high impact strategic advocacy in the areas of road traffic injury prevention and motor vehicle fuel efficiency. Our aim is to ensure ‘Safe, Clean, Fair and Green’ mobility for all, playing our part to ensure a sustainable future.

The FIA Foundation is supporting work on women and public transport in recognition of the vital importance of secure personal mobility. Women have the right to be safe, to be respected, and to achieve their potential, yet currently traditional systems of public transportation delivery and management do not adequately support these, and women are frequently exposed to unacceptable behaviours and too often feel unsafe. We believe that public transport options which address women’s concerns are at the heart of our ability to achieve sustainable development and sustainable mobility. A transport system which fails women will fatally undermine these goals.