

CASE STUDY

ELLA SE
MUEVE
SEGURA
mujeres & transporte



BUENOS AIRES METROPOLITAN AREA (AMBA) ARGENTINA

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Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|---|
| ACU | Asociación de Ciclistas Urbanos (Association of Urban Cyclists) |
| AMBA | Área Metropolitana de Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area) |
| CABA | Ciudad de Buenos Aires (City of Buenos Aires) |
| CNM | Consejo Nacional de las Mujeres National Women's Council |
| CNRT | Comisión Nacional de Regulación del Transporte (National Commission for Transport Regulation) |
| EAHU | Encuesta Anual de Hogares Urbanos (Annual Survey of Urban Households) |
| ENMODO | Encuesta de Movilidad Domiciliaria (Household Mobility Survey) |
| EPH | Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (Permanent Household Survey) |
| ESMS | Ella se mueve segura (She moves safely) |
| GBA | Gran Buenos Aires (Greater Buenos Aires) |
| GCBA | Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires (Government of the City of Buenos Aires) |
| INAM | Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (National Institute for Women) |
| INDEC | Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos (National Institute of Statistics and Censuses) |
| MUMALA | Mujeres de la Matria Latinoamericana (Women of the Latin American Matrix) |
| SBASE | Subterráneos de Buenos Aires S.A (Subways of Buenos Aires S.A) |

1. INTRODUCTION

While it is possible to argue that women move on a daily basis differently from men (due to the unequal roles in the social structure and the daily activities they perform), women's daily mobility practices have not yet been researched in depth, incorporating, for example, the analysis of the interaction between accessibility and access (Gutiérrez, 2012) or the implications of these interactions on the opportunities to fully realize their citizen rights.

The information available in studies and transport surveys carried out, especially since 2000, incorporate a perspective oriented towards the study of mobility in a broader sense. They have opened up the possibility of characterizing and describing the travel patterns of women and men. However, these studies are particularly limited in terms of understanding the perceptions and experiences associated with the use of the transport system and gender.

Through this study we seek to contribute to the reflection on how power relations are expressed in the urban space (Jirón, 2007). Urban space is often perceived as hostile by women themselves (Zunino Singh, 2014), and the linkages between daily mobility, access and differentiated use of public and private spaces (Bourdieu, 1973 and Rosaldo, 1974 in Segura, 2006) according to gender are not yet well understood.

This Case Study, as part of the *Ella se Mueve* Study, focuses on visualizing one of the forms of citizen's insecurity that has not been analyzed in depth: that which occurs in public transport. Although the infringement of security is a socioeconomic and spatial constraint that limits access to goods, services, activities and opportunities offered by cities to both women and men; a woman's perception and experience are two dimensions of insecurity that affect women only, and are not necessarily either experienced, nor understood, by men. As transport and transport planning is a male dominated domain, and the dominance of males in public space is still apparent increasing the evidence base and available data for planning for gender neutral transport is necessary for cities to be able to become inclusive and equitable.

The evidence on the types of violence that especially affects women is based on the quantitative and qualitative primary information and data collected in the framework of the "*Ella se Mueve Segura*" Project¹. This case study presents a diagnosis on this social problem within the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires, and provides conclusions designed to help to denaturalize behaviors that support gender inequalities, and especially how this affects women's mobility habits.

¹ The study was conducted in parallel in three metropolises of Latin America: Buenos Aires, Quito and Santiago de Chile

2. CONTEXT OF ARGENTINIAN WOMEN

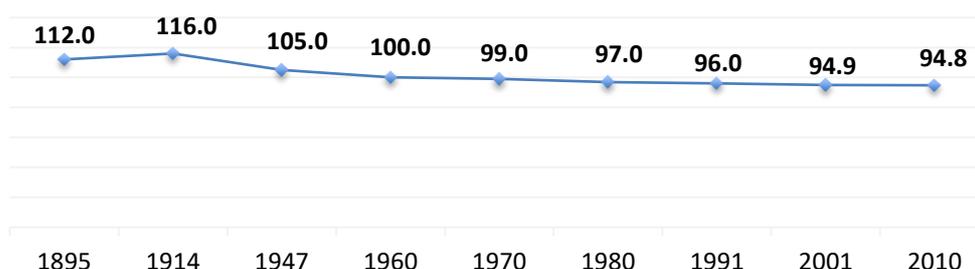
2.1 WOMEN ARE 'A HALF PLUS ONE'²

The Argentine population in 2010 reached a total of 40.117.096 people³, representing a population increase of 10.6% compared to 2001. 51% of its current population are female while only 49% are male. This means that at national level, for every 100 women there are 94.8 men.

In addition, 90% of the Argentine population is urban although the population density in the capital city is relatively low⁴ (14.5 hab / km²). Specifically, in the City of Buenos Aires (CABA) it is 14,451 hab / km², while in the Patagonian province of Santa Cruz it is only 1.1 hab / km². This shows the unequal spatial distribution and the high level of concentration of the Argentine population.

According to the projections made by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC), it is estimated that the total population for Argentina (2017) is around 44.044.811 people, with the distribution between women and men similar to what was observed in 2010.

Figure 1. Argentina. Evolution of the masculinity index: males per 100 women.



Source: INDEC, National Censuses

In Argentina, women have a higher average life expectancy (78 years) than men (70 years). The average age for both genders at national level that is 74 years. The CABA (City of Buenos Aires) is the district with the highest life expectancy at birth (76 years), increasing to 79 years for women. They live even longer in the distant province of Neuquén where women have an average life expectancy of 80 years.

In relation to health coverage, 70% of the Argentine population has some type of health care service available to them. However, a third have no health insurance, prepaid or state plan. Among those who do not have any type of health insurance, the proportion of women and men is distributed in a similar way. It is worth mentioning that this population, although it does not have specific plans, still has access to the care provided universally in public hospitals, as part of the Argentinian health system.

² A 'Half plus one' is a typical Argentinian phrase that emphasizes the importance of the amount being more than half. In this instance it shows that women despite being in the majority are still in the minority when it comes to decision making and transport planning.

³ Source: National Population, Household and Housing Census, National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC), 2010.

⁴ This data was estimated leaving out the territory of the Argentine Antarctic.

With regard to the living conditions of households and individuals, according to the Permanent Household Survey (EPH, INDEC), a total of 21.7% of poor households and 4.3% of destitute households are registered. It is noteworthy that the highest incidence of poverty and indigence is observed in the categories of children and young people under 18.

Living conditions are lower quality in those households headed by women. In Argentina, there are a large (and growing) number of households headed by women. From the national total of 12,171,675 households, 34% have a woman as head of household. This implies a growth of 10% of the female head in respect to 2001 data. According to EPH data, in these households the phenomenon of poverty and indigence has greater impact: in both cases they exceed the values observed in households headed by men. In other words, indigenous women are more likely to be poor and overall women represent the poor of those who are already poor.

Table 1. Percentage of households and people living in poverty and destitution. Total Country and according to male and female head of household

| Life conditions | Below poverty line | | Below destitution line | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| | % poor households | % poor population | % destitute households | % destitute population |
| Total (national) | 21,7% | 30,40% | 4,3% | 5,9% |
| Households headed by men | 21,2% | 28,40% | 3,6% | 4,5% |
| Households headed by women | 22,4% | 34,00% | 5,3% | 8,3% |

Source: EPH, INDEC, 2016

On the other hand, according to the income distribution data published by EPH, the urban female population (6.8%) is double the size of the male population (3.2%) but they are located in the lowest individual income decile. The opposite occurs in the highest income decile, where the female population represents 3.7% compared to 6.3% of males. One can conclude from these figures that this is linked to the fact that men are able to access paid and higher paid employment compared to women. Here we can also suggest that transport (and security concerns) are likely to play a significant role, although other aspects will also influence this.

2.2 The double working day: paid and unpaid work

According to the EPH, in 2017 the **activity rate**⁵ in the labor market for the total of the 31 urban agglomerates of the country is 57%. This means that 6 out of 10 people, over 14 years old, are currently inserted in the labor market or are actively seeking employment.

The activity rate among Argentine women is only 46%, while it is 70% for men. However, comparing to 1990 has been an increase of around 10 points in the participation of women as part of the active supply of labor force at the country level. These levels for men remain relatively stable. In 1990 the activity rates were 36.8% and 72.6% for women and men respectively.

A similar situation can be seen when the **employment rate**⁶ for the total of 31 urban agglomerates is analysed, it is much lower for women. 41% for women compared to 64% for men. In contrast, and not surprisingly, the **unemployment rates** are higher among women than men (10.2% and 8.5% respectively).

⁵ Activity rate: calculated as a percentage between the economically active population and the total reference population (aged 14 and over). http://www.indec.gob.ar/uploads/informesdeprensa/indicadores_eph_1trim17.pdf

⁶ Employment rate: calculated as a percentage between the employed population and the total reference population (aged 14 and over). http://www.indec.gob.ar/uploads/informesdeprensa/indicadores_eph_1trim17.pdf

A difference between larger urban agglomerations and smaller ones was observed: in smaller agglomerations (less than 500.000 inhabitants) the activity rate of women is 40% while in larger urban agglomerations with more than 500.000 inhabitants, this rate among women rises to 47.6%.

This information indicates that fewer women (of working age) seek to enter the labor market than men of the same age. And when they do, they suffer the highest levels of unemployment. Also, women are more likely to seek to enter this market in larger cities.

The **concept of work** is associated with a paid activity carried out outside home, as opposed to unpaid domestic activities, which have been devalued and relegated "to a lower level" (Ministry of Labor of the Nation)

In Argentina, the average wage for women is 23,5% less than for men⁷ among workers from the private and formal sector. On the other hand, considering the gap that considers the average income per person in households, it shows that among women, income is 27% lower than among men.

Likewise, woman who enter the paid labor market are mainly engaged in activities linked to services, with 73% of salaried women concentrated there. This shows the horizontal segmentation experienced by working women, according to their sex. Services include occupations related to teaching, health and domestic service (Vozzi et al, 2017). At the same time, there is little female presence in management positions and/or hierarchical positions, even if they have equal or better professional training than their male counterparts. This situation confirms the vertical segmentation and contrasts with the fact that 54% of the total Argentine population over 20 years old who finished college/university is female. The 'Glass Ceiling Effect' appears to be alive a well in Argentina!

Occupational segregation, reinforced by a greater precariousness in the labor market among women, also correlates with the distribution of domestic tasks and unpaid care. Investigating this aspect highlights the understanding of structural inequality of gender. Considering the last National Unpaid Work and Use of Time Survey made (2013), and looking at the participation of women⁸ in unpaid domestic work, it can be observed that, regardless of their age, 89% argentines women participate in domestic and care-related activities⁹. These include child care activities, as well as looking after sick or elderly members of the household. While among men this participation is lower and only 5 out of 10 men help with these duties. Within these duties housework (86.7%) is the main activity in which women participate, followed by care of people (31.3%) and finally in school support (19.3%) e.g taking to and collecting children from school.

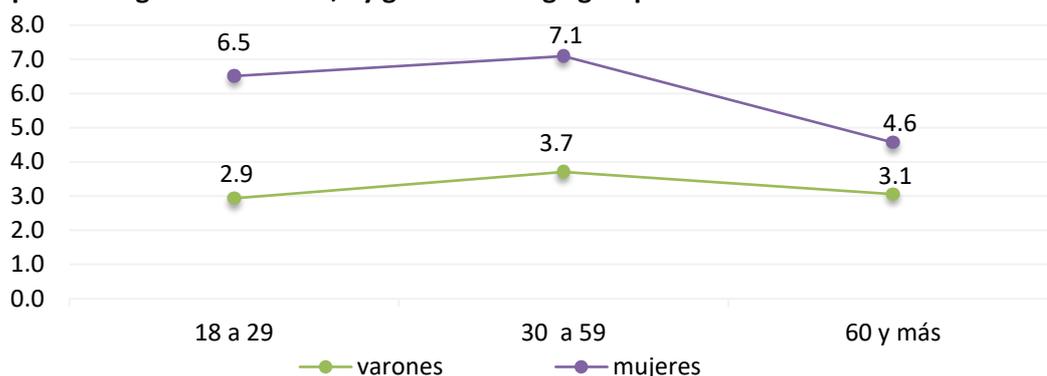
In terms of the average daily time dedicated to these tasks, women spend 3 hours a day more than men (a total on average of 6.4 hours), who only spend 3.4 hours per day. This reaches its maximum time dedication for those women who are between 30 and 59 years old. For example, in those homes where two children under 6 years old are living, it reaches an average of 9.8 hours a day.

⁷ For more information see: https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/informe_ctio_documentodetrabajo.pdf

⁸ Population aged 18 and over is considered for each age range

⁹ As house cleaning, cleaning and dressing of clothes; preparation and cooking of food, home purchases; repair and maintenance of household goods

Figure 2. Average daily time dedicated to unpaid domestic work. Population aged 18 and over, by gender and age group. Total National Urban



Source: Unpaid Work and Use of Time Survey, INDEC 2013

This shows that women not only participate more, but also dedicate a greater amount of time (daily hours) to the performance of unpaid domestic work. In homes where two children under 6 years old reside this can be as much as an average of 9.8 hours a day.

When analyzing the participation in domestic tasks according to the occupation status of women in the paid labor market, there are no significant variations. This shows that, even though women are inserted in the labor market, they predominantly take on work in the domestic sphere (working for an average of 5.9 daily hours), as it is difficult to reconcile care roles and regular working.

| | |
|--|--|
| Unpaid Work and Use of Time Survey (Encuesta sobre Trabajo No Remunerado y Uso del Tiempo) | First survey of this type carried out at the national level. It was implemented by the INDEC, as a module of the Annual Urban Household Survey (EAHU), during the third quarter of 2013. |
| Background | Survey of the use of time/ Encuesta del uso del tiempo (City of Buenos Aires, 2005) and Survey of use of time, E.U.T/ Encuesta de uso del tiempo: E.U.T (Rosario, 2010) |

The double working day (which some authors even call "triple", considering the participation that many women have also in social, political, artistic/cultural organizations, etc.), generates excessive working hours for women and pressures between family life and labor. Thus women, and particularly women with young families, are time poor, and more so than their male counterparts. Frequently this results in twisting the balance between ambition for a better income and quality of life and a precarious insertion in the labor market (in informal but more flexible work such as domestic that can fit around family duties) and/or a lower commitment to educational training and professional career (INAM, 2017)¹⁰. Both limit the availability of time dedicated to self-care or recreation. Yet it seems that men are beginning to think about change and helping more with typically gender stereotyped care activities.

In a study of 2016 conducted by CINEA-UNTREF¹¹ 55% of respondents (men and women) indicated that domestic tasks should be done without distinction of gender. This information could help in the visibility of inequality that is evident in the responsibilities assumed by men and women regarding the performance of unpaid domestic work.

¹⁰ National Institute of Women (INAM). For more information: <http://www.cnm.gob.ar/queeselinam.php>

¹¹ Center for Research in Applied Statistics belonging to the National University of Tres de Febrero. For more information: <https://www.untref.edu.ar/instituto/cinea-centro-de-investigaciones-en-estadistica-aplicada>

3. LEGAL FRAMEWORK FACING GENDER VIOLENCE

3.1 International agreements and National Constitution

Argentina has a robust normative legal framework at national and local level, aimed at addressing violence and discrimination against women (in all areas where they carry out their activities and in their daily lives). This is aligned with the commitments assumed internationally by the country. These norms include promoting human rights, inclusion and equality and promoting the visibility of the different types and modalities of violence against women that occur (in some cases daily). However, further work is still required to properly implement and enforce compliance with these regulations.

Adhesion of the Argentine Republic to International Conventions:

- Since 1985 to the **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979)**. Approved and ratified by the Argentine State, through Law 23.179.
- Since 1996 to the **Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (Convention of Belem do Pará, 1994)**. Approved and ratified by the Argentine State through Law 24.632.

Both conventions urge to promote norms and policies in order to prevent and eradicate violence against women.

After the reform that took place in 1994, the Argentine National Constitution in its *Article 75, Section 22* grants constitutional level to the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. In the same Article, but *Section 23* National Constitution gives to the National Congress the power to promote positive action measures in relation to women, to help guarantee real equality of opportunity and treatment and the full enjoyment and exercise of the rights recognized by the Constitution and International Treaties. The reform of the Constitution granted constitutional status to both International Conventions, so that non-compliance could imply sanctions for the National State.

3.2 National legal background

One of the most relevant milestones in normative terms was the sanction in 2009 of **Law 26.485** (enacted in 2010 through Regulatory Decree 1.011) of "**Comprehensive Protection to prevent, punish and eradicate violence against women in the areas in which develop their interpersonal activities**", which includes a comprehensive characterization of violence against women, as well as a greater degree of detail in the conceptualization of new forms of violence. And it aims to eliminate discrimination between women and men in all ways of life, affirming in particular the right of women to a life without violence. All this, even though it has not been fully reflected in the design of public policies, improves and strengthens the conditions for its due application (Gherardi, 2016).

National Law 26.485¹²

Art 4: Definition of **VIOLENCE** against women as *any form of conduct, action and omission that directly or indirectly in public or private environments, based on the unequal power relationship, affects their life, liberty, physical integrity, dignity, personal security.*

Art 5: **Types of violence against women:** physical; psychologically; sexual; economical and patrimonial, symbolic.

Art 6: **Modalities or forms** in which it manifests: domestic, institutional, labor, reproductive, obstetric, media.

Art 11: relating to "Public Policies" promotes the articulation and coordination with different ministries and secretariats of the executive power, universities and civil society with competence in the matter:

The executive branch mentions:

- Cabinet Headquarters
- Ministerio¹³: Desarrollo Social Development, Education, Health, Justice (Secretariats of Justice, Security, Human Rights-INADI), Labor, Defense, Media Secretariat.

With the enactment of the Law 26.485¹⁴, the National Women's Council (CNM), an organization created in 1992, became the governing entity and it is in charge of articulating and coordinating the actions that enable compliance with this norm. The CNM should also promote and design public policies to implement the law in an effective way.

In 2017, the CNM draws up, in accordance with the provisions of the Law, the first "**National Plan of Action for the Prevention, Assistance and Eradication of Violence against Women 2017-2019**". It consists of a strategical planning tool that gathers and systematizes policies, programs and initiatives.

Likewise, since September 2017, the "National Institute for Women (INAM)" was created by Decree 698, as a decentralized entity of the Ministry of Social Development, at the national level, and it recovered and continues the tasks of the CNM. This new hierarchy, giving it the rank of a Secretary of State, seeks to accelerate the speed of implementation of the programs.

In addition, INAM has the **Observatory on Violence against Women**, an entity created by Law 26,485 (mentioned in articles 12, 13 and 14) that is intended for the monitoring, collection, production, registration and systematization of data and information on violence against women.

Other relevant laws:

- **Law 26.150** (2006) calls for the creation of a National Comprehensive Sexual Education Program, under the Ministry of Education. It seeks to ensure the right to a comprehensive sexual education, articulating biological, psychological, social, affective and ethical aspects.
- **Law 27.234** (2015) establishes the basis so that in all educational establishments of the country the "Educating in Equality: Prevention and Eradication of Gender Violence" day will take place. Its objective is for students and teachers to develop and strengthen attitudes, knowledge, values and practices that contribute to prevent and eradicate gender violence.

¹² http://www.cnm.gob.ar/legNac/Ley_26485_decreto_1011.pdf

¹³ It is important to underline that in Article 11, particularly in the competencies of Ministries, the Ministry of Transport is not mentioned as one of the articulation and coordination to implement public policies in relation to violence against women.

¹⁴ Article 8 of Law 26.485 / 2009.

3.3 National institutions

Since the ratification of the Law 26,485 “Integral Protection to prevent, punish and eradicate violence against women in the areas where they develop their interpersonal activities” in 2009, the National Council of Women (CNM), created in 1992, has become the governing entity in charge of articulating and coordinating actions that enable compliance with this law, as well as designing public policies that allow the implementation of its provisions.

In 2017, the CNM developed –following what is stipulated by Law- the first "National Plan of Action to promote the Prevention, Assistance and Eradication of Violence against Women 2017-2019". It consists of a strategic planning tool that gathers and systematizes policies, programs and initiatives.

Since September 2017, the "National Institute for Women (INAM)" has been created by decree (698) as a decentralized entity of the Ministry of Social Development. In this capacity, it took over and continues the tasks previously under the CNM. By placing it directly reporting to the Secretary of State, it is hoped to accelerate the administrative times for the implementation of the programs.

3.4 Some statistics on violence against women in the country

The multiple and diverse forms of violence against women constitute the most frequent and widespread practice of violation of human rights throughout the world (INAM, 2017). Gender based violence promulgates the persistence of inequalities and asymmetric power relations between genders and has serious effects on the violation of women's rights in society.

According to a study carried out by the CINEA (UNTREF) in 2016, 71% of respondents considered that “gender violence” is suffered equally by both men and women.

In recent years, in Argentina the number of femicides¹⁵ that occur annually shows an alarming growth. During 2016, a total of 290 cases were registered: 4 cases more than the previous year (in 2015, 286 were registered)¹⁶. This shows that 1 femicide occurs every 30 hours in the country. More than half of women victims of femicide (54.4%) were murdered in spaces of trust: either their own home, shared housing with their aggressor or in the house of the femicide; and 70.7% percent of them were between 19 and 50 years old. The assailants are usually close to the victims: 64.5% of cases of femicide occurred during 2016 were by their current (or former) husbands, partners or boyfriends.

On the other hand, and by incorporating the gender perspective into the analysis of “violence / fear” that occurs in urban daily life (Lindón, 2008), a broad framework emerges of the multiple and diverse violence that girls, teenagers and women experience. Thus, and even with the differences between the most extreme types of violence, regarding the violations that occur to women in public space, all the evidence reflects a common denominator: the aggressors are, in most cases, males. And this has an effect on blurring the boundaries between the violence that occurred in the private space (which, as noted above, is exercised fundamentally by members of the immediate family circle) and the violence that occurred in public space (mainly exercised by strangers).

¹⁵ Femicide is killing someone on account of the them being female.

¹⁶ Source: Civil Association "La Casa del Encuentro".

According to the National Study on Violence against Women¹⁷ (2016), 6 out of 10 Argentinian women over 16 years of age never experienced **physical** or **sexual** violence, while 4 out of 10 claimed to have experienced some kind of physical or sexual violence, sometime in their life. According to the same study, the type of **sexual** violence most mentioned by women with the highest prevalence (10.8%) at national level is touching inappropriately: “some man touched her sexually, without her consent”¹⁸. While “threats and threatening behaviour” (22.2%), are the type of physical **violence** most mentioned by women, also at the national level.

According to a study by the Observatory of the Argentine Social Debt (UCA) in 2016, 82.4% of women have felt insecure while in their house, the street / traveling and in their neighborhood. Among men, this sensation reached 75.5%.

It is possible to argue that the difference between actual violence (victimization) and the fear perceived by women of violence is linked to the latent variable of the potential severity (escalating violence) of damage and whether it happens in private or public space.

4. FOCUSING ON AMBA

4.1 Profile of the urban agglomerate

The Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires (AMBA) includes, according to its denomination, the City of Buenos Aires (CABA) and 24 municipalities of Greater Buenos Aires (GBA)¹⁹ which jurisdictionally correspond to the Province of Buenos Aires. This group of 24 municipalities is traditionally called Conurbano²⁰.

According to the last census (INDEC (Institute of Statistics and Census) 2010), a total of 12.806.866 people reside in AMBA: around 2.800.000 in CABA and 9.900.000 in GBA. Therefore it concentrate 32% of the country's total population within its territory and it is the largest urban area in the Argentine territory, and produces around 40% of the national GDP. The population of AMBA is more than doubles that of other Argentine cities.

Map 1. Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area

(AMBA: dark and light green/ CABA: dark green / GBA: light green)



Source: Observatorioamba.org

¹⁷ <http://www.jus.gob.ar/media/3128472/Encuesta%20de%20violencias%20contra%20las%20mujeres%20-%20FINAL%2026-10.pdf>

¹⁸ The study did not differentiate the place where the aggressions occurred, and did not investigate other types of situations that imply harassment, even when are not expressly considered "sexual violence".

¹⁹ 1. Almirante Brown, 2: Avellaneda, 3: Berazategui, 4: Esteban Echeverría, 5: Ezeiza, 6: Florencio Varela, 7: General San Martín, 8: Hurlingham, 9: Ituzaingó, 10: José C. Paz, 11: La Matanza, 12: Lanús, 13, Lomas de Zamora, 14: Malvinas Argentinas, 15: Merlo, 16: Moreno, 17: Morón, 18: Quilmes, 19: San Fernando, 20: San Isidro, 21: San Miguel, 22: Tigre,

²⁰ To expand on the definition see: <https://www.indec.gov.ar/nuevaweb/cuadros/4/folleto%20gba.pdf>

This concentration of high demographic and economic importance, where people coexist with heterogeneous and unequal living conditions, is crossed by four forms of political and administrative organizations: the National, the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, the Province of Buenos Aires and its Municipalities.

This inter-jurisdictional reality presents difficulties when it comes to coordinating the planning and management of the agglomerate as a whole. Issues such as mobility and transport, urban waste or environmental issues, exceed each jurisdiction in particular. Thus, not only in AMBA, but in general in Argentina, there is a certain weakness in the mechanisms of metropolitan coordination that support the articulation of the main urban policies.

Table 2. Population evolution and projection to 2017. Population Surface and Density. City of Buenos Aires and 24 Municipalities at Greater Buenos Aires (GBA).

| Jurisdicción | Population 2001 | Population 2010 | Variation (%) | Projection of the population 2017 | Surface (en Km ²) | Population Density (hab/Km ²) |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 24 Municipalities at Greater Buenos Aires (GBA) | 8.684.437 | 9.916.715 | 14,2 | 10.894.664 | 3.556,18 | 2.789 |
| City of Buenos Aires | 2.776.138 | 2.890.151 | 4,1 | 3.063.728 | 200 | 14.451 |

Source: Own elaboration based on INDEC National Censuses 2001 and 2010. INDEC population projections

When observing the population distribution of the AMBA according to gender, it is evident that, in CABA, the proportion of women is somewhat higher (54%) than in the surrounding 24 municipalities of Greater Buenos Aires.

Scheme 1. Population of CABA and 24 municipalities of the GBA in 2010, by gender.



Source: National Population, Household and Housing Census (INDEC, 2010)

In both jurisdictional levels, the illiteracy rate is low level, with AMBA of 1.4 and CABA of 0.5 (at the national level this rate is: 1.9). However, when observing this indicator according to the gender variable, it is observed that in both cases. Illiteracy is greater among women. This is contrasted on what happens among the population that completed the university level, given that women represent more than half of the university population in both jurisdictions.

In addition, in CABA 4 out of every 10 households headed by women are single person households; while in AMBA this percentage only represents 24%. Likewise, in AMBA, half of the female households leaders, reside in nuclear homes: those composed of a couple with or without children.

When analyzing the incidence of poverty in households related to the gender of their lead household, according to data from the EPH, it is observed that in Greater Buenos Aires poverty is greater in those households headed by women: 27.8% compared to 24% of poor households headed by men. However, the same tendency is not evident in the City of Buenos Aires. Poor male headed households represent 7.2% of the total number of households headed by a man, while there are fewer female headed households below the poverty line: 6.1%.

On the other hand, when analysing women's situation in the agglomerate considering those who have jobs, according to data from the EPH, in general, the City of Buenos Aires presents more favourable conditions in comparison with what happens in the Great Buenos Aires.

Regarding the activity rate, in CABA the number of women over 14 years old who are inserted in the labor market or actively seeking employment, is 51.3%, while in the GBA only reaches just over a third of women of active age (36.3%). However, when observing the unemployment rate in both jurisdictions, it is always higher among women²¹ than among men. Likewise, the rate of unregistered (informal) employment among women also in both jurisdictions is higher than that of men: in the GBA, this indicator (40.6%) among women almost doubles that observed in CABA (23.1%).

It is also worth noting that with the average salary for women in both jurisdictions (CABA and GBA) are between 27% and 30% lower²² than that of men.

All this information illustrates that socioeconomic and labor conditions among women in the AMBA are more precarious than among their male counterparts

4.2 How does the urban transport system work?

In AMBA, multiple levels of government coexist: the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, the province of Buenos Aires, 24 municipalities that make up the so-called Buenos Aires Conurbano (or GBA) and the Nation. For the public transport system, this means facing an important complexity in terms of responsibility and coordination of planning and management, also due to the fact that each level of government has different (technical and budgetary) capacities and limited institutional attributions.

The daily mobility habits of people residing in the AMBA (and travelling for various travel reasons such as work, studies, purchases, access to health, among others) between the different localities and municipalities constitutes an integrated territory. The mobility that occurs on a daily basis in the agglomerate thus has metropolitan characteristics. Of the total of 19 million daily trips made in the agglomerate, 30%²³ of trips go beyond the jurisdictional limits of the municipality of origin of the trips.

Almost half of all daily trips (49%) of the AMBA are taken on public transport. The system of public transport in the agglomerate has a wide coverage of services that includes: 345 bus lines (urban bus), 7²⁴ metropolitan passenger rail lines and a subway network, of 6 lines and a premetro (tram).

²¹ Women's unemployment rate in Buenos Aires City (CABA): 10%, and in Greater Buenos Aires (GBA): 12,7%. Source: EPH (Encuesta Permanente de Hogares) 2nd third quarter. 2016.

²² Ídem.

²³ Survey of Home Mobility (ENMODO, 2009-2010)

²⁴ The "Tren de la Costa" is not counted, since it has the peculiarity of starting its activity as a commercial undertaking of tourist character

| Transport Mode | Scope of the network and jurisdiction | Coverage | Operate by |
|--|--|-----------|--|
| Bus / urban bus (Automotive Transport) | 345 lines: 138 national lines (start and finish their travel in CABA (121 provincial and 86 from municipalities. | 25.000 km | Private companies: -Around 200 |
| Metropolitan trains (Railway) | 7 lines (Mitre, Belgrano Norte, Sarmiento, Urquiza, San Martín, Roca, Belgrano Sur), 23 branches. | 817,5km | Public Company: - SOFSE - (Trenes Argentinos) Private companies: - Ferrovías S.A.C - Metrovías S.A |
| Subway | 6 lines + 1 tram. | 60,4km | Private company: - Metrovías S. A |

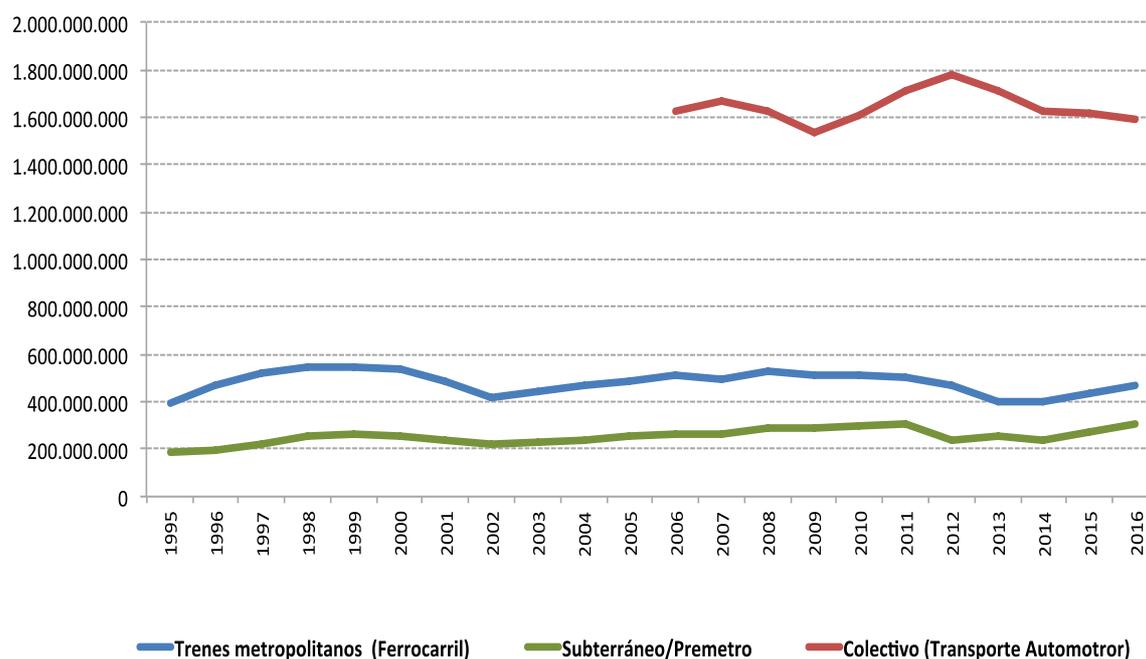
Source: Own elaboration based on CNRT and <https://data.buenosaires.gob.ar/>

At the national level, and until 2015, there was no integrated transport policy available that would guide general measures and investments in transport and mobility. Beyond certain efforts and initiatives²⁵ in the recent past, decisions on the sector were taken in a fragmented manner by each level of government and responding, in some cases, to local and / or regional urban plans and, in others, to decisions and government priorities. Frequently, they did not align with budgetary processes (Álzaga, 2015), with the associated difficulties for implementing and achieving actions.

In 2015, the general guidelines of the Strategic Federal Plan for Mobility, Transport and Logistics (PFETRA) 2020 were established, and proposed the basis for the construction of a national plan that articulates and prioritizes the new policies and work plans, services and regulation. However, even though it is a challenge for the sector to follow the PFETRA as a guide for the future establishment of priorities and practices, it is important to mention that in Section 7 - reference to immediate and short-term actions- it mentions that all new regulations related to transport should consider the differences between people in terms of gender, age, health and socioeconomic status. This implies an initial recognition of gender-based mobility in broad terms and assumes that there are differences within the needs of population groups.

²⁵ The role of the Urban Transportation Project for Metropolitan Areas of Argentina (PTUMA), financed by the World Bank and in execution since 2010 (and whose background is the PTUBA Project 1997-2009, whose area of intervention was the agglomerate of Buenos Aires) has been relevant for the strengthening of the capacity of planning and management of transport in the country. Today the project is part of the portfolio under the orbit of the Central Executing Unit (UEC) of the Ministry of Transport

Figure 3. Transported passengers (payments) of RMBA Metropolitan Trains and CABA Subway Lines. 1995-2016 series. Passengers transported (payments) of RMBA Automotive Transport. Series 2006-2016



Source: Own elaboration based on CNRT

It is important to mention that during the last years the public investment assigned to the transport and mobility system has been prioritized both at a national level and, in some cases, at the level of local governments. This allocation of resources is among the highest in decades (Muzzini et al 2016, Soldano et al 2017) and it is partly linked to the need for interventions as mass transport systems were deteriorating, especially the metropolitan rail and metro systems, and with the marked growth of the registered private automobile fleet. During the period 2003-2015, the number of cars nationwide almost doubled²⁶.

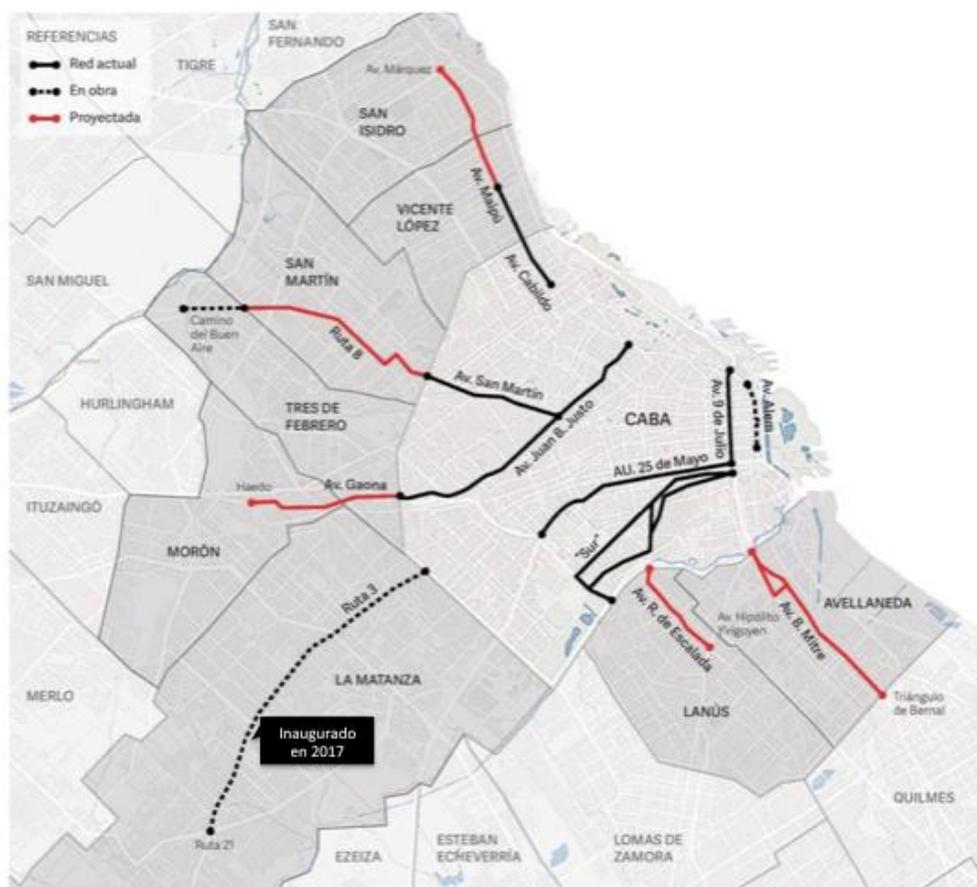
The incorporation of the Metrobus is one of the most emblematical measures implemented during the last years in the AMBA. It consists mainly of a system that combines the pre-existing urban bus lines, with new dedicated lanes and infrastructure (stations). Initially it was implemented in the City of Buenos Aires, where the first one was built in 2011, on Avenida Juan B. Justo (in the northern area of the city). This was expanded, and currently the Metrobus also extends into two municipalities of the conurbano: Vicente López and La Matanza, and there are several corridors in other municipalities of the agglomerate that are planned for operations.

Its objective is to reduce travel time for passengers, increase predictability and contribute to road safety. In general, the implementation of the Metrobus was positively received by users and the decrease in travel time is the best evaluated indicator. According to data from the Government of the City of Buenos Aires²⁷, Metrobus Norte (which connects Vicente López municipality with the CABA), has reduced travel time by 32%.

²⁶ National Observatory of Transport Data (UTN) on base ADEFA data.

²⁷ For further information see: <http://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/movilidad/metrobus/metrobus-norte>

Map 2. Current network, on site and projected by Metrobus in the AMBA



Source: GCBA and Government of the Province of Buenos Aires

Another recent relevant measure is the improvement of the railway infrastructure and the increased rail investments - particularly in AMBA. This focus has been increasing since 2012 – and has reached levels far higher than those recorded in the last forty years (Cámara Argentina de la Construcción, 2015). This marked a turn around from the trend initiated in the 70's, neglecting state investment in infrastructure or transport network improvements. It is important to consider that rail have had a central place in the formation of AMBA, as between 1890 and 1940 the agglomerate grew along their axes.

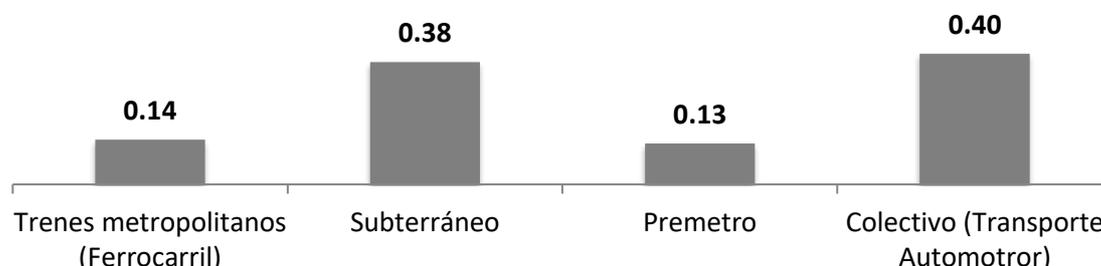
Road rehabilitation, the reform and adaptation of stations and the construction of low level steps (making them more accessible), are among some of the interventions made in rail since 2012. The electrification of the General Roca branch line (Constitución-La Plata), from the center of the CABA to the agglomerates' south corridor, connecting it to the capital of the Province of Buenos Aires (La Ciudad de La Plata), is one of the most outstanding investments in the sector launched in recent years.

Since 2013, the Single Electronic Ticket System ("Sistema Único de Boleto Electrónico") (SUBE) has been implemented in AMBA public transport system. This was conceived as part of a reform that included improvements in transparency also makes it possible allow social tariffs for vulnerable members of society (tariffs with social attribute²⁸) that allows them to travel for 40%

²⁸ Article 5 of Resolution 46/2016 of the Ministry of Transport defines as users with social attributes: a) Retirees and / or pensioners. b) Beneficiaries of Universal Assignment by Child. c) Beneficiaries of the Pregnancy Allowance. d) Beneficiaries of the Heads of Household Program. e) Domestic Work Personnel. f) Veterans of the Malvinas War. g) Beneficiaries of the "Argentine Student Support Program" (PROGRESAR). h) Beneficiaries of the "Social Income with Work Program" i) Beneficiaries of Non-Contributory Pensions. j) Social monotributistas registered in the National Registry

lower fares than the full rate²⁹. This payment system will also propiciate the future implementation of tariff integration. The SUBE smart card service has eliminated the need to collect, count and transport cash payments for each trip, and at has decreased the time users need to access transport, while providing greater security and practicality, since cash is not required. Using the transactional information of the users, it is possible to better plan the system and monitor the performance and compliance of the operators.

Figure 4. Minimum rate for each public mode in AMBA (in USD)



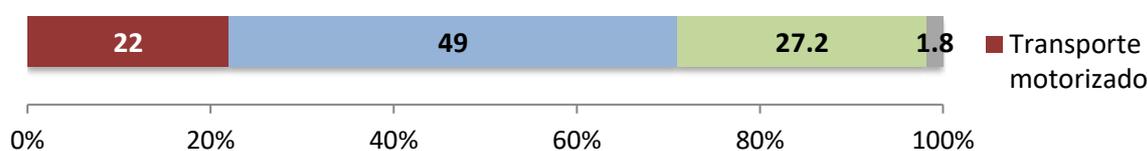
Source: Own elaboration. In base CNRT, 2018

Since 2009, the City of Buenos Aires (CABA) public works has been systematically improving safe cyclist infrastructure (segregated from the rest of the traffic) and by 2017 this has reached a total of 195 kilometers³⁰. In 2010, the public bicycle system "EcoBici" was also put into operation in CABA, and it currently has 200 stations and 2,500 bicycles. The design of both projects is aligned with the provisions of Law 2586 of 2007 and, since 2011, the Sustainable Mobility Plan, a tool that guides action on mobility in the CABA. The latter has 4 strategic axes: i) priority for public transport, ii) protection of the environment, iii) promotion of non-polluting modes and mobility on foot and iv) safe mobility.

DAILY MOBILITY IN AMBA FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

According to the ENMODO, of the 19 million daily trips from AMBA, 49% are made on public transport, which includes those made on metropolitan trains, subway and urban buses; 22% are trips by private car and motorcycle (motorized transport); 27.2% represent trips on foot and by bicycle (non-motorized transport); and 1.8% in other modes (such as: school transport, company/firm transport, etc.).

Figure 5. Modal distribution. Total AMBA (in%)



Source: ENMODO 2009-2010. Own elaboration

The urban bus (locally called "Colectivo") is the most used public transport by far, and in the City of Buenos Aires almost 9 out of 10 trips per day and in Greater Buenos Aires (GBA) almost 8 out of 10- are made on buses³¹. The second most used mode in CABA is the subway, while in the GBA it is the Metropolitan Trains (Railway)).

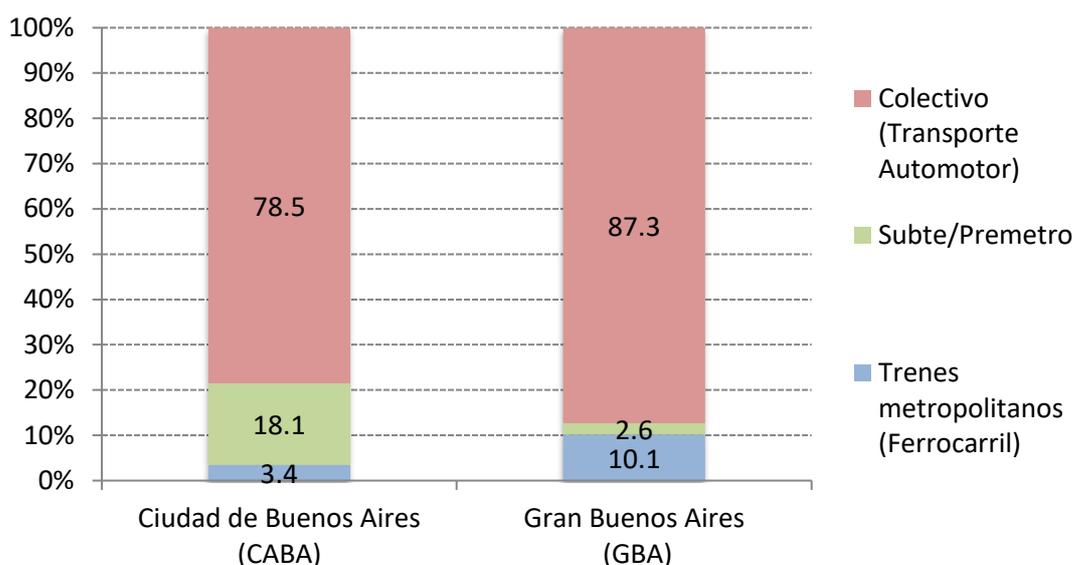
of Local Development and Social Economy Effectors (REDLES), k) Other beneficiaries that will be established in the future.

²⁹Source: CNRT

³⁰Source: GCBA

³¹ From the total of trips made on public transport.

Figure 6. Daily trips on public transport in CABA and GBA.
Distribution according to grouped public mode grouped (in %)



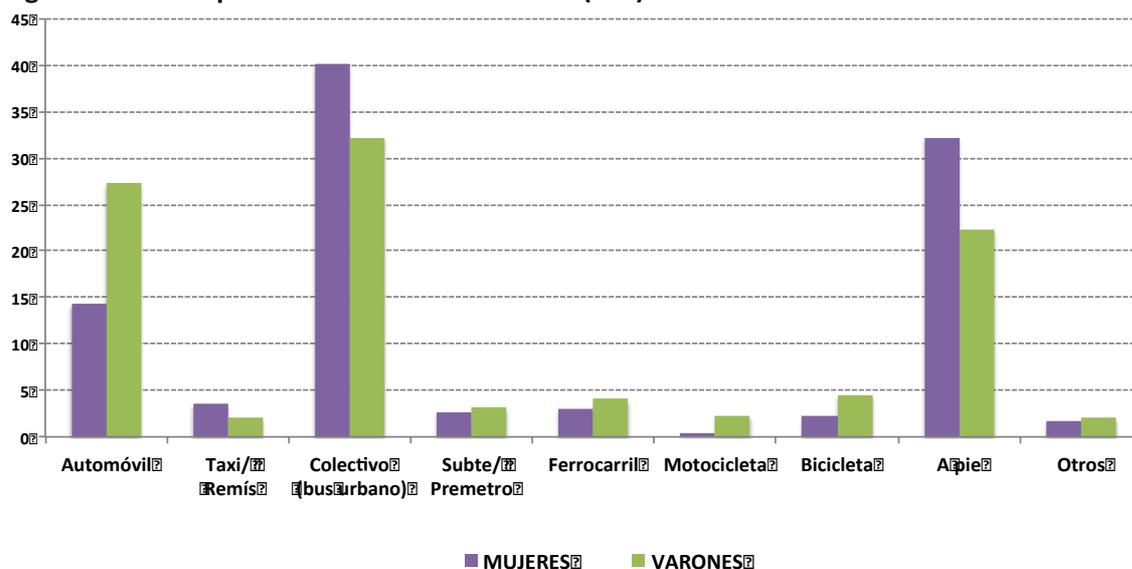
Source: ENMODO 2009-2010. Own elaboration

However women average more trips (2.44) than men (2.30). It is also observed that the average duration of travel between women and men is quite similar (33.23 and 36.91 minutes, respectively).

Furthermore, women mainly use public transport (almost 50% of their trips are made on buses, train or subway) and non-motorized modes (one third of their trips, are on foot) to travel and access to goods and services offered by the city.

From another perspective, with respect to the total trips made in AMBA in public transport, 54% correspond to women and 46% to men. This contrasts with the trips made by car (by sex of driver), which is only 24% for female compared to 76% of male drivers.

Figure 7. Modal Split. Women and men. AMBA (in%)



Source: ENMODO 2009-2010. Own elaboration

Those different travel patterns observed between women and men may suggest constraints that impact the scope of women's mobility. On the one hand, the high use of public modes implies

that women depend to a greater extent on the fixed routes of public transport and, therefore, they are exposed to less flexibility offered by the limited nature of a public transport system. And on the other hand, the high proportion of trips on foot (about a third of women's trips³²) can also be interpreted as a restricted transport horizon in terms of distance, and therefore opportunities available to them.

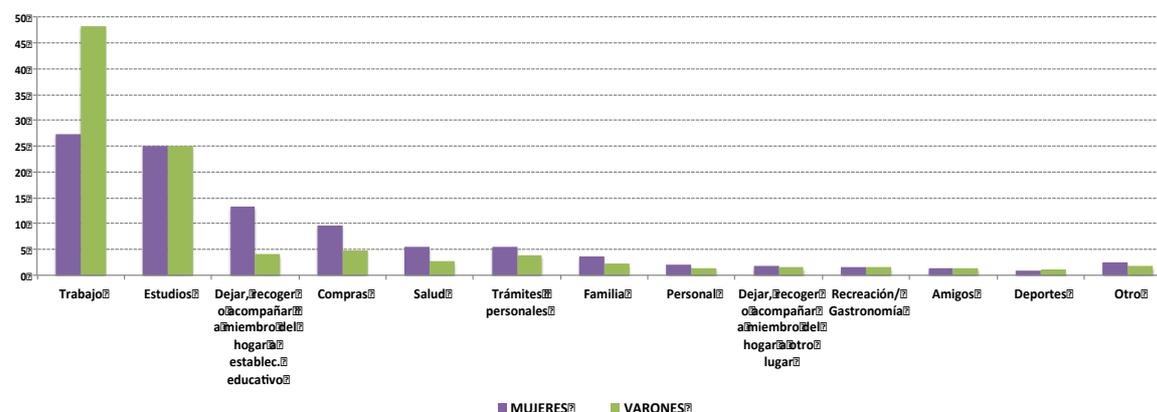
What about those who does not travel?

32% of the total of economically active women of the agglomerate (between 14 and 65 years old) say that they do not travel³³, and the reason most often mentioned as a cause of non-displacement is that they "do not work". Among men who do not travel (26%), this reason represents 13% of the mentions.

This to some extent was reflected in the Ella Se Mueve Study results of the interception surveys where education and work were the primary reasons for taking public transport in both Buenos Aires and Quito. Looking at those that do not travel researching and understanding why this is so, is a topic of future interest.

Of the total trips made by women in the AMBA, half are for work (27%) and study (25%), while more than 7 out of 10 trips made by men (48% work and 25% study) of the total surveyed (Figure 2). The third reason for travel among women is to leave or pick someone from home or an educational establishment, which is most likely to be a school (13% of the total of travel made by women). On the other hand, the third reason for men was to make purchases (4.9% of the total of travel made by men).

Figure 8. Reason for travel. Women and men. Total AMBA (in%)



Source: ENMODO 2009-2010. Own elaboration

Travel reasons for both men and women respond closely to their social and cultural roles exercised. Thus, the mobility needs of people and its use also indicate the inequalities that are evident in society, and reflect the tradition gender-based stereotypes with women taking on the double, or triple burden, of reproductive and economic roles and men predominantly fulfilling the economic role. This highlights the importance of incorporating social diversity and the specificity of the different social profiles affected [and impacted] by public policies (Anapolsky et al, 2012) on mobility and transport. Indeed as social structures and family compositions change this may no change from being an issue grounded in gender – but women are caught up in a destructive circle of being both time and income poor, and not being able to break out (to a large extent) because of transport and urban design inefficiencies and, in many cases as is shown later in the section on results, concerns over security.

³² Source ENMODO 2009-2010

³³ ENMODO Survey considers the period reference for conducting a trip: the day immediately prior to the survey.

4.3 Recent transport improvements in Buenos Aires

The transport system in the City of Buenos Aires has undergone a number of improvements in recent years, particularly implementing Metrobus corridors and transforming dozens of blocks in city center into a pedestrian-friendly environment, encouraging walking and cycling. In 2014 it was the winner of the ITDP (Institute for Transportation and Development Policy) 9th annual Sustainable Transport Award.

THE METROBUS SYSTEM

Metrobus is one of the most emblematic recent measures implemented in AMBA. It consists mainly of a system that combines pre-existing urban buses with segregated infrastructure, to help bus/traffic circulation and promote the use of public transport. Initially, it was implemented in the central city district (CABA): with the first lines inaugurated in May 2011, (Avenida Juan B. Justo, located in the northern area of the city). The system was expanded and currently the Metrobus is a major element of the network that connects city center with the rest of the metropolitan area. New Metrobus lines in municipalities such as: Vicente López and La Matanza, and currently several more corridors into other municipalities of AMBA are planned.

Its objective is to reduce travel time, increase reliability and contribute to road safety. With the construction of Metrobus stations and infrastructure, there is an implicit opportunity to improve the quality of the public space, which includes general renovation, the revaluation of sidewalks and lighting improvements. In general, Metrobus has been positively received by the users, and the decrease in travel time is the best evaluated indicator. According to the latest report on the results of the Survey of Users of Metrobus Juan B. Justo (CNRT, 2016), those aspects with a high positive rating are: the (better) behaviour of drivers and time savings. These results are replicated in the evaluation carried out by CNRT in the Metrobus corridor of 9 de Julio Avenue, that inaugurated in 2013.

Scheme 2. Spontaneous evaluation of factors associated with the AMBA Metrobus System



Source: Focus Groups - Ella se mueve segura - AMBA

According to the information on Metrobus gathered during "Ella se mueve segura" Focus Groups, factors perceived as positive by users align with the information in the CNRT surveys. However, among the most mentioned negative aspects:

- in the stations/stops, certain bus lines are too far apart and at night -when the frequency is reduced- the station/stop design does not allow users to choose among lines, given the distances between the platforms. Some women users mention feeling "trapped" by the design, because in case they need to "run" because of an incident/harassment "you can not go quickly to the street or run to a shop ", as you can with traditional bus stops on streets,

- ii) The (perceived) absence of security in the stations,
- iii) Some users express having to walk more, due to the distance between stations.

The CNRT surveys show that, in the Metrobus corridors there are a high proportion of women who use Metrobus (6 out of 10 users are women). These statistics are above those shown by ENMODO, which only shows that women users of the collective in AMBA are around 56% of the total users.

4.4 Legal and institutional context of security and women

The Constitution of the Province of Buenos Aires, amended in 1994, indicates in its Article 36 that the province will promote the elimination of economic, social or any other obstacles that affect or impede the exercise of constitutional rights and guarantees. Social rights are recognized in paragraph 4: *'that every woman has the right not to be discriminated because of her sex, to equal opportunities, special protection during pregnancy and lactation, and working conditions must allow compliance of its essential family function'*. In this respect, the Province should promote policies of assistance to the single mother, head of household.

For its part, the Constitution of the City of Buenos Aires (1996), in its Article 38, urges the City to incorporate a gender perspective into the design and execution of its public policies and participatory drafting of an Equality Plan between men and women. Among the specific points of attention is that the Constitution is aimed at "the prevention of [the] physical, psychological and sexual violence against women and [to] provides specialized care services."

It is also noteworthy that both the City of Buenos Aires (CABA) and the Province of Buenos Aires (PBA) have specific legislation through which they ratify and adhere to the National Law 26.485. Both jurisdictions also have specific legislation referring to the obligation to incorporate a gender perspective into a conceptual framework for the training of police officers (Law 14.876 of 2016) in the PBA. In the City of Buenos Aires, this vision is broadened (according to Law 5.688, 2016), to include training on human rights, guarantees and anti-discrimination for city police officers, including the control agents for transit and transportation.

CABA has a legal framework with specific regulations (Law 474, 2000), which calls on the incorporation of the gender perspective in the design of public policies and the preparation of statistics and information. In its Article 18 called "The city and women", there are recommendations for policies and concrete actions to guide this perspective. This includes decentralization, design and construction of public space, infrastructure social, administrative services and transportation as part of the formulation and management of urban policies.

Since 2015, the City of Buenos Aires has progressed with respect to a specific legislation for "Street Harassment" (Law 5.306), which stipulates actions and information sharing campaigns to make visible, denaturalize and eradicate this type of violence that mainly affects women. In December 2016 the Legislature of the City of Buenos Aires passed the Law 5.742 of **"Prevention of sexual harassment in public spaces or public access"** using the definition provided in Law 5.306 (2015), to define "Sexual Harassment in public or public access spaces". The purpose of this new law is to prevent and punish harassment, whether verbal or physical, that harasses, mistreats or intimidates and affects, in general, dignity, freedom, freedom of movement and the right to physical or mental integrity of people, based on their condition of gender, identity and / or sexual orientation.

Legal definition of "Sexual Harassment in public spaces or public access"

All those "physical or verbal behaviors of a sexual nature or connotation, based on gender, identity and / or sexual orientation, performed by one or more persons against another or others, who do not wish or reject these behaviors as they affect their dignity , their fundamental rights such as freedom, integrity and free transit, creating in them intimidation, hostility, degradation, humiliation or an offensive environment in public spaces and in private spaces of public access "

Law 5.742 of "Prevention of sexual harassment in public spaces or public access", City of Buenos Aires

Both jurisdictions have organizations dedicated to the promotion of equal opportunities and treatment between women and men in their organizational charts. While in the PBA the **"Undersecretariat of Gender and Sexual Diversity"** is under the Secretariat of Human Rights, while in the CABA the **"General Directorate of Women"**, depends on the Undersecretariat of Social Promotion (Ministry of Habitat and Development Human).

| Jurisdictional scope | Institutional framework and security force |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| City of Buenos Aires | <p>Ministry of Security and Justice</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• City Police <p>Created in 2008. Since 2015 , the city police exercises the power of security in non-federal matters, in the territory of the CABA.</p> <p>It has a Gender Policy Superintendence with the objective to eradicate family violence, the care and protection of the victim, as well as the prevention of violence and the clarification of intrafamilial crimes and against sexual integrity.</p> <p>It plans, coordinates and supervises the tasks requested by the justice to clarify such crimes and seeks to institutionalize gender equity approaches across the entire body of the City Police and its subordinate dependencies.</p> <p>It functions through a headquarters and 3 communal commissariats. It also has a Gender violence Brigade with 300 female agents, to attend to and protect people involved in violence. That said it is more focussed on domestic violence and violence in the public space (but its mandate covers incidents on public transport).</p> |
| Province of Buenos Aires (PBA) | <p>Ministry of Security</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• General Directorate for the Coordination of Gender Policies <p>It implements its actions through the Women and Family Police Stations, and orients its work towards the prevention and care of victims of gender violence.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Police of the Province of Buenos Aires are composed of 3 institutions: the Departmental Security Police, the Investigative Police in judicial function and the Road Safety Police. They integrate at provincial level on public security, to be able to intervene in a preventive, dissuasive and / or through the effective use of force, to protect the rights of the provinces' citizens . <p>Since 2015, it has a Superintendency of Gender Policies that operates through the 128 Women and Family Commissions and 34 Offices for Attention to Victims of Violence. It has 2,100 personnel trained and specialized in the subject.</p> |
| National Level | <p>The Ministry of Security</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Directorate for the Execution of Gender and Diversity Policies whose objective is to ensure the mainstreaming of the gender perspective within the Ministry.• National Gendarmerie and Naval Prefecture: both forces provide security on station platforms of all the rail lines in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires. |

Training for police personnel:

Both Police forces for Gender Policy (of CABA and PBA) provide training to current and future members of this division (police, administrative and management personnel). The Superintendency in PBA provides training organized in two phases: i) Psychosocial Area and ii) Legal and Self-care Area and preventive support.

In CABA training: i) mandatory, which are carried out within the first six months since the police personnel is assigned to the Superintendency and aim to deepen knowledge, raise awareness and eliminate prejudices in relation to the gender theme; and ii) eventual, by the Division of Sensitization and Awareness in Gender Policies, where the topics are defined to optimize work performance.

5. ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA - BUENOS AIRES PROJECT

The information available in studies and surveys of mobility and transport generally allow characterizing and differentiating travel patterns of women and men. The availability of information to demonstrate this difference in daily mobility patterns is a valuable element for planning and managing mobility. In fact, until the ENMODO carried out their studies in the years 2009-2010, the only official information available to characterize the mobility of households in the agglomerate came from the Preliminary Transport Study of the Metropolitan Region (EPTRM), carried out in 1972.

However, even with this relevant information, it is restricted in its capacity to describe in depth the daily travel experiences of women and men. And in particular, it is limited to understand the perceptions of users of the transport system as well as unmet needs, preferences and mobility capabilities. This is because traditional transport surveys are based mainly on the use of quantitative methodologies that, when applied in isolation, are not able to cover in depth any subjective aspects, perceptions and opinions, and in terms of people perceptions of security this is precisely the information that is needed in order to develop policies, measures and programs to address this issue.

OBJECTIVES "SHE MOVES SAFE" IN AMBA:

1. To investigate the daily mobility habits of women in the AMBA based on the primary collection of qualitative and quantitative information.
2. Give visibility to the concerns men and women have about their personal security when using public transport as part of their daily mobility and to study the implications of this on women's opportunities to realize their rights as citizens.
3. To influence the incorporation of gender perspectives into the planning and management of transport and cities.
4. Collaborate in the articulation between sectors and social actors, supporting the creation of a network that favour the elaboration of responses and integral solutions to the problem of violence experienced by women users of public transport.

The study "She moves safe" was funded by FIA Foundation and CAF (Development Bank of Latin America) and was developed in parallel in three cities in Latin America: Buenos Aires, Quito and Santiago de Chile. The Buenos Aires study team had the academic support of the Transportation and Territory Program, belonging to the Institute of Geography of the University of Buenos Aires (UBA). The study was carried out between the end of 2016 and December 2017.

5.1 Methodological Strategy

The study methodology was based on the integration of quantitative and qualitative techniques. The objective of this methodological proposal was to achieve a robust approach to a complex phenomenon of great social sensitivity.

It was sought, on the one hand, to measure from a quantitative description, the current situation of the aggressions experienced daily by women and men who use the public transport system in the AMBA. Qualitative techniques were used to deepen the knowledge of the dimensions of insecurity, providing a "voice" to the social agent of the daily mobility, exploring the specificities of the user and groups of users, and exploring and analyzing -through the Interpretivist Paradigm- their personal experiences, skills, potential for change, restrictions and obstacles.

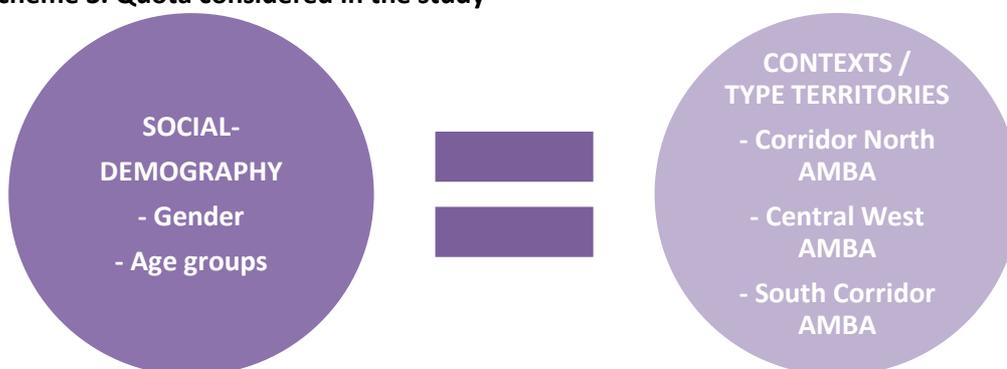
5.2 Quantitative techniques

INTERCEPTION SURVEY

The "She Moves Safely" Survey in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires (AMBA), consisted of an interception survey³⁴ that was conducted on women and men who use public transportation.

The survey consisted of a non-probabilistic sampling of 816 cases (male and female). In this type of sampling the selection of the sample is not random but based on specific selection criteria. For this reason, criteria for quotas were established for the sample design, because it constitutes the most elaborate type of non-probabilistic sampling (Argibay, 2009). The basic assumption is that with the conjunction of all quotas, an image of the whole reality is obtained (Pimienta Lastra, 2000). Each quota implies obtaining a sample that is relatively proportional to the population, as long as these are established considering the different segments that make it up and the research variables.

Scheme 3. Quota considered in the study



³⁴ The method used to carry out these surveys is the interception of passengers on board on public transport vehicles (in situ) or at their stops. These types of surveys are mainly used to gather information about the origin and destination of the trips, as well as the characteristics of the users. These are short surveys and are carried out at a point that intercepts the displacements.

The estimation of the proportion of the quotas was made based on the known distribution of the study variables, according to secondary information sources. For this purpose, information was mainly considered using the ENMODO (2009/2010) and the Urban Transport Research of Buenos Aires (INTRUPUBA, 2007)³⁵.

- **Socio- Demographical quotas: Gender**

Of total of people living in the AMBA and who made trips, according to data from ENMODO, 50% correspond to women (4.208.452) and 50% to men (4.133.324). Using this, similar quotas were established for women and men: 408 cases for each gender group.

- **Socio- Demographical quotas: Groups age**

Taking as a basis the information of the ENMODO, two population pyramids were elaborated: a pyramid of the total population of AMBA and a pyramid of the population of AMBA that makes trips, in order to observe the distribution in both population groups. In the pyramid referring to the population that travels, a narrowing was observed in the population 65+ years old, both among males and females. Therefore the quotas were established, using two age ranges for men and women:

| |
|--|
| 18 a 40 years old : 408 cases (204 men/ 204 women) |
| Over 41 years old : 408 cases (204 men / 204 women) |

Due to the sensitivity³⁶ of the questions included in the survey it was decided to survey people aged 18 and over.

- **Contexts / territories type quotas: North, west and south AMBA corridors**

According to the INTRUPUBA on the flow of passengers in the AMBA through interchange hubs, it is observed that the daily passengers going through the hubs (IH) of Retiro, Once and Constitución constitute 12% of the total of passenger flows mobilized daily in IH in the agglomerate.

| INTERCHANGE HUBS | Total daily passengers |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Retiro | 233.852 |
| Once | 286.770 |
| Constitución | 392.455 |

Source: INTRUPUBA, 2007

The selection of the three major interchange hubs based on the assumption that they would capture trips carried out between the three main territorial corridors of the AMBA: north, west, south and that connect with the City of Buenos Aires (CABA). They are among the top five AMBA IH.

The definition of quotas ensured that the survey included the variations and interactions in daily mobility patterns between the three corridors and with the CABA. The research objective of the

³⁵ The Urban Transport Research of Buenos Aires (INTRUPUBA) has been carried out by the Nation's Transportation Secretariat during the years 2006 and 2007. The study presents the results corresponding to the trips made in all modes of Public Transportation (Railroad, Subway, Premetro and Urban Bus/Colectivo).

³⁶ And respecting international guidelines to interviewing adolescents and children (under 18 years old)

study was to capture users' travel experiences and perceptions and the diversity of any occurrences of harassment, insecurity or petty crime within the last twelve months on all public transport modes.

Tabla 3. Sample by quotas established in the study

| INTERCHANGE HUBS | | | Retiro | Once | Constitución | TOTAL |
|------------------|-------|-------------------|--------|------|--------------|-------|
| TOTAL | | | 272 | 272 | 272 | 816 |
| GENDER | WOMEN | 18 a 40 years old | 136 | 136 | 136 | |
| | | Over 41 years old | | | | |
| | MEN | 18 a 40 years old | 136 | 136 | 136 | |
| | | Over 41 years old | | | | |

The survey questionnaire had a total of 36 questions, 34 closed and 2 open questions. It was divided into 3 modules: i) Sociodemographic, ii) Daily mobility, iii) Perception of public transport. Each respondent was asked to answer the 36 questions and 4 optional questions requiring contact information so they could be invited to participate in the qualitative survey stage of the study, especially the Focal Groups, should they wish to be contacted.

The survey was conducted in paper format and the average survey time was between 5 and 7 minutes. The interviewers also carried rank cards to answer specific questions. For example: the question referred to the total income of the household or those referred to qualify the public transport system according to scales.

The survey was undertaken between December 13th and 30th 2016, with the exception of the Christmas period. There were 4 time slots for the survey that were previously defined: 2 waves during peak hours and 2 waves in off-peak hours.

The team was composed of a total of 10 interviewers: 7 women and 3 men. All were previously trained and participated in both the final survey and the pilot test. During the whole survey they wore on identifying badges and all the equipment was covered with personal accident insurance.



After the process of editing and entering data and debugging the data base, there were a total of 790 effective surveys. Of this total, 410 male and 379 female and 1 that corresponded to a person who does not recognize himself as a man or as a woman, a category foreseen in the questionnaire.

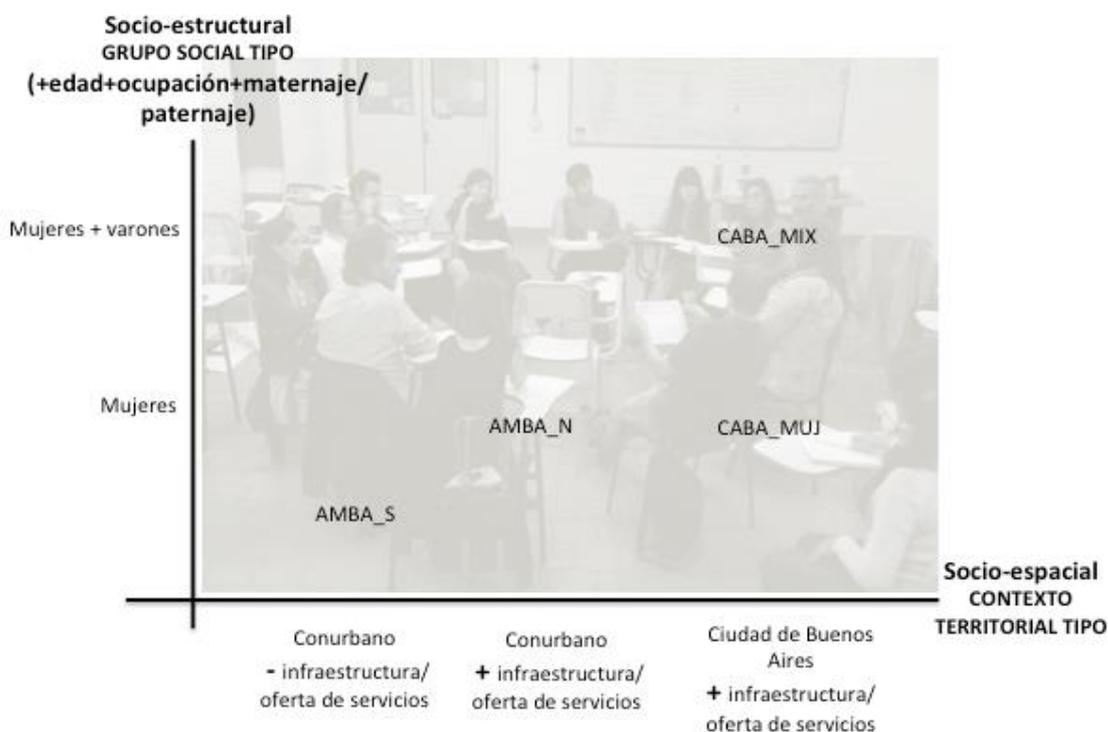
5.3 Qualitative techniques

FOCUS GROUPS

As part of the common methodology of the study, at least three focus groups of women public transport users and a mixed group (men and women) were undertaken. The methodological design of the Focal Groups Discussions (FGD) followed a typological, socio-structural representation, in accordance with the research purposes, rather than a statistical representation. For this reason, the teams of each city, slightly adapted the FCGs to reflect their local needs.

For the recruitment of the FGD in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires (AMBA), two typological axes were considered to ensure the heterogeneity of the participants: i) socio-structural, following social group types for women and men. And within each group, the participation of profiles according to age, occupation, mothering / paternity of girls and boys under 15 was assured, in order to ensure the heterogeneity in the coverage; ii) socio-spatial, assuming "territorial contexts type" with different levels of infrastructure and urban services, in order to capture the diversity of economic, social and spatial situations present in the AMBA.

Scheme 4 Focus Groups according to Axes of heterogeneity



Originally the methodological approach provided the realization of three FGD: one mixed (men and women) in the City of Buenos Aires (CABA) and two women only groups composed of residents in North AMBA and South AMBA. After the CABA (mixed) group, the study team felt that they should deepen their inquiry about the insecurity experiences in urban transportation of women, and establish if the presence of men had an impact on the dynamics of the group. Therefore, a new group was added only for women residents of CABA.

In total, 33 users of public transport participated in the qualitative stage: 28 women and 5 men. 17 of them were residents of CABA and 16 of the localities of the Conurbano.

Tabla 4. Participants according to Axes of heterogeneity

| Profile | City of Buenos Aires (CABA) | Conurbano | Total |
|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Women | 12 | 16 | 28 |
| Men | 5 | - | 5 |
| Total | 17 | 16 | 33 |

This typological sampling strategy encouraged conversations among the participants that showed differences between the areas of the city and differing perceptions of security on public transport.

FOCUS GROUPS



IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

For the design of the interviews, a map of key social actors which a variety of stakeholders with past, current and / or potential links with the theme (mobility / transport, gender or both) and its level of interest and influence. A typological framework was preliminarily established, that included the public and private sectors, civil society organizations and academia.

From this map, the key social actors to be interviewed were identified and contacted. The tentative list was validated and updated during the project with the Advisory Council. Council members also suggested key actors to be considered and collaborated in providing contact information for some of these actors.

And because the qualitative sampling strategy always implies a logical process, it was relevant to ensure during the implementation itself -both of the focus groups and the interviews- the theoretical saturation of the dimensions and categories that were sought to research. The interpretation of information during the qualitative stage needed to be carried out simultaneously during the implementation, transcription and analysis stages. Thus, although the number of focus groups and interviews to be carried out was defined prior to the beginning of the investigation, the focus groups and interview list of people to interview was revised and adjusted as progress was made in the survey and interpretation of the data.

5.4 The role of the Advisory Council

In Buenos Aires, the composition of the Council sought to ensure:

- i) A balance between participants with work experience in gender, transport and mobility issues, and those that are linked in an articulated manner with both topics.
- ii) Representation by all sectors involved in the decisions that are or could be linked to respond and provide solutions to the problem of women's insecurity in public transport. For this reason, actors from public and private sectors including credit agencies, academia and civil society were involved.

One of the priorities was to maintain this balance (and variety of interests and perspectives) in the participation in successive meetings. The public sector and the Academy were the two sectors with the highest attendance at the Council meetings held.

Another important aspect to highlight is that in the beginning, the council attendance was aimed at attracting high profile / senior level decision makers. In reality, their attendance was only achieved intermittently in the meetings. It also sought to convene particularly representatives of private sector (mainly operators) in order to ensure the representation of all sectors. However, although the participation of public operators was achieved, the participation of private companies was limited.

MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE ASESOR COUNCIL

- Review and validate the information collected in the project
- Participate in the design and revision of the Tool Set (Tool Kit)
- Support the organization of the Participatory Workshop and the International Seminar

One of the main findings from the Advisory Council meetings is that currently there is no platform for working in an articulated way between the areas of mobility, transport, security and gender. The experience in this study suggests that it could be fruitful to create such a platform of exchange.

From the meetings of the Council, a network of contacts was also generated that was very important and used to strengthen the Council itself, adding relevant social actor and opening the way for future stages of work articulated among the members of the Council.

1º Advisory Council Meeting 20/04/2017



2º Advisory Council Meeting 08/06/2017



5.5 Results of the study

Traveling is considered by both women and men as "the worst part of the day." From the survey, 61% of users perceive that the quality of public transport service is between regular and very bad. But traveling is a necessity, and the association of "the obligation" of using transport in certain hours (that cannot be chosen) on fixed routes, links in some way the travel experience with a whole series of negative sensations. It generates stress and frustration. It creates a social climate perceived as *ugly* and tortuous, where each person does what he or she wants (or what they can) in order to make their displacement effective, as if it were *the law of the jungle* or a *hell*.

Scheme 5. How is the experience of traveling in public transport in AMBA?



Source: Focus Groups. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-2017*

More than half of the AMBA respondents (52%), both women and men, would prefer to make their current trip – now being made by public transport - in another mode. And of these, 45% would choose to travel by car. Among women, after the car, their second stated preference would be to switch to taxi (if they could).

The major reason why they would prefer to change both women and men is because: it is more *comfortable* (43%); or *faster, safer, more direct / more convenient*; the main reasons mentioned by 89% of the respondents. It is also noteworthy that 7 out of 10 of those who said that the reason why they would change the mode of public transport is safety, were women.

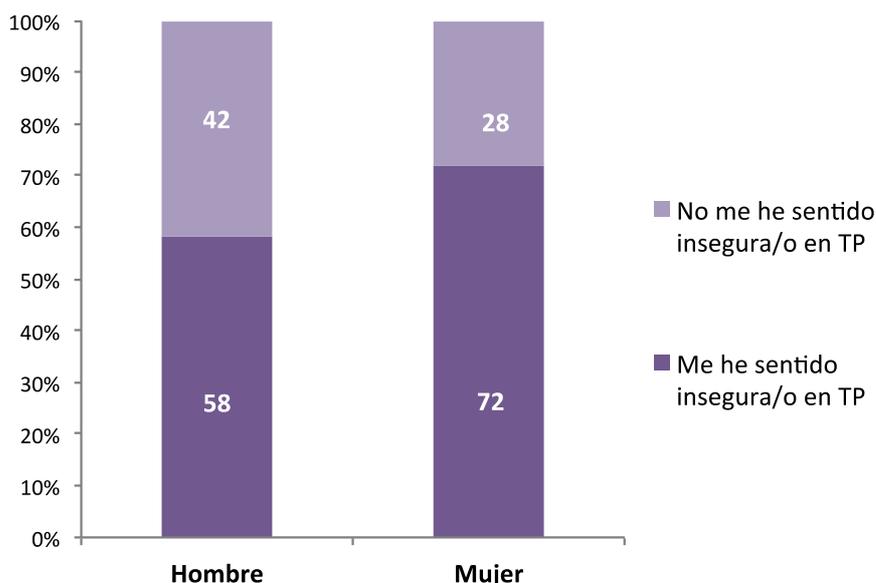
- **Insecurity in public transport: a complex phenomenon**

*... "It is normalized, I mean, when you are already on the street and they shout at you all kind of stuff, why is not the same thing happening on public transport? If there is total impunity to be told by any dirty word "... (Woman Testimony. Focus Group, *Ella se Mueve Segura 2016-2017*).*

From the total of 790 survey respondents, 64% (men and women) have felt insecure in public transport in the last 12 months. This varied according to the corridors of the agglomerate: the south is where this feeling is the strongest (38%), followed by the northern corridor (21.4%), the City of Buenos Aires (20.4%) and the least in the west corridor (20.2%).

When analysing this perception according to gender, more women (72%) said they felt insecure, compared to 58% of male users.

Figure 9. Perception of insecurity in AMBA public transport, by gender. In percentages

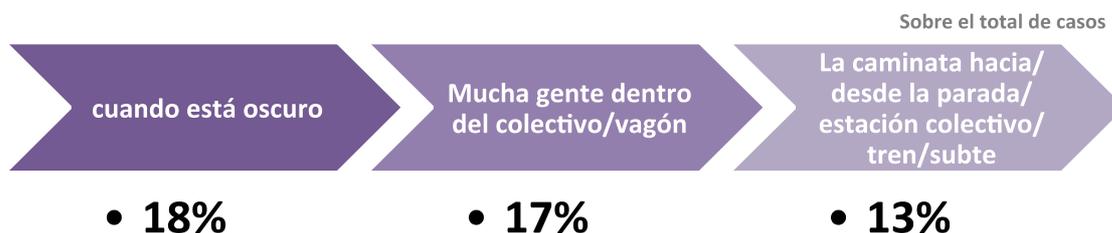


Source: Survey. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own elaboration*

Differences were also observed among women themselves, according to motherhood, age and level of household income where they live. Among women users with children under 15 years old, the feeling of insecurity in public transport was high (78%). At the same time, from those women who claim to have felt insecure, 60% are between 18 and 40 years old. In addition, this is decreases as income increases – from the study 36% belong to households with the lowest level of income (less than 9.000 Argentinian pesos per month) compared to 14%, of women who live in households with the highest income in the sample (more than 20.001 Argentinian pesos per month).

Three aspects emerged that generate the greatest feelings of insecurity when traveling on public transport and were most mentioned by the users surveyed and users in the FCGs. When it is dark (18%), when there are a lot of people inside the bus or train carriage (16%) and the walk to or from the bus stop/station of the subway or train (13%). Altogether, they represent 48% of the mentions.

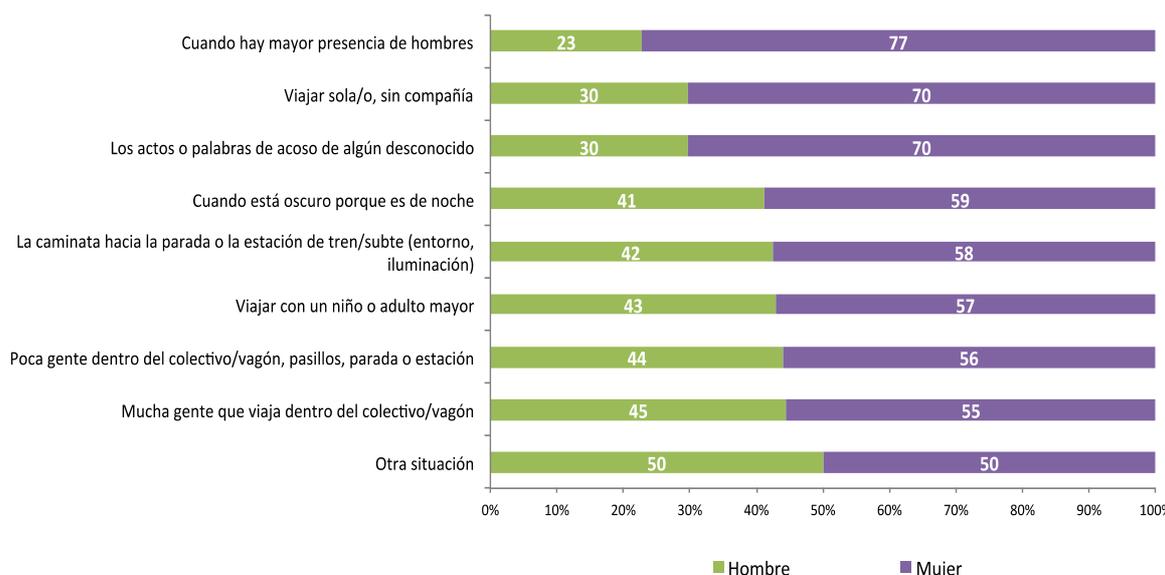
Scheme 6. Most mentioned concerns of public transport users



Source: Survey. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own elaboration*

However, there were differences between men and women surveyed. Women in mentioned the following more often than men: acts or words of harassment, the presence of a lot of men and traveling alone.

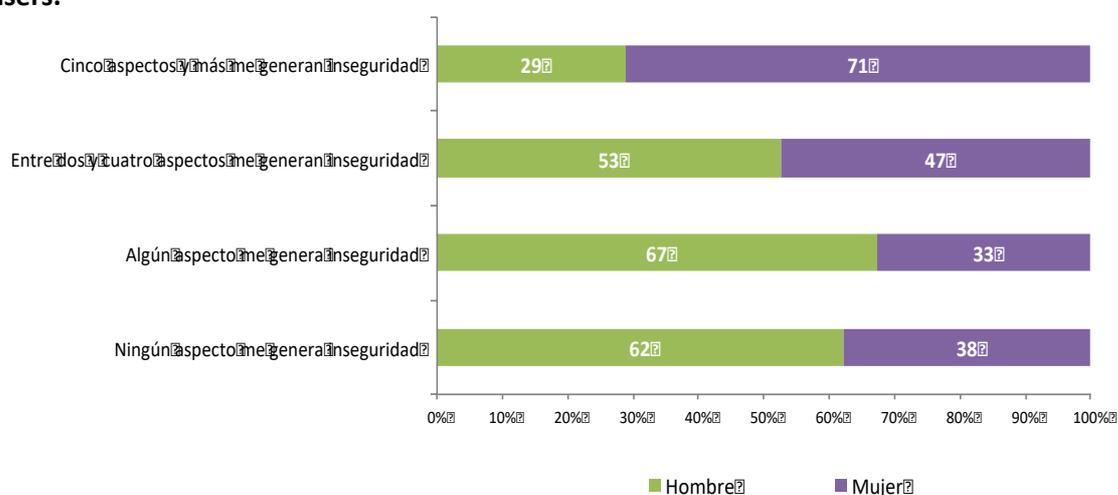
Figure 10. Aspects that generate a greater sense of insecurity among public transport users.



Source: Survey. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own elaboration*

Women are more concerned about a greater number of aspects that generate feelings of insecurity when traveling on public transport, than men. 6 out of 10 male users were not worried about any aspect in particular while 7 out of 10 female users cited five or more aspects.

Figure 11. Number of aspects that generate feelings of insecurity among public transport users.



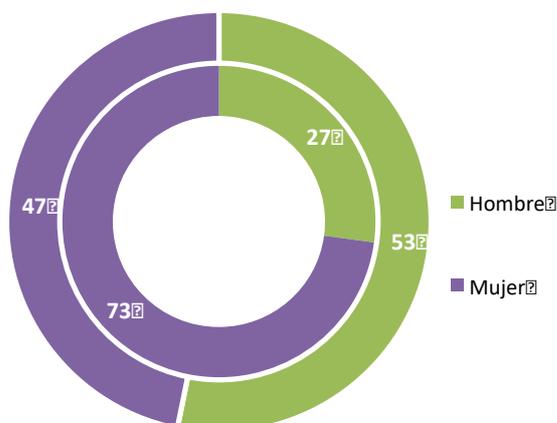
Source: Survey. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own elaboration*

The survey and focus groups addressed insecurity by differentiating the perception of victimization of women and men users. In both cases, insecurity in public transport referred to two major groups of aggressions: those linked to robberies and fights, and harassment.

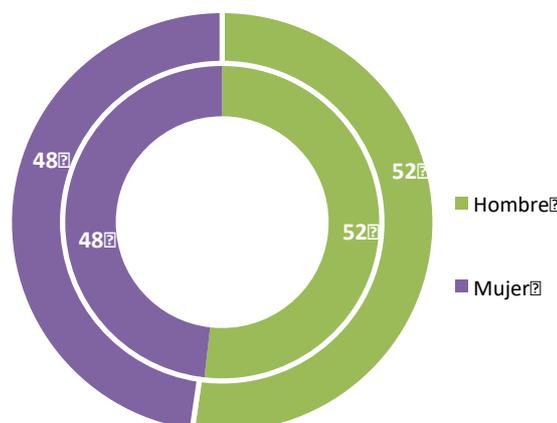
Figure 12 shows the results of the survey. These indicate that the majority of all public transport users saw situations of robbery and/or fights and harassment on their trips during the last year. 86% claim to have seen some situation of theft or a fight, and 71% harassment situations. Men tend to see "see" or "witness" incidents of harassment 53% compared to 47% for women, while women experience harassment significantly more frequently than men (73% compared to 27%). Similarly men experience slightly more robbery and fights 52% compared to 48% for women.

Figure 12. Situations of insecurity SEEN (external ring) and EXPERIENCED (internal ring) in public transport during the last 12 months (in %).

Situations of harassment



Situations of robberies and fights



Source: Survey. ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own elaboration

In regard to the events experienced, robberies or fights similarly affect both men and women: from the total of 28% of users who have experienced a situation of theft or fight in public transport during the last year, 48 % are women. Situations include robbery/ theft without weapons and without violence (59%), robbery with weapons (17%), fights with blows (7%), insults or fights with shouts, and without blows (17%).

- Insecurity and situations of harassment in public transport**

... "Because the abuse is not that they rape someone, abuse is that a guy approaches a woman without consent" ...

Male Testimony. Focus Groups, Ella se Mueve Segura 2016-2017

Survey results shows that 153 from the 379 women surveyed have experienced some form of harassment in public transport in the AMBA during the last year. Results also indicates that 90% of those who experienced two or more situations of harassment in public transport are women, showing that they are also more likely to suffer from re-victimization.

However, only 44% of women who saw or experienced situations of harassment on public transport reported what happened: to the police (34% of those who reported incidents), 32% made a complaint to the driver or some employee of the transport operator company, 24% complained to the other passengers and 9% only told relatives. More than half of the women did not report or tell anybody what had happened, not even to people close to them.

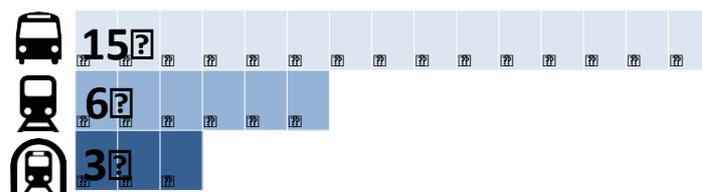
Typical examples of harassment cited in the survey that people had experienced or seen over the past 12 months include the following:

- 1) a passenger saying obscene / rude words of a sexual nature (32%);
- 2) a passenger fondling or touching the body in a sexual way (26%);
- 3) a passenger taking pictures of the body without consent (5%);
- 4) a passenger showing or displaying his genitals (6%);
- 5) a feeling that another passenger was following them (30%).

From the focus group discussions, where people talked about all experiences (and not only those from the previous 12 months), the main typologies identified were: fondling or touching the body of the body, the display of genitals, obscene words, lascivious looks, and whispers.

The 24 situations of harassment reported during the focus groups occurred on board public transport (except for one case when it occurred when the women user was transferring from one mode of transport to another). They occurred under different and numerous circumstances: the vehicle was full or almost empty, at early morning, during the day or night, when traveling seated or stand, alone or with their children, relatives or friends. This would indicate that victimization situations and feelings of insecurity take place under more numerous and general circumstances than the most mentioned (compare Scheme 5). Likewise, the urban bus (Colectivo) emerges as the mode on which the most situations of harassment were experienced (Scheme 6). From this study it would appear that women are five times more likely to experience harassment of some kind while taking the bus compared to taking the subway (Subte). It is likely that this is, at least in part to the fact that it is the most used transport by women in the AMBA, although it should also be noted that the Subway can get extremely crowded during peak times, creating the opportunities for harassment (and pickpocketing) to occur.

Scheme 7. Number of harassment situations expressed by women, according to the means of transport of occurrence



Source: Focus Groups. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own Elaboration.*

The most frequent reaction of women to this type of aggression is to "leave": i.e. to move to another seat, to the other side of the car, to another car, or even to descend from the mode of transport where they are travelling. Scheme 7 shows that the number of mentions decreases with the public exposure of the victim and the active involvement of the other passengers, to the point when the driver and/or other passengers are averted to the situation.

Scheme 8. Reactions of women facing situations of harassment, experienced in public transport



Source: Focus Groups. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own Elaboration.*

In regard to the effectiveness of a formal complaint, the following reflection was gathered from the focus groups: ... *"like fondling is already something natural, so nobody spends time or goes to the police station because what complaint are you going to make? What are you going to say? Like, look Mr Policeman, today I got on the bus and a lazy guy sexually fondled me? In other words, the reality is that they (the police) do not pay attention, they treat you badly, and the same policeman will laugh in your face"* ... **Testimony Female, Focus Group, Ella se mueve segura 2016-2017**

This view was found to be homogeneous among the different socioeconomic and age profiles of all the participating women, and is in line with what was revealed by the "First Sexist Violence Index"³⁷ prepared by the "Ni una menos" collective in 2016, which shows that only 5 % of women who suffered some situation of street harassment made the police report.

In terms of the perpetrators' attitude when caught, most people mentioned that they generally got off the transport, usually treated the victim (or the person who exposed him) as 'mad people', or directly denied the action. There are always some exceptions, but generally speaking other passengers do not react, and they act like spectators: ... *"Not always, but in general people look at you but continue with headphones"* ... **Testimony Woman, Focus Group, Ella se Mueve Segura 2016-2017**

Passive reactions by others towards harassment in public transport are in line with the findings of the CINEA (UNTREF, 2016) survey of male and female residents of the AMBA. They found that only 51% of the total stated that they would intervene and/or report the incident to the police when faced with a situation of gender violence.

The most mentioned emotional reaction felt by women after experiencing this type of aggression is shame (Scheme 8). This may respond to the perception of some sort of *lack or inadequacy*, linked with *being the recipient of an humiliating action*. Delving into the rationale for this is thought to be a topic of interest for further research, but it is outside the scope of this study. What it was possible to identify, is that the set of sensations mentioned indicates a very tangible recognition of a sanctionable behavior. Zunino Singh (2014) points out that many of the situations of abuse or harassment that women daily experience in public transport do not only imply a way of appropriating the body of the other, but also of marking something "out of place". The sensations experienced by women denote that public transport is not neutral or a neutral space, but expresses and contains social relationships that reinforce and reproduce inequalities, including those of gender.

Scheme 9. Sensations mostly mentioned by women when experiencing public transport harassment



Source: Focus Groups. ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own Elaboration.

³⁷ To see more: <http://contalaviolenciamachista.com/Informe-ejecutivo-final.pdf>

- **Insecurity and aspects of the public transport service**

... "You also worry about physical integrity when you travel, because there is no oxygen or because they drive very fast, because you do not have anywhere to go. It has happened to me to have to get off the subway because I could not breathe "...

Women Testimony. Focus Groups, Ella se Mueve Segura 2016-2017

Users - and especially women - identified three different moments of the trip where they perceived insecurity: the walking (to and from stops/stations), the waiting at the bus stop or train station and on board the vehicle. These parts of any trip are usually recognized by studies and transport policies and used for the estimation of travel time. However, deepening the understanding of the perceptions and experiences of the users for each leg of their journey allows us to better visualize the role of public transport (and in particular, of the operational management of the service and access to the city in general), its interaction with public space and its implications in the (re)production of urban inequalities, the various aspects of insecurity and gender in particular.

The time of the walk to or from the stops or stations of public transport, as well as the wait, are times when people are fearful of the variety of potential situations that may occur in this public space. Being fearful and alert of potential risks are assumed (and naturalized) as part of the daily journey: ... "It is normal to go down the street walking and be aware of who is passing by and if a car passes by and someone screams at you some stuff, then you become afraid that it is following you" ... **Testimony Female Focus Group, She Moves Safe 2016-2017**

Scheme 10. Moments of insecurity in public transport.

Momentos mencionados



Source: Focus Groups. ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own Elaboration.

Waiting at the stop or public transport station bring the emotion of *feeling unprotected*, particularly among women, and especially during the hours when there is no daylight, or if the area is not well lit. Other people waiting is perceived as being helpful but concerns still remain. The reactions of strangers to a situation where help may be requested is not always positive: ... "all these concerns are, at the stop, alone or with people you do not know, that if someone comes out there, people are usually selfish or not usually act, when something happens people tend to run and that leaves you alone, people do not know how to react. I would not know either" ... **Testimony female Focus Group, Ella se mueve segura 2016-2017**

Women do not express fear of being alone in public space or transport, but they fear to confront the chance of something "happening" such as at the bus stop, which is generally isolated. The "something" that could happen... "you do not know what could happen to you [in the bus stop]" ... (Testimony Woman, Focus Group, Ella se mueve segura 2016-2017), includes diverse kind of fears related to potential sexual attack, robberies, to be with strangers, or even to be yelled at. One of the participants of the focus groups says: ... "once I was waiting the bus and a car stopped and there were a man masturbating" ... **Testimony Woman, Focus Group, She Moves Safe 2016-2017**

The broad and diffuse spectrum of situations that encompass the perception of personal insecurity during the walk or waiting for public transport, following Kessler (2012), can be part of a process that de-identifies the figures of fear of the most stigmatized images, and expands the perception of insecurity as a criterion for evaluating the world (public spaces, transport and even the city) through different categories of threat.

When the public transport vehicle arrives at the stop or the station, anxieties diminish but others arrive, especially among women, that are linked to third moment of the trip, i.e. the experience while *on board public transport*.

Strategies mentioned by the users made it possible to identify personal precautionary measures and routines for managing insecurity. Getting close to the bus, the train or the subway allows women to observe if the vehicle is empty or if there are a lot of people. Typically, a woman will look to see if there are a majority of males or, if there are only a few people and where they are positioned within the vehicle or carriage. These criteria are used to evaluate what actions need to be taken on board. One strategy mentioned during the focus groups, is to position yourself at the back of the vehicle so it is easy to visually see what is happening, and thus be able to anticipate defensively.

By reconstructing the situation on board vehicles, we were able to identify differences between the previous sections of the journey. This part of the trip is perceived as being both physically restricting but also unavoidable. In this sense, a women user mentions: ... "*maybe if you are in the street and something that you do not like happens, or if you are passing and you see a guy you can cross the street or go round the corner, but if you are in the bus you cannot do that, you have to stay, or unless you feel very uncomfortable and you get off but then you have to wait for another bus*" (Testimony female Focus Group, Ella se Mueve Segura 2016-2017). Possibly this explains the high correlation between the concerns and the strategies on board, as they are due at least in part to an acceptance of an unavoidable situation that can to be adapted to, in order for women to use the public transport effectively.

As mentioned, the urban bus (or 'colectivo') is the most used public transport mode in the AMBA, especially by women. The role of the bus driver in situations of insecurity is perceived in different ways. On the one hand, their presence is seen as an attenuating factor as they represent a institutional/brand reference. This is contrary to what happens in trains and subways, where employees responsible for the service are not clearly and easily identified. On the other hand, the fact that drivers are mainly male is seen (by women and men) as a disadvantage in confronting situations that affect women, adolescents and / or girls – i.e. harassment: ... "*the one who has to mediate is a male and he is very indifferent*" ...

Male Testimony, Focus Group, Ella se Mueve Segura 2016-2017

Anxiety about insecurity associated with waiting for and travelling on board public transport provide information on aspects on the operational management of the service, and not only as *repercussions* of urban insecurity in general. Through qualitative information, concerns were identified related to *uncertainty* at the time of waiting - or before boarding -, and about *physical integrity* on board transportation.

Uncertainty is the first factor that affects women's mobility practices when they leave home to carry out their daily activities. The information about the service (or its reliability) is a key element that impacts their perception of insecurity and is generally a concern for all users: i.e. knowing where the bus stop is, the frequency of the service (what time approximately the bus/train will come), if there is any change in the route(s) etc., impacts on their mobility and behaviour, and they are all aspects closely linked to the conditions in which the public transport service is provided.

Scheme 11. Concerns previously to boarding public transport = uncertainty



Source: Focus Groups. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA*, 2016-17. Own Elaboration.

Once a user is on board public transport another wave of concerns is activated, which is widely perceived as *physical integrity*, and which is also linked to the conditions of services and operation. These include concerns about the level of occupation of buses and carriages, the age of the fleet and the state of maintenance (safety and roadworthiness), and about driving behaviors.

Scheme 12. Concerns on board transportation = physical integrity



Source: Focus Groups. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA*, 2016-17. Own Elaboration.

In general terms, from the focus groups we learnt that the concerns of men and women linked to insecurity are dependent on other variables, including: the time of the trip (if they are peak hours, very early in the morning or very late at night), the day of the week (if it is work, weekend or holiday) and the location (origin and destination) of the trip (if it is known or unknown).

- **Insecurity in public transport: insights**

... "Being a woman is also the art of planning absolutely everything. In fact, it's something I'm always fighting with. You men do not fight, you never think if one day you will be raped, you never think about it. But when I return home at night, every day I have to think and look where I have to run if I would need to"...

Female Testimony. Focus Groups, *Ella se Mueve Segura* 2016-2017

It is also clear those situations that generate emotions of insecurity (seen or experienced) in public transport impact daily mobility practices. 27% of respondents, both women and men, mention that they have to modify their travel decisions and behaviours after hearing, seeing and / or experiencing situations of harassment, robbery or fights. Of these, 63% are women, increasing to 80% if they have personally become victims of harassment.

The three main behavioural changes (cited by the women and men surveyed) were: to pay attention to other passengers (35%), to change the street or walking routes (14%) and to change the travel hour, especially avoiding traveling when there is no day light (14%).

However, there were differences between men and women on how these measures are adopted. We observed that apart for paying attention to the appearance of other passengers, it was mainly women who mentioned the other strategies. In particular, women avoid travelling

alone (71%) more than men (29%), reduce travel by public transport was the second more frequently cited action that women take and the second least frequently cited action for men.

Table 5. Influence on travel behaviour after having seen or/and experienced situations of aggression (robbery / fights and harassment) in public transport. (%)

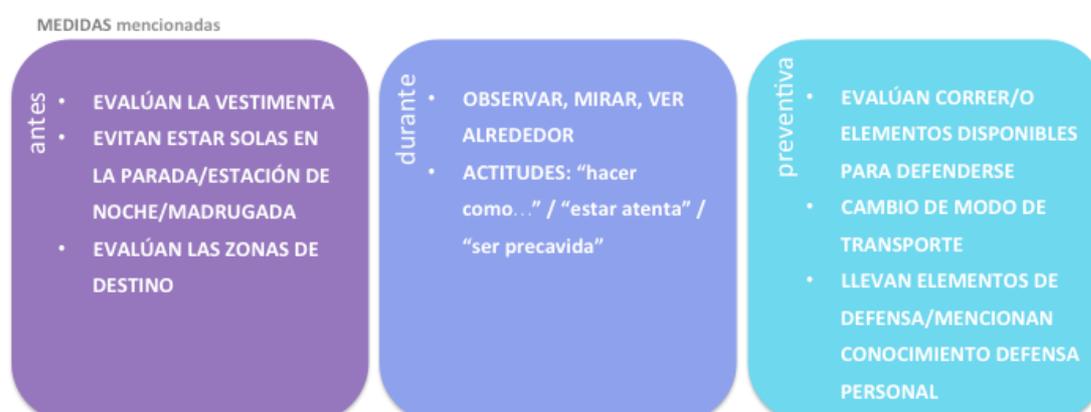
| How has this situation influenced your decision to travel or not? | Men | Women | Total |
|--|-----|-------|-------|
| Pay (more) attention to the appearance of other passengers | 49 | 51 | 100 |
| Change the streets or walking areas | 42 | 58 | 100 |
| Change the time of travel | 41 | 59 | 100 |
| Avoid travelling alone | 29 | 71 | 100 |
| Reduce public transport use | 37 | 63 | 100 |
| Change mode of transport | 42 | 57 | 100 |
| Carry a personal defence object (pepper spray, sharp object, etc.) | 43 | 57 | 100 |

Source: Survey. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own Elaboration*

Situations that are seen or experienced feedback the fear and the level of insecurity perceived mostly among women: 75% of those who saw or experienced one or more situations of harassment, robbery or fights, mention that this made them feel more insecure. We can conclude that women are therefore also more affected by hearing about incidents that happen to a third party (whom they may or may not actually know) and that they allow this to influence their own perceptions of security or insecurity.

Women's greater inclination to modify their travel decisions based on insecurity perceptions comes into play with the set of strategies they develop to protect themselves: ... "For me, there is no more evident proof that traveling is different for a woman than for a man if one considers all the variables that we (women) put into practice at the time of getting on public transport"... (Female Testimony, Focus Group, *Ella se Mueve Segura 2016-2017*). There is a wide range of strategies and preventive actions, prioritized by women, that includes the planning of the trip itself, prior to boarding and on board (Scheme 12).

Scheme 13. Self-protection strategies typically used by women on public transport



Source: Focus Groups. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own Elaboration.*

By understanding better common practices and strategies of women and their implications (both diverse and invisible), authorities and operators are able to put actions and measures that help to address them. From the focus groups, the study team learnt that many of the personal strategies in place to avoid harassment are transmitted from generation to generation (from

mothers to daughters, from grandmothers to granddaughters). All these strategies (conscious and unconscious) enable women to face difficulties, but that at the same time represents an extra burden to their everyday life (considering the investment in time, economic cost, organizational efforts), and impact their right to fully exercise their personal freedoms and autonomies (Naredo 1998 in Falú, 2009) and equitable access to urban opportunities (goods, services, activities and social, family, work relationships, etc.).

6. MAIN CONCLUSIONS

The mobilization of women organized by the collective "Ni una menos" (*Not one more*) that first occurred in Buenos Aires City in June 2015 (and were later replicated in other Argentine cities and the region), were mentioned during the Focal Groups as a milestone linked to an "awakening of the awareness" in fighting the violence against women. In this sense, users of AMBA admit that even when harassment in public transport has always existed, they recognize that there is a climate of openness to debate and a greater visibility of a social concern about the most extreme violence against women that has grown in recent years.

Argentine legislation (especially Law 26,485) that addresses the problem of violence against women in an integral manner, is recognized by users but also by the experts interviewed, as a legal and normative capital that fosters the emergence of solutions and actions aimed at providing concrete answers to the various types of violence that women live in their everyday life.

In particular, since 2016 the City of Buenos Aires has specific legislation for the "Prevention of sexual harassment in public spaces or public access", with the objective of the prevention and punishment of harassing, mistreating or intimidating and/or affecting in general the dignity, freedom, free movement and the right to the physical or moral integrity of people, based on their condition of gender, identity and / or sexual orientation (for verbal and/or physical harassment). This law even stipulates actions and dissemination campaigns to make visible, denaturalize and eradicate this type of violence. This can be seen as a starting point to articulate integrated responses, addressing the blurred borders that currently exist between transport and the public space itself.

According to data from the ENMODO, in the AMBA, we know that almost a third of women travel on foot, and they are also the main users of public transport (54%). This is typically the same in the other cities that took part in the *Ella se mueve segura* study. In particular, women widely use the service of urban buses in the agglomerate, followed by the train and, to a lesser extent, the subway. This was confirmed in our study.

However, women show more diverse patterns of mobility than men. While 7 out of 10 trips of men in the AMBA have *work* and *study* as their trip purpose, for women, these trips only represent around 50% of their daily trips. Travel for reasons of *shopping, health* and *leaving and / or pick up a member of the household to school or other daily activities*, represent 30% of the total women's trips in the agglomerate, while among men reach just the 13%.

However, and based on the expressions of the Focus Groups, for both women and men, traveling is "the worst part of the day". And this experience is particularly sensitive when 61% of the total users perceive that the quality of public transport service is between regular and very bad.

From the total of the 790 respondents, 64% have felt insecure in public transport in the past 12 months. This is higher in the southern corridors (38%), followed by the northern corridor

(21.4%), the City of Buenos Aires (20.4%) and the least number of expressions of insecurity came from those using the western corridor (20, 2%) for the majority of their trips.

When we analyzed this perception according to gender, women expressed their feelings of insecurity more than men (72%), compared to 58% of male users. This feeling was greater among women who are mothers of girls and/or boys under 15 years old. Younger women (between 18 and 40 years) themselves also felt insecure on public transport and this was also higher from those who live in lower socioeconomic households.

Three aspects emerge as those most mentioned by the users and users surveyed, among those who generate the greatest feeling of insecurity when traveling on public transport. These are: when it is dark (18%), when there are a lot of people inside transport (16%) and the walk to or from the bus stop/station of the subway or train (13%). They altogether represent 48% of the mentions.

Meanwhile, among women surveyed, and showing a strong gender mark, the following aspects of concern are mainly mentioned: the acts or words of harassment, the greater presence of men and traveling alone.

Likewise, the number of aspects of concern mentioned is greater among women than among men: 7 out of 10 users to whom five or more aspects generate insecurity, are women.

Deepen, through the information obtained from the Focal Groups, in "emergent aspects", three moments of the trip are identified that imply different potential dangers and that are mainly distinguished by women users of the public transport: i) *The walks* to or from the stops or stations of public transport, are crossed by fears of potential situations that can occur in the public space, and that emerge as an extra concern, assumed (and naturalized) as part of the daily journey; ii) *waiting at the stop* implies feeling deprotection, particularly among women, and especially during the hours when there is no daylight, or when the environment is not well lit; iii) *on board public transportation*, a moment that is perceived as forced and physically restricted and that requires an unavoidable adaptation to do effective the use of public transport.

Women and men in AMBA have seen or witnessed in similar proportions, situations of robberies and fights in public transport during the last year (86%), and the same occurs with situations of harassment (71%) seen or witnessed.

In the same way, among those who have experienced situations of theft and / or fights in public transport (28% of the total number of total respondents), the proportions of women and men are similar. However, this is not the case among those users who experienced harassment situations (27%) because 7 out of 10 are women.

From another perspective, 153 of the 379 women surveyed experienced some situation of harassment in public transport during the last year.

Among the stories of situations of aggression experienced by women, they appear mostly: a passenger saying obscene / rude words of a sexual nature, a passenger fondling or touching the body of the body, the display of genitals, obscene words, lascivious looks, whispers.

From the 24 situations of harassment mentioned during the Focal Groups, most of them occurred on board public transport (just one case occur when the women user where transferring from one mode of transport to another) and indistinctly under different

circumstances: with the vehicle full or almost empty, at early morning, during the day or night, when traveling seated or stand, alone or with their children, relatives or friends. This would indicate that the experienced victimization situations take place under even more general circumstances than those more mentioned above among those that generate feelings of insecurity

The urban bus collective emerges as the public mode in which the most harassment situations were experienced (15 of the 24 narrated situations).

56% of respondents who saw or experienced at least one situation of theft or harassment, did not tell anyone about what happened: not to the police, or to the driver of the company, or to other passengers or relatives. And among women who experienced harassment situations on public transport, only 55% mentioned it to someone.

After experiencing this type of aggression, and according to the qualitative data revealed, one of the sensations highlighted by women is shame. This may respond to the perception of a lack of their own, such as that of being the recipient of an humiliating action, for which a greater research is required, because it is outside the scope of this study. What it was possible to identify, is that the set of sensations mentioned indicates a very tangible recognition of a sanctionable behavior.

27% of respondents, both women and men, claim to have modified their travel decisions and behaviours after hearing, seeing and / or experiencing situations of harassment, robbery or fights. Of these, 63% are women, a percentage that increases to 80% after having experienced situations of harassment.

Mainly women (in a similar way to what men do) take as a precaution to pay more attention to the appearance of other passengers. In particular, women avoid travelling alone (71%) in a greater proportion than men (29%).

The preference of women (56%) to change the public mode in which they actually make their daily trips is higher than among men (46%), being the car mostly mentioned as the mode in which they would like to travel. Among the reasons for this preference, both genders mention: the greater comfort, speed and safety offered by this mode of transport and because the trip is easier and more direct. 70% of those who mention the "security" aspect as a reason why they would change the public way, are women.

Emerging from the study, it was possible to identify two fields of attention linked to insecurity in public transport: one related to traditional situations of insecurity (harassment, robbery and fights); and another, related to the management and operation of the public transport service. As part of the latter, users from both genders shared specific concerns associated with the different moments of the trip: those related to the moment previous to boarding, linked to the uncertainty of information about the service; and others relating to the moment on board the vehicle, linked to the physical integrity and the conditions and state of provision of the service.

All in all, this work provides a first diagnosis of the situation regarding insecurity in the public transport in AMBA with a gender perspective, a problem unexplored so far. And it shows through its results the importance of recovering the perceptions and experiences of the users as a way to visualize the occurrence of (in) security in public transport with its edges and dimensions. It also makes it possible to visualize the role of public transport (and in particular, the role of operational management of the service) as a "part" of urban insecurity and not just a "receiver" of a foreign problem that exceeds it.

7. GETTING MORE WOMEN INTO TRANSPORT

In AMBA, there are a number of initiatives to encourage women to enter the sector in various capacities and for the sector to encourage women to seek employment.

An example is to become urban bus drivers. The transport operator (within AMBA) "Grupo Plaza" has included women in their recruitment of drivers since 1998, and they are the only private company in the agglomerate that hires women as drivers. They reached a total of 40, but in 2010 this still only represented 1% (22) of all their bus drivers of 2,000. In 2015 this reduced to only 15, but it is not clear why women leave this job.

From 2011, the Municipality of Vicente López, located in the northern area of Greater Buenos Aires, put a free communal line (Transporte Bicentenario or Bicentennial Transportation) into operation, and whose drivers are **all women**. The service is provided within the limits of Vicente López's municipality and particularly covers maternal centers and recreational centers for the elderly. Currently the line has 8 units (vehicles) and a staff of 18, between drivers and controllers.

It is striking that in AMBA only two initiatives in this area were identified. Some transport operators maintain that the incorporation of women as drivers would require the adaptation of the existing infrastructure in the companies (changing rooms, female only bathrooms, etc.) that, until now, only caters for male drivers. And given the low level of spontaneous response by women to become bus drivers, they do not consider it necessary to make the effort and investment to transform the facilities; a typical '*chicken and egg*' situation.

The picture is slightly more encouraging on trains. In 2016, of the 532 train drivers of the subway and the Premetro of Buenos Aires, 427 were men and 105 women (representing 20%). Out of the 433 guards: 289 were men and 144 women (33%)³⁸.

Within this review of experiences of participation of women in the transport sector, with respect to positions that have traditionally been reserved for men, it is interesting to note that the Government of the City of Buenos Aires, now has in its body agents of transit an equal female representation. Currently of the 2,750 agents, 54% (1,485 agents) are women³⁹. Also, during the month of July 2017, of a total of 303 new agents incorporated, 66% were women.

Among other relevant initiatives identified, the institutional policy of the public railway company, Trenes Argentinos (SOFSE) has been in place since 2014. SOFSE is responsible for the operation of 5 of the 7 urban passenger lines of the AMBA and several regional lines. Their "Plan for Gender Equality" was developed from the institutional policy guidelines. It is aimed at generating internal actions within the company itself (e.g. gender training and human resources awareness) and externally to the public, looking to improve the users travel experience and service. Agreements were with the National Institute for Women (INAM) and the National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism (INADI) have also been signed. Actions included two awareness campaigns, with posters, information booths and delivery of brochures in high volume passenger railway stations. The first one "#PARALAMANO" ("#STOPTHEHAND") was developed in 2015 and updated during 2016; the other "POR VIAJES LIBRES DE VIOLENCIA" ("FOR A TRIP FREE OF VIOLENCE") took place at the beginning of 2017. Also, and in line with the

³⁸ https://www.clarin.com/ciudades/conducen-subte-mujeres-cargo-formaciones_0_SkCGGLG-x.html

³⁹ Source: Subsecretaría de Movilidad Sustentable y Segura, GCBA

implementation of the SOFSE Gender Equality Plan, Argentine Trains carried out a survey in 2017, as part of a diagnosis on gender violence in the metropolitan train system.

In 2016, an awareness campaign on all types of gender violence (from the most explicit to those that appear veiled, like humiliation, devaluation, contempt or emotional blackmail) by the Government of the City of Buenos Aires and the Ministry of Human Development and Habitat. The campaign was called "That what we do not see is also gender violence" (Eso que no vemos también es violencia de género) and included posters on the subway and public roads.



AMBA
Campaign "#PARALAMANO", 2015



City of Buenos Aires
Campaign "Eso que no vemos también es violencia de género ", 2016

With respect to data collection about the travel experiences of women users, since 2016, the public metro company SBASE⁴⁰ has been collecting information via a (periodic). The objective is to get an idea of the numbers of the situations with aggression that subway users experience.

It is also relevant to mention that the national Ministry of Transportation has a website (<http://uecmovilidad.gob.ar/category/publicaciones/encuestas/>) where reports and databases from the household mobility surveys, carried out both in AMBA and in several metropolitan areas of Argentina can be accessed freely. The surveys, conducted between 2008 and 2013, have variables that distinguish by gender the members of the households that made up the sample.

Since 2009, the City of Buenos Aires (CABA) has been systematically designing and building safe cyclist infrastructures (i.e. segregated from the rest of the traffic). In 2017, the cycle path network was a total of 180 kilometres. Since 2010, a free public bicycle system has been operating in the CABA; both measures have encouraged the general public to use of this mode of sustainable transport. There is a high level of interest from women in this system as in 2017, 4 out of 10 of those registered were women. However, they represent only a third of those who actually use the public system. Generally speaking and according to the information from the GCBA, the total number of trips made by women on bicycles in the city has increased: from representing 7.2% in 2009 to 26% in 2017.

In this sense, civil society organizations play an active role in promoting equal participation in the road space. By targetting women in their programs, they are helping to provide women with greater mobility choices. Training courses on the use of bicycles for adults have been organized by the Association of Urban Cyclists (ACU) and Ciclofamilia, through a program called Bicycle School ("Biciescuela") started in 2011. Currently about 75% of the participants are women, and among them, half are between 20 and 30 years old. From the organizations has been mentioned that they face their actions "motivated by equality" because considering their

⁴⁰ This company depends on the Government of the City of Buenos Aires and deals with the administration and control of the operation and the planning of the subway expansion network and other new investments. It also supervises the AOM (Operation and Maintenance Agreement) signed with the private operator Metrovías S.A

observations of those who join the Bicycle School, "there is a whole group of people who is not joining urban cycling (...) and that move us because we are against social [and] gender inequality".

Likewise, women's organizations, among them Mumalá (Mujeres de la Matria Latinoamericana), have collaborated in increasing the visibility of the levels of street harassment that the women living in the City of Buenos Aires, and other cities of Argentina, suffer on their everyday lives⁴¹ This important contribution from surveys and reports of results on violence against women in urban space, has also allowed us to connect this work with situations of aggression occurred on public transport.

Despite the fact that since 2016, the City of Buenos Aires (CABA) has legislation for the "Prevention of sexual harassment in public spaces or public access" (Law 5742)⁴², in place. The Law also stipulates actions and dissemination campaigns to make visible, denaturalize and eradicate this type of violence, thus, in the CABA, street harassment is by law considered a contravention and penalties included monetary sanctions or public utility actions.

The systematization of complaints and grievances is one of the aspects that present the greatest weakness due to the lack of about how to do an effective complaint. In this sense, some initiatives were identified that could enable this. In 2017, in a complementary way to Law 5742, the Observatory Against Harassment of Argentina (OCA) was created which has the responsibility of gathering information about the different forms of harassment as well, as the publication of these statistics. In addition, the Office of the Ombudsman of the City of Buenos Aires has created the Observatory of Gender Equality, whose objective is to monitor and to influence public policies in the city and since 2010, the Province of Buenos Aires also has an Observatory on Gender Violence.

The Ombudsman of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires was created by Law to fulfil the constitutional mandate of protection and promotion of human rights and other individual, collective and diffuse interests against acts or omissions of the administration or public service providers. Since 2014, the Transport and Telecommunications Directorate created within the structure of the Ombudsman's Office, has had a special emphasis on public transport policy and mobility as a whole. The work carried out by this Directorate and its gender policy agenda promoted by the movement "Not One Less", led to a special line of work on gender issues and the creation in 2017 the Ombudsman's Office the Gender Observatory.

With the increase in transport fares in 2016, the Ombudsman's Office received numerous complaints from socially vulnerable users and the majority (90% of the total), concerned women with dependent children and, in particular, those who worked as domestic servants. In this regard, the Ombudsman held meetings with the Nation's Ministry of Transportation in order to establish an integrated fare mechanism that would smooth the cost of transportation for those who make the most trips, particularly the transfer of children to school. as well as recommendations have been made to the relevant areas to facilitate access to the right to transport by these affected sectors.

Complaints about problems of accessibility to the subway network, especially from mothers with children (in strollers), pregnant women and the elderly. The Ombudsman initiated legal actions against the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires to guarantee full accessibility of the

⁴¹ <https://issuu.com/lasmumala/docs/informe>

⁴² See previous section

stations, (the accessibility index is currently 50%). Complaints about public transport drivers behaviors have also been made and the office has responded with special training programs for bus and subway drivers.

Claims channelled through the Ombudsman have increased over time as this service becomes better known, and it is able to respond to claims that are not addressed, usually, by the local authority. A personalized treatment for each case and a direct and accessible assistance for the victims facilitates the coordination of claims before the local authority and allows a better follow-up and control by the citizens.

Although the total of cases specifically related to gender issue are low but based on the complaints received, the Ombudsman has still been able to make some general recommendations to the Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires.

Source: Buenos Aires Ombudsman Office (2017)

Likewise, the pilot project “Security Plan in Urban Buses”, it’s an initiative based on the collaboration between the national Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Security and Justice and the Transportation Secretariat from the Government of the City of Buenos Aires. The pilot has started in June 2017. The plan consists in providing a CCTV system within urban bus units from two AMBA bus lines. It is expected -when plan will be fully implemented- that there will be CCTV cameras in all bus units in the AMBA. The 19,000 new cameras will record what happens inside and outside the vehicles. This last through a camera located on the front of the unit that will record what happens on the street. The recordings will be monitored through a video system and the plan aims to combat crime and improve road safety in public transport with the cameras function primarily as a deterrent.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS: TOOLS FOR CHANGE

Given the complexity and multidimensionality of the problem, a holistic, integrated view and reflection on potential solutions and measures that could respond to the daily violence that women experience in public transport is required. While recognising that is a phenomenon that is very diverse and subjective, it is important to note that most concerns expressed by women are associated with defined moments of the *travel process*: accessibility, waiting and during the trip on board. Other aspects are related with variables such as hour, when there is no daylight (very early in the morning or late at night), the day of the week (if it is working day, weekend or holidays), the destination area of the trip (if is known or unknown), with whom the user is travelling (if alone or accompanied). From all this information we can help to guide policy-based solutions and measures.

When thinking about developing concrete measures, it is important to remember how violence is defined in Law 26,485, and in particular to consider: i) the effects of direct and indirect way that violence affects life, liberty, physical integrity, dignity, women's personal security, ii) its occurrence in both private and public environments and iii) that violence frequently represents behaviours that are grounded in the unequal power relationship between women and men.

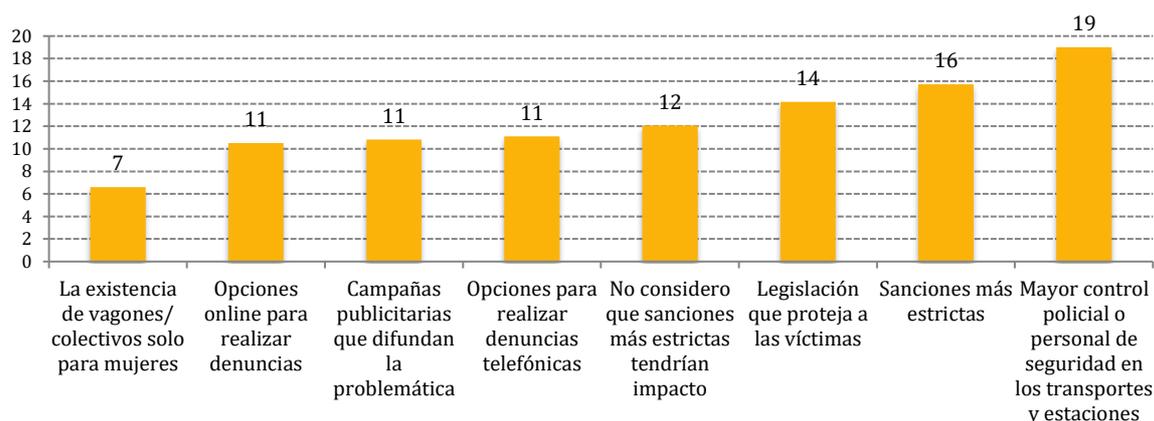
Despite the significant progress made in recent years in terms of legislation at the national and local levels, a gap remains in the implementation of actions and concrete measures. In general, both

specialists and public transport users agree in assessing in a positive way the existence of specific legal frameworks that refer to violence against women and whose types and forms incorporate the breadth of the areas of occurrence: private and public spaces. However, respondents emphasized the importance of the timely implementation of the current legislation, highlighting the priority of developing **prevention and control measures** as well as the definition of **strategies and protocols for addressing them**, which are expected to be addressed through public policies.

Users mentioned the importance of being able to make complaints about incidents, but currently there are numerous procedural deficiencies namely:

- i) the agency/person who receives these complaints - in general the police - are usually not trained;
- ii) it is difficult to present witnesses and / or information about the aggressor and as the reporting procedure usually take a long time (seen as a constraint and disincentive to report for those who travel with strict schedules.
- iii) among some users there is the perception that acts of violence, such as harassment, on public transport or in public space tend to be smaller than other acts of violence (especially domestic violence), in their eyes reducing the relevance of denouncing it.
- iv) A lack of users's trust because complaints are not treated effectively.

Figure 13. Which of the following actions do you think would have the greatest impact in reducing the problem of sexual harassment in public transport? (Total mentions of women and men in %)



Source: Survey. *ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-2017. Own elaboration*

It is also relevant the **articulated work between public policy and research areas**. Other sectors could be actively involved in helping to address this problem, we suggest considering intersectorial discussions and approaches that include transport and mobility, security, gender, education and health. Each area can contribute from their experience and strengthen any proposals to the government and there could be useful exchange of experiences on what has been successful (or not).

It is also important to work on solutions that involve the full life cycle of the problem, **from the diagnostic to developing solutions and then implementation, monitoring and evaluation and which include platforms for dialogue and collaboration between the variety of actors, with different levels of interest in the planning and management of public transport**. These include the public sector (national, provincial, local levels), private sector actors (operating companies, construction companies, etc.), civil society organizations, trade unions (and other associations e.g chambers of commerce), universities and academia. In the case of Buenos Aires this should also consider the special role of the National Institute of Women (INAM).

Public sector players, with their leading roles in the planning, implementation and monitoring of public policies, can help to strengthen capacity and effectiveness of measures to address the violence towards women who use public transport in their everyday life. Despite individual strategies by the users themselves, its existence implies a loss of their autonomy and freedom of movement.

The private sector, on the other hand, can promote incorporating gender perspectives via training and raising awareness through their human resources within their organizations. They can also actively reach out and include women into their workforces. For example, transport operating companies can bring women on-board in management positions and also as drivers or guards. And construction companies can integrate them into a number of positions as professionals, supervisors, operators, drivers etc.

A win-win situation can be created between the public and private sectors – where the public sector can set quotas or award points in contracts to companies that respect gender equality more proactively (i.e over and above legal compliance). Such actions and measures promoting a gender-sensitive approach to processes and organizational culture.

While the civil society organizations, as well as the research and academia, generating information, analysis and research, building on their advocacy and lobbying roles, would favor the visibility of the problem and create an interest to follow this issue in the media and public policy agendas.

It is also felt necessary to **define deadlines for the implementation of the measures** and to define strategic and tactical actions. In the short and medium terms, measures should be aimed at seeking an improvement in the perception of security by transport, as well as, reducing the number of cases that women experience. In the long term, actions should be designed to generate changes in culture, modifying attitudes and male behavior, as well as as, promoting greater attention, ability to intervene and solidarity on the part of the community when harassment and violence happens.

The importance of establishing a roadmap, with milestones, would also facilitate (increased) dialogue between disciplines and between sectors, promoting differentiated interventions, depending on a number of common objectives, priorities and commitments.

The following are general recommendations to address this complex problem, for the transport and mobility (and associated) sectors.

1. GENERATING AND ANALYZING GENDER-BASED DATA AND INFORMATION TO BETTER UNDERSTAND FACTORS AND DIMENSIONS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT

Recognize the importance of harassment and violence currently occurring in public transport and to use this information to better visualize the problem with a view to how this can be used in decision/policy-making and also in transport research.

It is not easy to fully use the data that is currently available and by working on the methodological aspects of surveys, more useful information can be extracted for policy development. For example, including questions on the perspectives of men and not only women's perceptions of this issue and to increase efforts to ensure comparability (questions, how they are phrased, categories, periods of reference) and to further comparisons and learning between cities, countries, regional and international levels.

Combining qualitative with quantitative methods was seen as being crucial to being able to understand the motivations and reactions to harassment and violence towards women on public transport and while using public space. It is important to incorporate qualitative methodologies (in-

depth interviews, focus groups, ethnographies) to broaden the analysis of women's travel experiences and deepen the analysis and interpretation of quantitative information (triangulating it with interviews and other qualitative methods). The relevance of our results, obtained from the diverse research techniques used, was considerably strengthened with the internal and external validation of the analysis and interpretations.

Qualitative techniques help to provide insights to be able to grasp the scope and depth of the problem. They allowed use to collect concrete experiences from those who move around the city, and to some extent even from those who do not move (much). These techniques allowed the study team not only to build up a picture of how people travel, but also to gain insights into their needs, desires and mobility capabilities. Traditionally quantitative studies tend to consider the 'average citizen' but not to delve into differences, especially those based on gender based roles in society such as women travelling accompanied (and responsible for that person(s)) such as children (boys and girls), the elderly (who may or may not be family members), people with different abilities etc.. In addition it allows a better understanding of those who travel 'with' things as well as with people e.g. bags, shopping and / or baby strollers.

It is important to take systematic and longitudinal approaches to the collection of data and information: on the use of time, trip purposes including for example: the mobility of care, and further studies on street harassment that provide evidence to those undertaken on harassment on transport.

As an example using similar/the same questions and applying the same indicators to existing and continuous transport quality surveys (such as those undertaken by CNRT⁴³, Trenes Argentinos-SOFSE, SBASE), on transport users, bicycle user surveys (GCBA, Undersecretary of Sustainable and Safe Mobility), upcoming official surveys (household mobility surveys, origin-destination surveys, EPH, EAH) and/or national population, household and/or housing census collection would be helpful not only to track progress but to allow better analysis.

At the same time, it is useful to integrate territorial analysis, especially using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), which allows enhanced, better targeted and effective responses and solutions.

In particular - and based on other experiences identified in the region and internationally- creating maps that identify point(s) in the city that based on reporting and experiences are perceived to be the most insecure for women. For this, qualitative-quantitative strategies can be combined with participatory mapping.

There is also a perceived relevance in the role of data observatories for the open (public access) and continuous publication of the information collected. In this framework, it is important to consider the importance of 'Open Data and Big Data' as inputs for public policy development. Despite the current ambiguity in the use of terms such as Open Data and Big Data, it is important to recognize their differences: Big Data refers to different data that may contain signals that were not available a few years ago and that still be difficult to read or use. In the long run, it may well help to provide answers to questions that have not even been asked (Data-Pop Alliance, White Paper Series, 2016), and may be of significant use in transport (for example the amount of data generated from smart card data collection is still too much to analyse in a timely fashion today, but it is likely to be of use as new analysis techniques come into play). The challenges that Big Data generates are associated with the "3V": volume, variety and speed of the data, thus the processing and analysis of information in real time will need a different approach in relation to traditional recording and analysis of data.

⁴³ CNRT Quality Management and Services Area continuously carries out the Opinion Survey to users of the urban passenger transport of the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Region (RMBA) and the Metrobus Opinion Survey.

Likewise, Big Data requires a more multidisciplinary approach, as the paradigm for information and communication encompasses not only a higher technological dimension, but also social, economic, political and cultural dimensions (Malvicino et al, 2015). In this framework, the management of urban mobility in Argentina and the region faces a methodological challenge on how to use Big Data: understanding what is said and not said by the data, the manner in which analysis can be optimised, understanding that Big Data methodologies in transport and mobility are not immune to the same problems on the data samples which we face today: statistical validation, sample biases, correlation and incorrect imputation of missing data (Yankelevich et al, 2016).

In addition, and using new technologies, it is felt very relevant to integrate territorial analysis without the constraints of Big Data, especially using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), which allows enhanced, better targeted and effective responses and solutions.

In particular -and based on other experiences identified in the region and internationally- creating maps that identifies point(s) in the city that based on reporting and experiences are perceived to be the most insecure for women. For this, qualitative-quantitative strategies can be combined with participatory mapping.

Attention to responding to gender based violence and harassment is felt to be important, especially in (re) building trust between the general public (both men and women) on the timely and effective treatment of complaints about both the quality of the service and acts of gender violence is considered to be of high importance. For example, the line 144⁴⁴ at the national level or 0-800-66 - MUJER and 103, for the City of Buenos Aires, should not only register complaints but lead to the creation of a register of harassment situations particularly those that occur in public transport. In this way, continuous information could be available on the number of incidents reported and they could be classified by mode of transportation, time, type of situation, among others, with the view to help security agencies to pin point hot spots and target actions.

2. PROMOTION OF A GENDER-SENSITIVE URBAN AND TRANSPORT PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

There are numerous academic papers that support the notion that the design, the quality and the state of maintenance of the urban spaces influences people's behaviour (to a greater or lesser extent). From this study, a number of infrastructure interventions were discussed (especially in the focus groups) that favor women's mobility. Integrating gender perspectives throughout an entire project and policy planning cycle will favor the construction of public spaces that not only meet the needs of women, but of other social groups with similar profiles that use them (e.g. girls, boys, the elderly, people with reduced mobility, vulnerable young people and men). This can lead to fewer opportunities for crimes to be committed and reinforces an emotional sense of security that is likely to be shared by these groups⁴⁵.

This implies that from the early stages of project definition and proposals, studies should be carried out to adjust design details and components to ensure that the needs, expectations and interests of the community are included, and ensuring that women and men will be equal beneficiaries of the improvements generated. Avoiding considering the transport user as a neutral subject or prioritizing only pendular (home-work), motorized or those trips produced only during peak hours. Otherwise inequalities fuelled by infrastructure design as well as behaviours are given the opportunity to continue.

Focus on accessibility, safety and ease of movement

⁴⁴ Line 144 was implemented as part of Law 26,485. It is free and works 365 days a year for 24 hours.

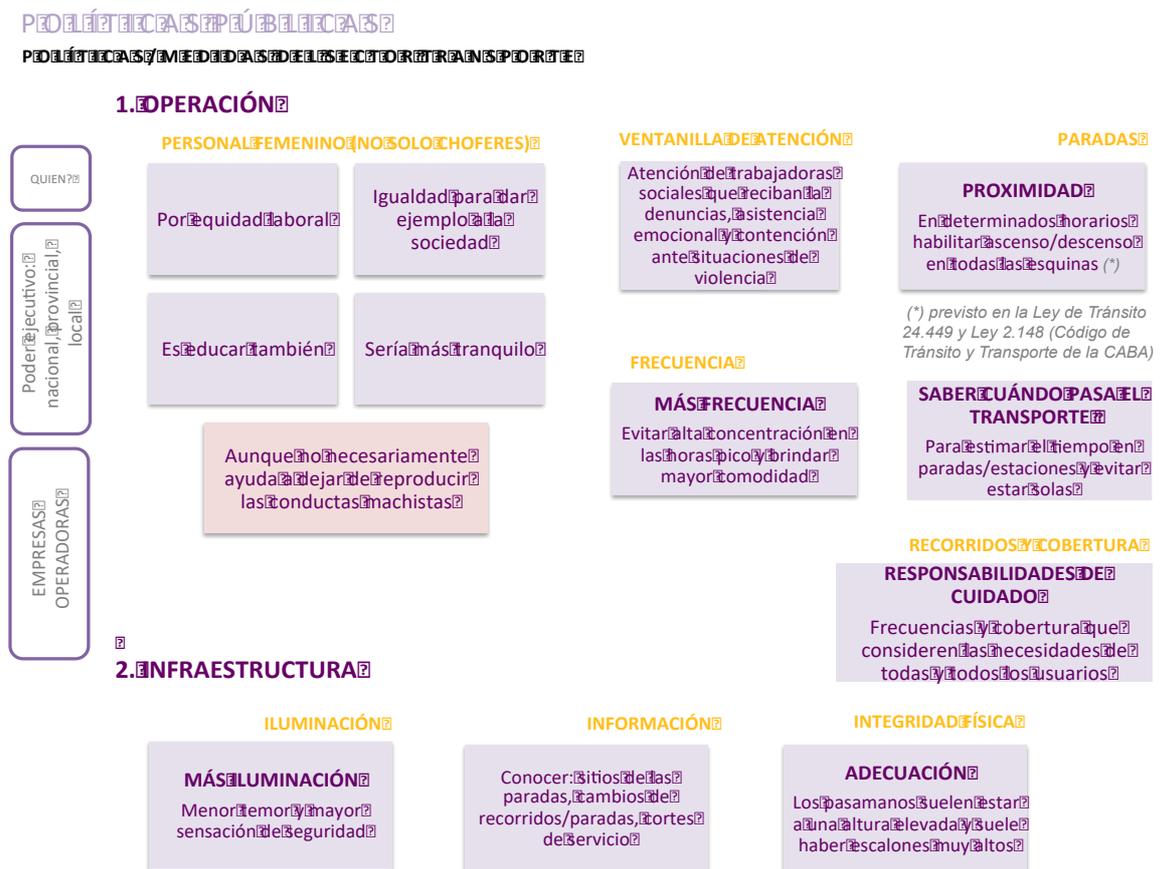
⁴⁵ See the section in the toolkit on examples from other places – the case of Vienna

For this reason, it is important to promote **intermodality** (between all sustainable transport modes – public transport, cycling and walking) and fare integration. In particular, attention to the present and potential needs of women and enhancing the functionality of non-motorized transport trips (walking and cycling). This could be translated into the design of the sidewalks avoiding barriers to enable the free circulation of people, and ensuring that they are wide to allow those with strollers, wheelchairs and elderly people with reduced mobility (canes, walkers) to easily use them.

Providing good street lighting, pedestrian traffic lights and safe crossings with ramps/ dropped kerbs at intersections and other measures that facilitate visibility, especially in areas currently identified as unsafe. In addition, the organization and support for training courses on how to cycle and the basic mechanics of cycling for women can be relevant elements.

Where to start? Measures will need to be prioritized. Our recommendations follow two possible ways to prioritise action. One is to identify pilot projects in areas of the city that are considered to be highly visible and any intervention there will have impact, or secondly to be guided by participatory mappings, with the community who help to identify and decide where the areas of greatest risk are and how they are ranked.

Scheme 14. Suggestions and proposals for actions and measures



Source: Focus Groups and in-depth interviews. ELLA SE MUEVE SEGURA AMBA, 2016-17. Own elaboration

It goes without saying that each project needs to be evaluated according to its technical, social and environmental impacts, in order to anticipate risks that reduce or mitigate its undesired effects. Therefore, it is recommended that socio-environmental impact evaluation studies include, in particular, the gender and gender violence perspective, given that projects may not

have the same implications and effects for women and men. Giving importance to this approach can be a reassurance to promote of a gender "lens" in the initiatives.

Maintaining of a gender sensitive perspective beyond the preparation and planning stages and into implementation, operation and monitoring stages of projects, is also key. The involvement of the beneficiaries and potential social actors that will (or are likely to) be impacted negatively or positively is a key element in the success of the mitigation measures applied. Development agencies such as CAF Development Bank of Latin America, the World Bank or IDB have developed a set of practical and useful policies and measures to consider when implementing infrastructure projects⁴⁶.

Involving potential beneficiaries at all stages of the project cycle helps reinforce the positive effects and ensure project sustainability over time

The planning of mobility and transport needs to go beyond just articulating it around the functioning of the services in respect to the activities that people need to reach and therefore that justify their movements. Transport as a system strongly interacts with other sectors: especially urban and territorial planning, health, education, and security, to name a few. In this sense, developing urban solutions that combine good accessibility by public transport to workplaces (including those used by women – which may not be the Central Business District but residential areas (for cleaning and domestic work), factories (for shift work), hospitals (not only for health services but as nurses) as well as the more typical education centers (schools and universities) and linking the transport function with safer public space surrounding public transport. These centers can also be developed into community centers of interest and equipped with nursery/creche and maternal services, day /out patient health centers, pharmacies and shops. Time poor working and non-working women appreciate having a number of services within the proximity of the home. And it also could help for a better distribution of daily care responsibilities among household members, avoiding women to bear a double burden.

Transportation must foresee the effective and satisfactory use of the city's resources and activities, ensuring the realization of citizens' rights

The same applies to the professional profile of those carrying out gender sensitive planning and management process. It requires interdisciplinary teams and women professionals should be actively included in teams. In addition to the traditional disciplines (engineering, architecture, administration, finance, economics), other disciplines that would broaden capacity and effectiveness include sociology, anthropology, geography, communication (institutional and social), environmental or ecology etc. (see Scheme 14).

3. DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIAL AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS, AWARENESS RAISING AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION IN THE TRANSPORT SECTOR

Both specialists and public transport users highlighted the (perceived) usefulness of public awareness and education campaigns. It is important to define the main objectives of the campaign in the short, medium and long term, as well as the targeted audience and those responsible for its implementation and, most especially monitoring and evaluation. It is also considered to be important that campaigns are sustained over time. For this it is relevant to take the current legal framework into consideration and review pre-existing agreements between

⁴⁶ To see more: <https://www.caf.com/media/5614351/salvaguardas%20ambientales%20y%20sociales%20caf.pdf> , <http://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=38712784>, <http://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=39430650>

organizations, ordinances or other protocols, which provide clarity on the attributions and enhance synergies and effectiveness of work between areas. It is also recommended to recover the background of already implemented campaigns (and if they have been evaluated) in order to learn from previous experiences.

Campaigns aimed at raising awareness or dissemination about the different forms of violence towards women that occur in public transport, including explicit examples have been successfully implemented in a number of cities internationally (check out the section of the toolkit with examples from other cities). Such campaigns can also emphasize and make visible the social importance of the public's reaction to this violence, allowing users and passers-by, who may not usually get involved in this kind of situation, (due to a variety of reasons including ignorance of the seriousness or ingrained normalization), to question their own behaviour and possibly to change it based on greater knowledge and understanding that this is actually expected of them. It is relevant to include male reactions as violence against women is also viewed as a problem of society as a whole. And focus on the damage generated by the aggressor.

Campaigns can also be used to inform people, and present possible actions for them to take but they must be transmitted clearly to the recipients, and without bias. Actions that the public can be encouraged to take include telephone numbers to control/help centers, SMS numbers internet sites or making it clear how to make complaints (and to whom), protocols to follow and how to contact authorities or professionals that provide assistance, as examples. These campaigns could also help to build information (if they share telephone contacts to do complaints), which constitute a key element for designing of effective solutions and programs.

ALCANCES

- Visibilizar la situación de violencia que viven a diario mujeres usuarias del transporte público
- Difundir la problemática con ejemplos de situaciones específicas que pueden ocurrir.
- Mostrar cómo se siente una mujer y apelar al involucramiento del conjunto de la sociedad.
- Informar que no es una cosa a la ligera que te acosen. Que la mujer no está sola frente a la violencia. Y sobre todo que no es "su culpa", que ella "no lo provocó" por su actitud o forma de vestir.
- Presentar estrategias de acompañamiento, protección y/o contención.

Monitoring the evolution and impact of a campaign should be considered from the start in order to understand the impact of any results and be able to make improvements. Some civil society organizations have made progress in the development of pieces, so that articulated initiatives can favor the potential of these tools.

90% of AMBA public transport users use the Internet. Most access indiscriminately from home, work and through cell phones. The applications most used by both women and men are mainly WhatsApp and Facebook but there is a greater use of Facebook among women than men⁴⁷.

And according to the Latinobarómetro Survey -conducted in 2016- 41% of Argentines own Smartphones⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Source: Survey Ella se mueve segura AMBA, 2016-17.

⁴⁸ To see further data: <http://www.latinobarometro.org/latContents.jsp>

Effective communication channels must be defined (television, internet, etc.) and the most effective type of format: graphics (e.g. posters, pamphlets, stickers located inside the vehicle, at stops / stations, on seats, on SUBE cards, etc.), videos transmitted by screens inside the vehicle, at stops / stations or through web applications (such as Facebook, YouTube), and public services announcements.

The use of online social media channels also favors the development of interactive communication between users and those responsible. For example, the development of an Application⁴⁹ to express complaints, not only allows users to express their grievances but it also can be used to generate online statistics (on violence and harassment) by bus line, branch of the railway or subway line, information that may be useful for both users and decision makers.

4. INCORPORATING GENDER PERSPECTIVES IN THE TRANSPORT, MOBILITY AND SECURITY SECTOR TEAMS

In regard to the incorporation of the gender perspective in workforce teams, a distinction emerges between the attributions of each sector.

Trying to include women at all levels within an organization does pose challenges, as seen in the examples of Salta and Rosario (in the section where examples from other cities are documented), and quotas or parity with respect to population distribution, can provide helpful indicators. It should be mentioned that although it is desirable to increase the number of female personnel in the transport sector, this alone will not be sufficient to reduce or eradicate sexist behavior in the workplace.

Something similar happens with the potential offered by adding more women traffic agents or police force in the security sector, to put into practice solutions or protocols of action that face the violence against women that occurred in public transport. The proper training of front line workers as well as security workers (women and men), so they can act with understanding and empathy in these situations, is considered crucial. The report of the "Department of Gender Policies" of the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Police⁵⁰, which expresses its willingness to work to transform the current image of the police force, to one that is more community centered would probably help to increase the trust, or lack of, people in this security institution.

It is important as a positive action to increase the recruitment, retention and promotion of women in the workforce at all levels of the organization

The continuous and specific training in gender perspectives with operating companies, construction companies, as well as, the of police force, traffic agents or other front line service agents to the public, appears as a priority element. Institutions with the executive powers in gender and security - not only within the transport sector - are considered to be well qualified to face this type of training tasks (for example: National Institute teams of Women, the General Direction of Women of the CABA or the Undersecretariat of Gender and Sexual Diversity of the Province of Buenos Aires). Currently this may present a challenge, however some progress has already been implemented in this regard (see the experience of Trenes Argentinos - SOFSE). It would also imply the definition of both operational and budgetary responsibilities for its execution.

⁴⁹ The advances of the CNRT website could be recovered: <http://denuncias.cnrt.gob.ar/default/nueva>

⁵⁰ To see further:

http://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/sites/gcaba/files/informe_departamento_politicas_de_genero_pm.pdf

9. SOME FINAL REFLECTIONS

In conclusion, this study highlighted that harassment and violence against women happens in Buenos Aires quite extensively. This behaviour affects women emotionally more deeply than men. Women are also used to consciously (or unconsciously) putting a number of strategies in place that help them to avoid risk on a daily basis.

The current legal framework in place at national, and local level appears robust but there are still gaps in ensuring that it can effectively deliver on this issue. Perpetrators continue as they still enjoy high levels of immunity from prosecution, and women tend not to report incidents unless they are very serious; either due to a lack of trust in the authorities, due to inertia and time constraints or simply because they are not sure that it is worth reporting. Reporting channels are clumsy and unclear; and this is considered a key area to improve. There is little conviction with the general public (men and women) that any case on sexual harassment will be treated with sensitivity and therefore a key recommendation is to increase the outreach and training of first responders. It is also clear that the evidence base for action is still patchy, and although this study has been helpful more work is needed to explore and research key areas of interest and build a solid data base of information.

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