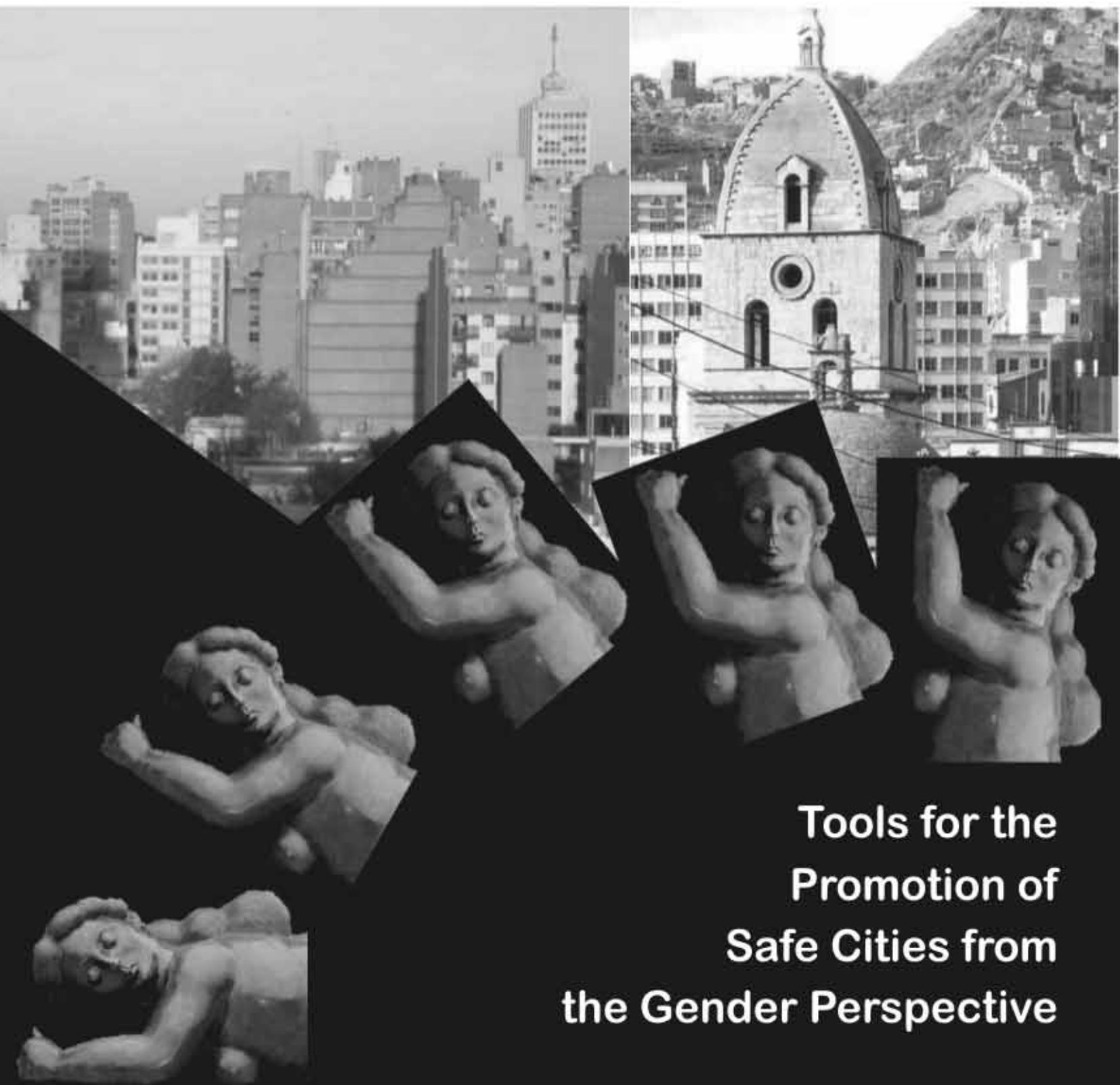


Tools for the Promotion of Safe Cities from the Gender Perspective

CISCSA - UNIFEM



CISCSA
Centro de Intercambio y
Servicios para el Cono Sur
RED MUJER Y HÁBITAT
LAC HIC



**Tools for the
Promotion of
Safe Cities from
the Gender Perspective**

Tools for the Promotion of Safe Cities from the Gender Perspective

General Coordinator:

Liliana Rainero

Technical Coordinator:

Maite Rodigou

Document authors:

Liliana Rainero

Maite Rodigou

Soledad Pérez

Graphic design:

Beatriz Giobellina

Translation:

IM Translation and Training

Laura Hunt

Translation Revision:

Laura Hunt

Edited by:

CISCSA - Centro de Intercambio y Servicios Cono Sur, Argentina

9 de Julio 2482. X 5003 CQR - Córdoba - Argentina

Tel/Fax. 54 - 351-4891313

E-mail: gem@agora.com.ar / ciscsa@arnet.com.ar

Sitio Web: www.redmujer.org.ar

With the support of:

UNIFEM

**United Nations Development Fund for Women -
Office for Brazil and the Southern Cone**

AECI

**Spanish Agency for
International Cooperation**



*Printer: Letras de Córdoba,
Córdoba, Argentina
December, 2005
2nd Printing: May, 2006
1st Printing in English: October, 2006
ISBN-10: 987-96878-3-3
ISBN-13: 978-987-96878-3-3*

*Cover Photos: City of Córdoba,
City of La Paz in Bolivia and sculpture by
Fernando Botero in Medellín, Colombia*

Tools for the Promotion of Safe Cities from the Gender Perspective
- 1st Edition - Córdoba: CISCESA: 2006.
v. 1, 86 p. : il. ; 21x30 cm.

ISBN-10: 987-96878-3-3
ISBN-13: 978-987-96878-3-3

1. Urban Violence- Women. 2. Citizen Safety and Security.
CDD 362.83

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----------|
| PREFACE | 5 |
| PRESENTATION | 6 |
| MODULE I | 9 |
| Violence against Women in Latin American Cities | |
| MODULE II | 21 |
| Urban Safety and Security Policies and the Gender Approach | |
| MODULE III | 29 |
| International Conventions and Women's Right to a Violence-Free Life | |
| MODULE IV | 41 |
| Criteria for the Inclusion of a Gender Perspective in Urban Safety and Security Policies | |
| MODULE V | 51 |
| Intervention in Urban Spaces. A Tool for Safer Cities for men and women. | |
| ■ 5.1. Local and participatory diagnosis centered on women's experience | 59 |
| ■ 5.2. Necessary conditions for the formulation and development of urban safety interventions from a gender perspective | 68 |
| ■ 5.3. Urban interventions strategies | 70 |
| ■ 5.3.1 Montreal's proposal | 70 |
| ■ 5.3.2 Interventions in the social dynamics of urban space | 78 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHIC APPENDIX | 81 |

PREFACE

Gender-based violence is a calamity that continues to unfold worldwide and be expressed in new ways. Women of different social conditions, races, ethnic groups and religions demand new and more effective policies and actions to reduce the impact of this violence on their lives. For UNIFEM, the United Nations Development Fund for Women, contributing to the reduction and eradication violence is a priority commitment.

In the context of the current Regional Program Safe cities: Violence against Women and Public Policies, coordinated by UNIFEM's Brazil and Southern Cone Office and supported by the International Cooperation Spanish Agency (AECI), we aim at reducing and eradicating the increasing violence manifested in cities. UNIFEM promotes this innovative program in the firm belief that cities free of violence against women will be safer cities both for men and for women. One of the first results of this is the new edition of the Guide: Tools for the Promotion of Safe Cities from the Gender Perspective, which we present here. With this guide, we intend to expand the diffusion of the Regional Program Safe Cities, which gives continuity and strengthens the coordination between governments and civil society already existing in the region.

The Guide systematizes the thoughts and learning acquired in the context of the Regional Program Safe Cities Without Violence For Women, Safe Cities For All, implemented in 2004. This Program, carried out by Flora Tristan in the city of Lima, Peru and by CISCSA (Center for Exchange and Services for the Southern Cone - Argentina) in the city of Rosario, Argentina, involved training and exchange events as well as the development of concrete action proposals for local governments and social and women organizations.

These and other initiatives try to give an account of the proposals for participatory policies and actions, and the transfer of said proposals to different social and political actors committed to guaranteeing the existence of cities, neighborhoods and everyday spaces with higher gender equity and safety for citizens and especially for women.

Ana Falú

Director of UNIFEMs Office for Brazil and the Southern Cone

1 The first edition of this publication was supported by the UNIFEM Andean Region Office.

2 Regional Program supported by the United Nations Interagency Trust Fund in support of Actions to Eliminate Violence against Women.



PRESENTATION

Today, one of the main concerns of city governments and of society in general is the increase in crime and urban violence and the lack of safety experienced by the population, both as common symptoms of every day life. The different manifestations of violence represent a complex problem with multiple causes that involves numerous actors and gives rise to academic research, social debates and various proposals on the part of local and national governments.

On the other hand, the violent events that affect mainly women are relevant in all Latin American countries. At the same time, it is possible to note that not only public debates about the lack of safety in cities, but also public policies and actions directed to fight this problem, are based on indicators that reduce violence to criminal typologies that generally exclude violence against women. This reality is the motivation for this document, which is centered on providing an analysis of urban violence and insecurity from the perspective of women, as well as solutions for a situation that affects women's status as citizens.

It should be specified here that our discussion of safety or a lack of safety and security in cities, is done from a human-rights approach that considers any threat to human integrity and fulfillment unsafe, and that has the satisfaction of human needs in mind.¹ Human security means the protection of vital freedoms. It means protecting people that are exposed to threats and certain situations, while at the same time building on their strengths and aspirations. It also means creating systems that give people the build-

ing blocks of survival, dignity and livelihood. Human security is linked to different types of freedoms, such as freedom from want, freedom from fear, and freedom to act on one's own behalf.² According to this conceptualization, the tools proposed in this paper focus on violence against women, understood in a way that not only includes violence and verbal and physical aggression in the domestic or public sphere, but also the violence inherent in gender inequality and discrimination.³

Cities are one of the spheres where the violence against women is expressed, affecting their every day lives and limiting their personal projects and civic rights. During the past few decades, women have, through their action, managed to reduce the strict division of roles that assigns the public world to men and the private sphere to women; gaining access to the labor market, to arenas of political power, and to activities traditionally banned from women. However, the public world, in its double sense as a social and physical space, continues to impose restrictions on women. The right to the city-

1 Giorgi, Víctor (2001) "**La seguridad como necesidad humana: una perspectiva desde la psicología comunitaria**". Paper presented at the Interamerican Congress of Psychology (Interamerican Society of Psychology), Chile.

2 Report from the Commission on Human Security (2003) "**La Seguridad Humana Ahora**", presented at FLACSO-Chile, at the International Seminar "Contemporary International Security: Consequences for Human Security in Latin America".

3 The concept of gender refers to the cultural constructions based on the differences attributed to the sexes, and to the resulting social hierarchy that gives power and domination to men and subordination to women. In each society, this construction results in the unequal access of women, as opposed to men, to wealth, political power, status and prestige.



the egalitarian use of the city by both men and women- is one of the pending challenges. In the same way that women are underrepresented in arenas of political power and decision-making spheres, the use of streets and public spaces, in both the collective imagination as well as city design, continues to reflect male domination. Urban planning has failed to sufficiently incorporate the diversity of people living in cities, including the different experiences of men and women that is the product of the ongoing changes that affect both social practices and ties among people. The different ways that people perceive and experience safety/lack of safety in the city is one of the differences that should be prioritized.

In order to address city safety from the gender perspective, the importance of urbanization processes in Latin American countries, where most of the population lives in urban centers, must first be addressed; which, does not imply that violence in non-urban areas should not be recognized, especially violence to which women in rural areas are subjected. The prioritization of cities as the primary object of concern is a response not only to the prevalence of urban existence as a way of life for populations - the majority of this population in Latin America being women-, but also to the fact that urban life continues to be the main sphere of cultural and social interaction. For women, cities "would potentially offer the possibility to free themselves from social constraints and from traditional assignment of space and social roles according to gender. In this sense, cities generate hope for tolerant coexistence and real gender equality".¹

In every country- with subtle differences-, and despite the advan-

ces in regards to gender equity, social, educational, cultural, economic and political inequality persists, and violence against women is the ultimate expression of this inequality. This situation, no doubt, requires cultural changes that prioritize equitable gender relations, with equal opportunities for women in their access of resources and political power, and the acknowledgment of women's contributions to society. It also requires raising awareness among men, particularly young men, through education and early socialization that allows for the construction of ties among people, in which violence is not included.

The State and local governments have a fundamental responsibility to contribute to these changes with concrete public policies, by training their technical and political officials to revise their practices and the ways in which they address the resolution of city problems, incorporating the gender dimension into their daily tasks. This means understanding the patriarchal system that sustains the way in which gender relations are historically constructed and reproduced based on women's subordination and inequality.

The administration of cities is without a doubt becoming more complex every day and cannot do without all the men and women living in them, or their different responsibilities and memberships (citizenship, technical and political officials, etc.). Civic participation in

¹ Becker, Neusel 1997; Rodenstein 1997; quoted in Ursula Paravicini "Rol y uso social de espacios públicos en una perspectiva de género", Hannover University, [http://www.iap.uni-hannover.de/iap/apt/\\$40~Personen/\\$10~Professorin/_pdf/Rol_y_uso_social_de_espacios_p%C3%BAblicos_\(2000\).pdf](http://www.iap.uni-hannover.de/iap/apt/$40~Personen/$10~Professorin/_pdf/Rol_y_uso_social_de_espacios_p%C3%BAblicos_(2000).pdf)



issues related to city planning is permanently recognized as a principal in the different spaces where the city problems and the future of cities are debated. Nevertheless, the exercise of this concept, essential to democracy-building, is far from being achieved, not only in terms of actual civic participation -that is to say, that their demands and proposals be reflected in concrete policies-, but also in terms of the redistribution of benefits produced by cities. Part of those benefits are the objective and subjective conditions that translate into a greater or lesser perception of safety and security in cities, and that determine citizens' quality of life. Women and their organizations should play an active role in proposing public policies that emphasize safer cities; their city experiences and specific problems should be listened to.

Local governments, through their active role in the administration and development of their territories, are undoubtedly important actors in the promotion of the necessary changes and the generation of conditions that reject any type of violence against women. In this sense, there are experiences that should be discussed and deepened.

This publication responds to the need to offer local governments, as well as women organizations, some theoretical and practical elements to help understand: the aspects and variables involved in violence against women in cities, the mechanisms of social invisibility of this violence, and the international conventions and instruments that expressly condemn violence against women and commit local governments and society to engage in concrete actions

towards the eradication of this violence. Also, criteria to incorporate gender-based violence in urban security policies is contributed, explicitly intervention in public space as one of the instruments for the promotion of safe cities.

The tools gathered here are based on the context of Latin American countries; however, they also include concepts and experiences developed in other countries- Canada has especially been a pioneer in this line of work. This is an approximation to the aspects we consider most important to the problem.

Gender-based violence constitutes a violation of women's human rights and must be included in urban safety policies. We hope that this guide contributes to the promotion a work methodology that is premised on building cities based on solidarity and where the public space recovers its essential value as place where people meet and learn about difference.

Aristotle¹ said that similar people cannot create a city, but rather that a city is composed of different types of men. Today in the 21st Century, we can affirm that cities are the result of the work, creativity and dreams of the men and women who live in cities every day.

Liliana Rainero

CISCSA

Coordination of the Latin American Women and Habitat Network

¹ Aristotle, *Política*. Quoted by Sennet Richard, (1994) *Carne y Piedra. El cuerpo y la ciudad en la civilización occidental*, Alianza Editorial.





MODULE I

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICAN CITIES





Art by Carlos Alonso

Figures clearly show the reality of violence against women in Latin America. However, this violence is not exclusive to the region, and on the contrary, transcends differences among countries and socioeconomic sectors. For example, in 1992 in the United States there were 5,373 cases of femicide.¹ In 2001 in Spain, 42 women died at the hands of their partners, while reports of the mistreatment of women at the hands of their male partners increased from 16,657 in 1991 to 24,158 in 2001.²

THE FIGURES

- **Each year, 800 thousand women die worldwide as a result of all the types of violence exercised against them.**³
- **Between 12 and 25 % of women worldwide have experienced sexual violence at some point in their life.**³
- According to recent studies carried out in 10 countries⁴, in Latin America and the Caribbean: between **10 and 44% of women have been victims of physical abuse rendered by their male partners.**

1 ISIS; Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Network against Domestic and Sexual Violence (2002) Report **"El último peldaño de la agresión"** <http://www.isis.cl/temas/vi/informe.htm> 2002

2 Source: Women's Institute, data provided by the Ministry of Internal affairs, in Alberdi, Inés - Natalia Matos (2002) **"La violencia doméstica. Informe sobre los maltratos a mujeres en España"** Social Studies Collection #10. "La Caixa" Foundation, 2002, in www.estudios.lacaixa.es

3 World Health Organization - WHO (2003) **Mueren en forma violenta 800 mil mujeres cada año**, <http://cimac-noticias.com/noticias/03jul/03071002.html>, Mexico

4 Ellsberg, M. and Heise, L. (2005) **Researching Violence against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists**. Program for Appropriate Technology in Health (PATH) and WHO. Geneva, Switzerland, <http://www.isis.cl/temas/vi/activismo/Espa%F1ol/10VIOLENCIAMUJER.pdf>

DATA FOR LATIN AMERICA

- In Argentina in 2002, of the total number of the reported crimes against sexual integrity and honor (rapes; crimes against honor; other crimes against sexual integrity), **83% of the victims (7742) were women.**¹
- In Brazil, **a woman is assaulted every 15 seconds in the metropolis of Sao Paulo.**²
- In Uruguay, between **150 and 160 reports of domestic violence are filed each month** in the Comisaría de la Mujer (Police Station for Women).³
- In Paraguay, **a woman is murdered every 10 days.**³
- In Chile, **70 women die each year as a result of domestic violence.** Only 14% of the 80 thousand reports that are filed are sentenced. In 2005, 19 deaths were registered as the result of domestic violence by June.⁴
- In Guatemala, **445 women's lives were taken from them** during 2004.⁵
- In Colombia, between July 1996 and June 2004, **2,110 women died as a result of the sociopolitical violence** affecting the country. All these women were murdered or disappeared outside of areas of combat, i.e., in their homes, in the street or at their place of work.⁶
- In Costa Rica, between 2001 and 2002 **more than 30 women were murdered.**³
- In Puerto Rico, the Peace Coordinator for Women reported that from 1990 to November 2002, **there were 287 cases of femicide.**³
- In Peru, between February 2003 and March 2004, **297 cases of violence against women were recorded, 56% out of which ended in the death of the victim.**⁷
- In Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, **more than 400 women were victims of homicides** committed during the past eleven years.³
- In Mexico City and its suburbs, each year **there are 300 women murdered** whose perpetrator went unpunished.⁸

1 National Department of Criminal Policy, Argentina (2002). www.polcrim.jus.gov.ar

2 Order of Brazilian Lawyers (OAB) September 2004 in www.redfeminista.org/Noticias.asp?ID=2164

3 Amnesty International in www.redfeminista.org/Noticia.asp?ID=2164

4 Andrea González (reporter) (2005) Cahilenas exigen penalizar maltrato intrafamiliar, Servicio Espacial de la Mujer, Santiago, in <http://www.cimacnoticias.com/noticias/05jul/05072502.html>

5 National Coordinator for the Prevention of Violence against Women (Conaprevi) of Guatemala (2004) in www.redfeminista.org/Noticia.asp?ID=2164

6 Colombian women's organizations and groups (2005) "Vigencia, protección y violación de los derechos humanos de las mujeres en un país en guerra, Colombia, 2005" Preliminary report to the Rapporteur on Women's Rights - Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Colombia.

7 María de la Luz Gonzáles (reporter) (2005) "Registra Perú casos de feminicidio" Flora Tristán. Lima, Peru. <http://www.cimacnoticias.com/noticias/05jul/05072502.html>

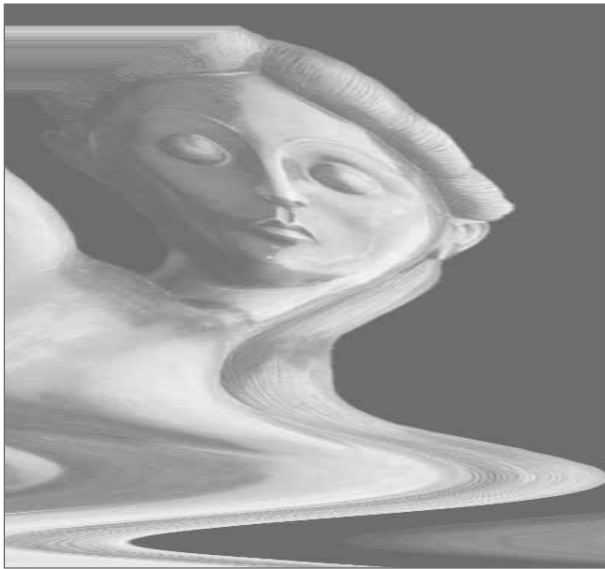
8 World Organization against Torture (OMCT) in www.redfeminista.org/Noticia.asp?ID=2164



WHAT IS UNDERSTOOD BY VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN?

"...any gender-based action or act or conduct, based on gender, which causes death or physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, whether in the public or the private sphere".

(Section 1 - Inter-American Convention on the prevention, punishment, and eradication of violence against women - Belem do Pará, 1994)



Based on a sculpture by Fernando Botero

1 The concept was coined and first used by Diana Russell and Jill Radford, authors of the book *Femicide: The Politics of Woman Killing*, 1992.

2 Lagarde, Marcela (2004) **Por la vida y la libertad de las mujeres. Fin al feminicidio. -Día V -Juárez.** Mexico, <http://www.isis.cl/Feminicidio/Juarez/doc/Feminicidio-d%Eda%20v1.doc>

This definition includes and incorporates all expressions of violence against women. It covers multiple and heterogeneous problems, such as physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family or in any other interpersonal relationship, and includes rape, mistreatment, sexual abuse, and sexual harassment at work, in educational institutions and at health care centers. The definition encompasses acts of violence exercised on the basis of ethnicity, sexuality, the trafficking and trade of women, forced prostitution, arbitrary deprivation of freedom, torture, and kidnapping. It also includes the discrimination that women face in labor, institutional, professional, union, academic and community spheres, as well as in political participation. An example of this is the double victimization that women experience when they turn to public, judicial and police institutions to report violent situations and seek support. This definition includes structural forms of violence, such as the feminization of poverty, salary discrimination, trafficking in women and rape as a weapon of war. It also encompasses media violence, which includes the construction and transmission of stereotypes, aggressive and violent images against women, and sexist images.

This definition includes the different types of violence and condemns the violation of the rights to freedom, personal integrity and health, which impair women's enjoyment of their civic, social, economic and cultural rights.

Gender-based violence constitutes one of the most serious violations of women's rights. It is perpetrated by men who have been socialized in traditional gender relationships that are characterized by the subordination of women to men. This socialization is based on social and cultural structures that support unequal and hierarchic relations between men and women, and is reproduced and manifested in social practices, institutions, and discourse, thus legitimizing power relations as "natural".

One of the maximum expressions of this violence is **femicide**. The concept¹ refers to the murder of women for gender-based reasons:

"It is genocide against women and it occurs when historical conditions generate social practices that allow for attacks on women's life, freedoms, health and integrity.... what they all have in common is that women can be used, replaced, mistreated and disposed of. And, of course, they are all infinitely cruel and are, in fact, hate crimes against women".²

HOW IS GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE EXPRESSED IN CITIES AND HOW DOES IT AFFECT WOMEN'S EVERY DAY LIVES?

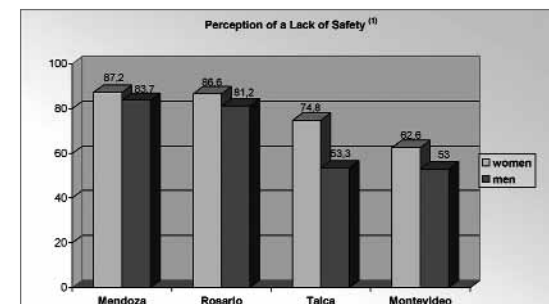
The city is a place where social life and its conflicts are expressed, including the different acts of violence that women face in society, whether in their every day life in public spaces or at home, at work and at institutions.

Women are not a homogeneous group; they have socioeconomic differences, ethnic and cultural differences, different sexual inclinations, etc. It is important to consider these differences when formulating public policies regarding violence against women given that this violence, in its various expressions (from discrimination and lack of recognition to physical violence), is linked to other inequalities that increase the gender-based violence that is manifested in private, as well as public, space¹. For some groups of women, such as peddler women (women that sell in the streets), sex workers, girls and young adolescent street children, the street is their place of work or survival. There are some particularly vulnerable groups in situations or conditions that require special attention; such as, displaced women in countries affected by armed conflict or other factors, and migrant women who not only lose their homes but who also are discriminated against in their new environments.

In cities, women express a greater sensation of insecurity than men. In Montreal, Canada, an opinion poll in 2000 revealed that nearly 60% of women are afraid of walking alone in their neighborhood at night as opposed to only 17% of men². According to the survey conducted in five South American cities in the context of the "Urban Gender Indicators Program - Tools for Urban Governance" (2002), the results obtained in four cities also indicate that women perceive the city as more dangerous than men. It also established that women change their daily routines because they are afraid to walk at certain hours, particularly at night.

Differences in perception of a lack of safety can be explained by the fact that women are more likely to be victims of attacks, especially of a sexual nature. The fact that women are socialized, since childhood, to identify public space as a potentially dangerous space, also contributes to this perception.

The perception of a lack of safety and early socialization are both factors that entail a continuous control and self-control of women's behaviors, or the need to walk and move about



Source: Program- "**Urban Gender Indicators - Tools for an Urban Governance**" (2002).

CISCSA - Women and Habitat Network -UNIFEM -
(Regional Office for Brazil and the Southern Cone)

1 We refer here to public space as common-use physical areas, which can be public or private property, where we walk and/or stop, such as streets, pedestrian streets, squares, parks and other common-use areas, i.e.: educational, recreational, business, cultural institutions, etc., as opposed to the private residence areas.

2 Source: MICHAUD, Anne (Coord.) (2002): **Pour un environnement urbain sécuritaire. Guide d'aménagement**. Programme Femmes et Ville de la Ville de Montreal. Montreal, Canada.

On public transportation, in many cities, women face situations of sexual violence.

■ **In Mexico City**, due to situations of sexual harassment, a system has been implemented whereby different subway cars are designated for men and women on the subway Sistema de Transporte Colectivo Metro during rush hour.

■ **In Tokio**, nine private railway companies and a public subway line have implemented women-only cars, also during rush hour, in order to prevent sexual crimes. In 2004 there were 2,201 reports of groping in this city, nearly three times more than in 1996. One third of these reports were filed by schoolchildren and 1,886 men between 14 and 80 years of age were arrested.

■ **In other cities**, the existence of illegal means of transportation constitutes another factor that contributes to women's lack of safety. For example, in Lima, Peru, reports of violence against women have been registered that took place on moto-taxis.

Source:

Mexico City: www.cimacnoticias.com/noticias/03jun/03061804.html

Tokyo: www.clarin.com/diario/2005/05/31/sociedad/s-03401.htm

Lima: *Cities Free from Violence against Women-Safe Cities for All Program*, (2004), Flora Tristán, Peru. Trust Fund - UNIFEM.

accompanied. This then creates limitations to women feeling like the city is a space where they belong, that they can appropriate and circulate independently. Women develop feelings of fear that undermine their self-esteem and confidence and modify their daily routine (schedules, means of transportation), which leads them to take a series of precautions, especially avoiding behaviors (they give up certain activities and/or go to certain places less often). Fear affects their life projects, such as studying or working, and also their social and political participation.

The possibility for women to experience situations in which they can be victims of sexual violence, is a fear confirmed by real events. Rape is the ultimate expression of this form of violence, both in private and public spaces.

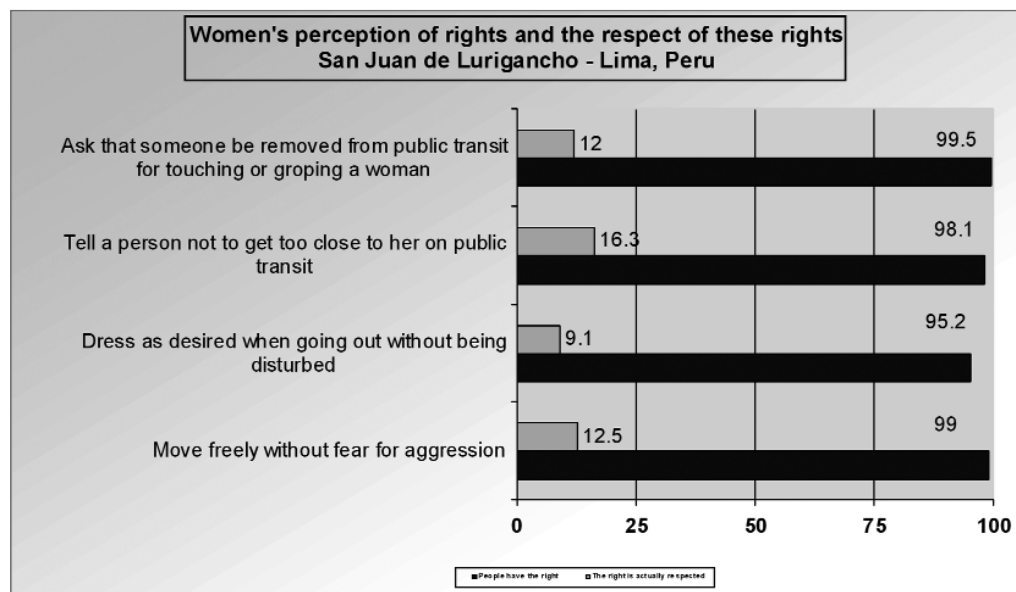
Considered as sex objects, and approached in the street on public transit or in other public spaces without their consent, every day women face a series of violent situations, especially of a sexual nature, that are invisible to the general public and law enforcement officers and that are not classified as crimes.

A WHO study conducted in 2005 in ten countries with different development levels, through 24,000 interviews, indicated that the pattern that maintains violence against women in all the cases is the same: victim's ignorance of their human rights, discrimination and male chauvinism. According to the same report, a woman is assaulted every 18 seconds in the world.¹

1 Feijoo, María del Carmen (2005) *Violencia contra la mujer, la epidemia más persistente*, Argentina, <http://www.clarin.com/diario/2005/12/06/opinion/o-02901.htm>



Although women are beginning to recognize their rights to physical and sexual integrity, the number of public reports about events that violate these rights is still very low, given the social context is indifferent to the seriousness of these crimes. The following chart illustrates this reality.



Source: Flora Tristán. Cities Free from Violence against Women- Safe Cities for All Program. UNIFEM Trust Fund.

In large metropolis, women are also exposed to additional physical and/or verbal violence when they are attacked or assaulted for the purpose of robbery in the street or in their homes. Simply being a woman aggravates the violence that usually accompanies these situations, which are typically exercised by men.

Furthermore, in the case of women from the poor sectors of Latin American cities, part of the violence exercised against them is the risk or fear that their children will be kidnapped. As a result of this fear, women limit walks with their children, hold their children's hands at all times, and control their children's movements, as well as their own.





1 UNIFEM - ISIS (2003) **Violencia contra las Mujeres en América Latina y El Caribe Español 1990 - 2000: Balance de una década** Versión actualizada 2003. <http://www.isis.cl/temas/vi/balance/Versionactfial.doc>

WHY IS THE LACK OF SAFETY PERCEIVED BY WOMEN AND THE VIOLENCE COMMITTED AGAINST WOMEN UNDERESTIMATED OR IGNORED IN PUBLIC POLICIES THAT ADDRESS VIOLENCE IN CITIES?

Actions that aim at preventing sexual violence are far from having the importance that they should in municipal public policies, and are limited to a conception based on *"the centrality of domestic and/or intra-family violence, restricted to the private sphere and to violence exercised among people with some kinship or blood relationship, excluding other forms of violence against women and limiting the understanding of violence as a social problem based on existing gender relations in society. On the other hand, if violence against other members of the family is placed in the foreground, the fact that women are the main victims of violence may be hidden"*.¹

This vision, that in the case of intra-family violence does not focus on individual rights of women, is also related to the little visibility and recognition of the magnitude and seriousness of the different expressions of violence that women experience in public spheres of the city.

In Latin America, several factors that contribute to the lack of recognition of such violence are:

- In large Latin American cities, apart from situations of armed conflict and crime related to drug trafficking, there is widespread violence centered on crimes against property and the accompanying violence.
- Public diffusion of statistics on acts of violence refer especially to crimes against property and do not include different acts of violence against women.
- The actual magnitude of violence against women cannot be estimated due to the low number of reports made by women that are victims of assaults. This situation is maintained by the institutional violence women are subjected to by justice and security organizations, as well as by society's indifference and/or negative sanction.
- The violence that women face, reported by the media and women's and feminist organizations, is hidden through mechanisms that operate at State official and civil society levels; hence, gender-based violence is not included in debates on urban security policies, preventing women from the full enjoyment of their rights.

WHAT MECHANISMS ARE USED TO MAKE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN INVISIBLE?

■ Women are blamed for the violence inflicted upon them ("you brought it on yourself"):

Instead of blaming the aggressor, women are held responsible for the violence they experience, for what they did or did not do. This happens not only in connection with ordinary criminal acts, such as attacks or robberies, but also in regards to the sexual violence that affects women in public spaces.

Women's behavior is scrutinized and called into question: whether or not they carry a purse or handbag, whether they did not take precautions and were careless, whether they dressed in a certain way, whether they walked in certain places and during certain hours or whether they walked alone or accompanied.

"Every system of domination delimits hierarchic spaces endowed with significance and assigned to certain groups. This way, some physical spaces (the home, some jobs) as well as some symbolic spaces (mythical figures, nature, etc.) are created and defined for women, as opposed to the spaces of power and recognition that are exclusive to men. In the case of women, spaces do not acquire significance from their personal practices (dancing, talking, having a drink), on the contrary, they are pre-assigned by those who designed them and, moreover, there are norms of interpretation. Judicial rape trial files of are filled with examples of extenuating circumstances such as the victim's clothes, the place where she was, what she was doing, the time when the event took place, etc. Women's acts and words are pre-interpreted".¹

When women look for support from their family or their social environment after having faced a situation of violence, they are held responsible or blamed for this situation. This social problem is considered a private matter and a new victimization of women is created; moreover, the failure to set-up actions for help and solidarity isolates women. Special attention must be



1 Torres Falcón, Marta (2004) **Violencia social y violencia de género**. Essay written at the request of and with the support of "Las Dignas" San Salvador www.violenciaelsalvador.org.sv/documentos/otros/violencia_social_violencia_genero.pdf



The Urban Woman, by Antonio Seguí, City of Córdoba, Argentina

paid to this situation since, apart from the immediate psychological damage, the consequence is the future silencing of the voices of women who face any type of violence. On occasion, the idea of possible pleasure or consent of the victims emerges in the social discourse, which in a way legitimizes the situations of violence experienced by women.

■ **Experiences of everyday violence faced by women in cities are ignored:**

This lack of recognition is mainly connected to a conception of violence centered on physical aggressions that have consequences on the victim's body. In this way, the subjugation of rights and intimidation as forms of violence that affect everyday life are ignored, as is sexual violence against women.

■ **The damage and consequences on women's lives are made relative:**

This mechanism is related to the previous one, since ignoring some forms of violence entails the non-recognition or underestimation of the consequences on women's daily routines and life projects. One way in which this mechanism is manifested is through the parody of the situation expressed in jokes.

This mechanism of making things relative can be noticed when the time comes to discuss or evaluate a situation of violence that a woman has faced. Phrases such as "it wasn't serious... he didn't rape her", or "she wasn't hurt, nothing happened... she wasn't killed" are heard, or instead men who exercise these intimidating actions are characterized as "funny" or "annoying" and not as violent.

■ **Violence is considered to be pathological:**

One way of making violence against women invisible is to say that men that rape or perform any act of sexual aggression, including exhibitionism, have psychopathological problems. The consideration of violence as an individual and psychopathological phenomenon describes the aggressor as a sick person, blocking the vision of violence against women as a cultural phenomenon.

■ **Violence is focused on and associated with certain social groups:**

Social stereotypes that associate violence against women only with certain social groups, act as mechanisms to hide this violence since they limit the conception and magnitude of violence against women as a whole.

Although these stereotypes are being questioned, they are still valid for a large portion of the population as well as for the institutions in charge of security prevention; consequently, the gender associated causes for this violence are disregarded.

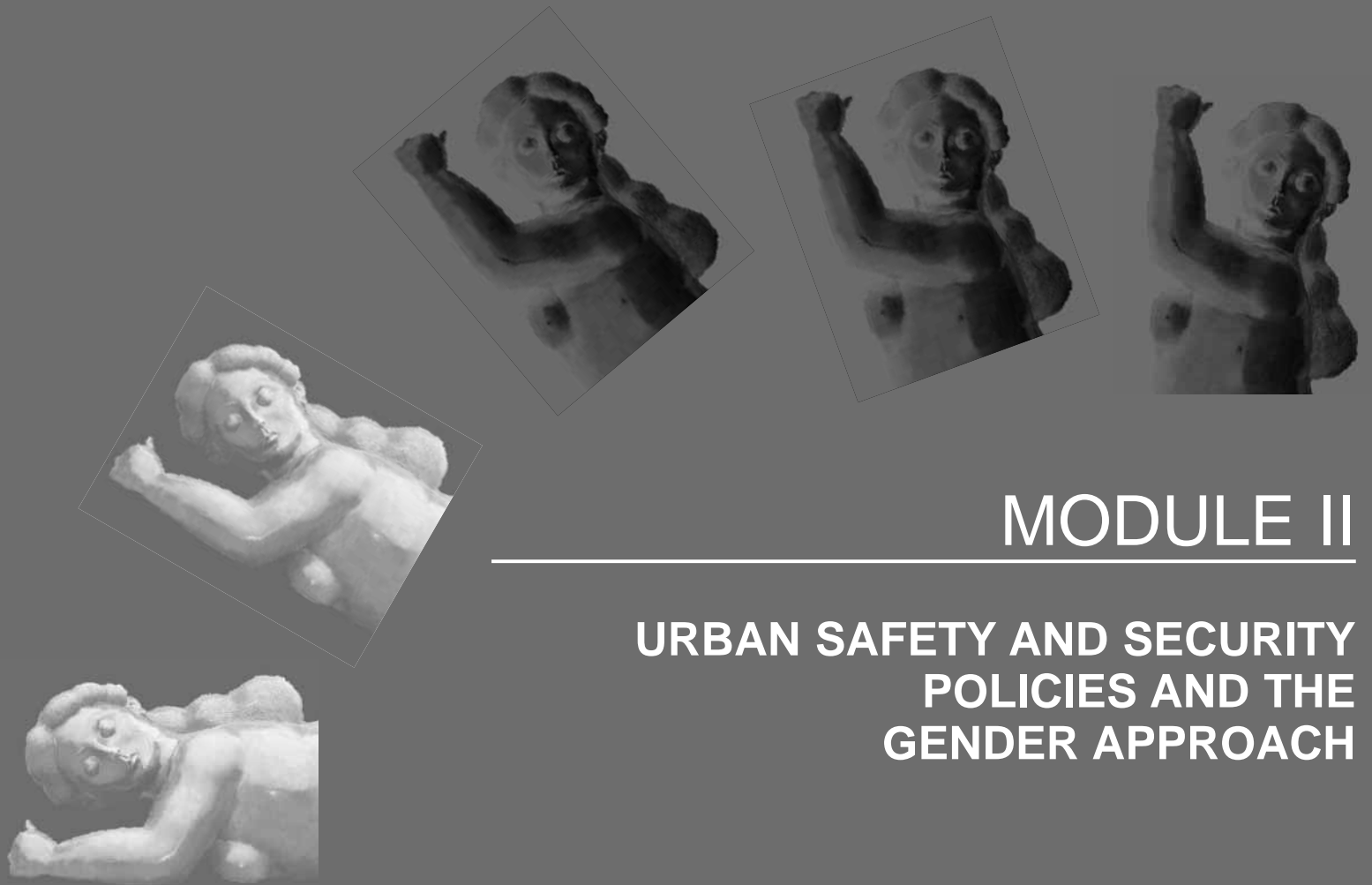
In the same way that family violence is generally linked to the poorest socioeconomic sectors, hiding the fact that violence affects women as a whole regardless of their social and economic condition, the myth that the victims of sexual violence are only young women still exists. This contrasts with everyday situations in which women of all ages, girls (and boys too) are exposed to this type of violence.



Photograph by Domenico Privitera and Dominique Papi published in: "Arte para todos. Una nueva dimensión de gestión urbana" (1996) Metropolitan District of Quito. Section for Parks and Gardens. Quito Ecuador, A&H Editorial.

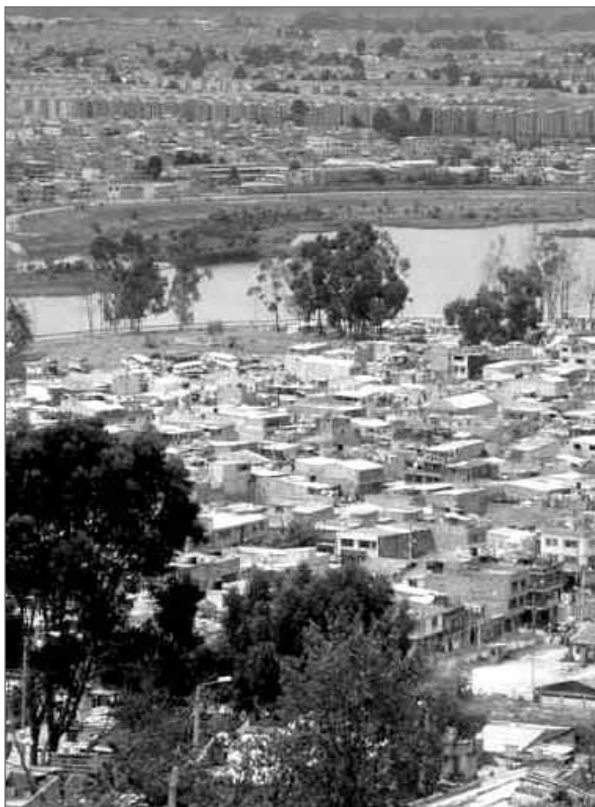
It is necessary to recognize gender-based violence as a social and cultural problem, in order to tackle it with comprehensive strategies that include care and prevention of violence, as well as the promotion of women's rights.

In this sense, the right of women to live in a safe city must be guaranteed by transforming factors that are dangerous or create insecurity for women.



MODULE II

URBAN SAFETY AND SECURITY POLICIES AND THE GENDER APPROACH



In Latin America, the emphasis that has been placed on the increase in social violence and armed conflicts has not taken account for violence against women.

Thanks largely to the work of women's and feminist organizations during the past few years, violence experienced by women has been incorporated into public policies in Latin America.

International instruments exist, endorsed at the national level, that recognize violence against women as a violation of their human rights, to which we will refer later. In this sense, countries of the region have formulated and passed national laws, although generally these laws refer fundamentally to violence against women in the family sphere. Among those Latin American countries that have passed such laws are: Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela. Recognizing violence against women as one of the most severe manifestations of inequality in gender relations and as an issue of public responsibility has been an important step forward for society and the State.

Nevertheless, violence against women, as well as violence perpetrated in other spheres that transcend family relations, is still made socially invisible.

TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO SAFETY AND SECURITY, AND WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE IN CITIES

A critical look at traditional Urban Safety and Security approaches shows that:

1. Strategies developed and implemented regarding urban safety and security, both preventive and responsive, do not commonly recognize women's specific safety and security needs and demands.

In this sense, it has been highlighted that criminological approaches *"have ignored the socio-cultural context within which relations between men and women have been built and developed"* and, on the other hand, *"have underestimated the gender analysis, and likewise the strength and power relations that exist between men and women"*¹, where by violence is used by men to maintain control over women.

One of the most serious consequences of the use of traditional approaches is that gender-based violence has been overlooked; for example, violence experienced by women as a result of their subordination to men, both in the private sphere, where violence rates are alarming, and also in the public sphere.

2. In cases where the insecurity specifically affecting women has been incorporated into public policies, it has usually been done so within the following parameters :²

■ A welfarist approach:

Institutions and public services are created to deal with post-violence situations, or in other words when women have already become victims. However, strategies and resources for the prevention of violence or the promotion of women's right to live in a city free from violence are not designed and developed.

■ A victimizing approach:

Women are treated as victims; they are given recommendations, advice or suggestions that actually act to inhibit and limit their movement within the city and affect choices and decisions regarding their activities, schedules and/or places to walk. On the contrary, women should be



■ *In order to prevent the rape and murder of women in Chihuahua, their government officials suggested women stay home after 6 p.m. Apparently this generalized curfew was considered a possible solution.*

Source: Bartra Eli, et al. (1985) *La Revuelta: Reflexiones, testimonios y reportajes de mujeres en México, 1975 - 1984*, Martín Casillas, Mexico. In Torres Falcón, Marta (2004)

1 Smaoun, Soraya (2003) *Violencia Urbana contra la mujer: análisis del problema desde la perspectiva de género*. Urban Management Program / UN HABITAT, Notebook # 74. Quito, Ecuador.

2 Rainero, L.; Rodrigou, M.; Pérez, S. (2004) Booklet- *Ciudades sin violencia para las mujeres. Ciudades seguras para todos. Módulo de Capacitación* (Cities Free from Violence against Women- Safe Cities for All. Training module). CISCOSA, Town Council of Rosario, Women's Area - Municipality of Rosario. UNIFEM. Cordoba, Argentina.



considered free citizens that can make decisions about their security, and the State should guarantee conditions that eliminate the causes of fear and lack of safety in the city.

■ **A delegating approach:**

Although specific organizations with trained staff are created to assist women who are victims of violence, the objective of which is the provision of proper care in order to prevent the double victimization that women are exposed to when they file a report, at the same time institutional structures (judicial, police, social services, etc) that maintain false conceptions about violence against women are not addressed. From this approach, women's behavior is either considered the cause of violence and women themselves are blamed, or alternately, violence against women is isolated from the cultural context from which it originated, which is a characteristic of a patriarchal society that conditions relationships between men and women and where violence is an expression of this relationship. Therefore, it is necessary that all people involved in the prevention and care system understand these problems.

■ **An approach that emphasizes intra-family violence:**

Efforts made by women's movements to ensure that violence exercised against them in the domestic or private sphere be considered a violation of their human rights and, therefore, a problem of social responsibility that transcends the private interpersonal relations, has lead governments to devote resources and actions to eliminate and punish this type of violence. This has been a fundamental step forward towards recognizing and later condemning intra-family violence. However, two current risks must be pointed out. On the one hand, by prioritizing other family members (child abuse, among others), violence against women as gender-based violence is once again underestimated and, on the other hand, violence exercised against women in public city spaces is ignored at the social level.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S PROGRESS AND EXPERIENCES IN THE INCLUSION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN PUBLIC POLICIES ON SAFETY AND SECURITY.

Within their local sphere of responsibility and influence, municipal governments are trying, on one hand, to overcome an absence of actions related to violence against women, and on the other, provide alternative solutions to merely repressive actions against crime.

In this sense, some positive experiences that give priority to violence prevention have been developed:

■ **Municipal bodies vested with police power:** these are local government experiences in which the task is to focus on the control and prevention of violence and a lack of safety and security in cities.

Municipal Urban Guard (GUM)

Rosario, Argentina, created in 2004

Institution that promotes safety and urban coexistence in public city spaces (streets, squares, public buildings), consisting of the same number of male and female officers, who do not carry weapons.

The Municipal Urban Guard (GUM) patrols recreational public areas, provides assistance to male and female residents when required, receives claims and reports and refers them to the corresponding public body (lack of lighting in a public space, for instance), and intervenes in case of conflict and prevents conflicts in crowded places, in which case, mediation techniques are applied. Priority is given to educational actions promoting behaviors that respect the safety, transitability and integrity of people and places. To this end, officers were trained, from a human rights perspective, in mediation, persuasion and dissuasion techniques for the resolution of conflicts in public life. Recently, some aspects of gender-based violence have been incorporated.

Source: Web site of the City of Rosario, Argentina. <http://www.rosario.gov.ar>





■ **Police Stations of and/or for Women** or **Police Stations for Sex Crimes**, are experiences that have begun to disseminate throughout Latin America during the past few decades. Although these police stations do not generally depend on municipalities but rather on superior jurisdictions, it is important that local governments coordinate with superior administrations and request the creation of these police stations in their territories.

These police stations have been implemented in different Latin American countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Peru and Uruguay, and although they have different functions in each of these countries, in general they are established as a service that not only receive reports but also provides legal, medical and psychological support to women. In Brazil, these police stations have the power to provide sentencing in cases of violence against women and children¹.

¹ Source: UNIFEM - ISIS International (2002) Informe sobre la violencia contra las mujeres en América Latina y el Caribe. Balance de una década 1990 - 2000. Santiago, Chile.

Delegacia da Mulher - Sao Paulo, Brazil

Created in Sao Paulo in 1983 as a joint initiative between the State and the Municipal government, these are police stations with specially trained female staff.

These police stations not only file reports from women victims of violence, but also provide women with social and psychological support.

This experience was replicated and established across the entire country. These police stations were incorporated into the Municipal Organic Law in 1990, and given this there are currently more than three hundred police stations of this type.

Source: International Center for Crime Prevention, 2000

Website: <http://www.crime-prevention-intl.org/english/programs/index.html>

■ On the other hand, we may also now interestingly observe some institutional policies that propose the participation of women's organizations in efforts to tackle the urban safety issue. Even though participation is not always achieved and does not itself guarantee the consideration of women's specific needs and demands, this no doubt represents a fundamental step forward.

Safe Commune Program - Chile

"Compromiso Cien"

Joint Program of the Ministry of internal affairs and Municipalities.

The program consists of safety development in spaces closest to people: neighborhoods and communes.

It entails the formation of a Community Council for Citizen Security, comprised of experts and representatives from the municipality and the community. This Council promotes citizens' participation in the diagnosis and design of the communal plan for urban safety and security, as well as in its monitoring and assessment.

An interesting aspect to highlight is that this program's regulations establish that a representative of the women's community organizations should participate in the Council.

This potentially allows for women's needs and concerns regarding safety to be incorporated and discussed in this space.

Source: Web site of the Citizen Safety Division. Ministry of Internal Affairs, Chile. <http://www.seguridadciudadana.gob.cl.regiones.htm>





MODULE III

**INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS
AND WOMEN'S RIGHT
TO LIVE A
VIOLENCE-FREE LIFE**



Sculpture by Fernando Botero, Medellín, Colombia

WOMEN HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE A LIFE FREE FROM VIOLENCE

Over the past two decades, a series of United Nations and Organization of American States-organized world conferences and summits were held, at which the world's governments gathered together in order to address the different social, economic, environmental, and cultural problems considered priority for the global population. These Conferences, some more explicitly than others, included women's rights on their debate agenda, as well as the societal and State failure to generate conditions and instruments to put those rights into practice. This recognition is no doubt the product of the active role that women's and feminist organizations have played in international spaces in order to ensure their voices were heard.

Women's demands and proposals are reflected in the Declarations and Conventions of different World Summits, indicating objectives, goals and actions to which the signatory States commit in order to transform situations of gender inequality that are expressed through women's unequal access to education, health care, work and political participation. One of the most prevalent ways that women's rights are violated- a topic that was addressed at the conferences- is through the violence exercised against them.

Even though all the conferences and summits constitute reference points in terms of the commitments assumed by the world's governments, it is important to differentiate the scope of these conferences and summits, and fundamentally the differences between International Conferences and Conventions. While the first are non-binding international agreements that include moral obligations, the second, together with international covenants, are binding instruments, i.e. non-compliance by ratified States has legal consequences that can result in criminal sanctions against such States. Therefore, it is important that local governments, society, and especially women are aware of the agreements and commitments assumed by their States in the international sphere, in this way allowing them to monitor and demand compliance in different spaces of relevance. Local government could demand the national government's compliance to commitments and, at the same time, local government should assume commitments applicable to the local policy level. On the other hand, society and particularly women should actively participate in the monitoring, design and implementation of public policies and municipal programs, and in the specific case of gender-based violence, demand actions aimed at the prevention and penalization of it.

Local governments must recognize **that the right of women to a violence-free life** is affirmed in:

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

■ CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (CEDAW) UNITED NATIONS, 1979.

This Convention, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and ratified by 20 countries, is characterized by its inclusion of all the regulations of previous UN instruments related to discrimination against women in one legal international human rights instrument. The Convention requires that party States eliminate discrimination against women in matters of civil, political, economic and cultural rights. It also establishes pragmatic measures so that States can pursue the goal of achieving equality between men and women. Article 17 of the Convention was established for the purpose of determining progress made in the implementation of the Convention, and towards this end this article created the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), an organ of the United Nations that defends women's rights.

The rights established in this Convention are enriched by the **General Recommendations** of the Committee on the Elimination of Violence against Women, the body responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Convention. The Recommendations indicate measures to State parties that may be adopted in order to comply with the Convention's implementation. The importance of these recommendations is that they have allowed for the scope or content of the articles to be extended, or include new topics not contemplated in the Convention. It is important to highlight that governments submit reports related to the commitments assumed under the Convention, and that likewise different women's organizations also submit shadow reports on these results.

The Optional Protocol to the Convention, adopted in 1999, creates a mechanism that allows individuals or groups of individuals to file reports to the Experts Committee of the Convention. Furthermore, the Committee is authorized to conduct inquiries into grave or systematic violations of women's human rights as set forth in the Convention. To date, 71

Article 5 establishes that: State Parties shall take all appropriate measures:

a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women.

General Recommendation No. 19 -1992- is very important since it defined violence against women as a gender-based form of discrimination and a violation of human rights.



Photograph by Domenico Privitera and Dominique Papi published in **"Arte para todos. Una nueva dimension de gestión"** (1996) Metropolitan District of Quito. Department of Parks and Gardens. Quito, Ecuador. A&H Editorial

States have ratified the Protocol.

Within the **Inter-American System** we can mention:

■ **THE INTER-AMERICAN CONVENTION FOR THE PREVENTION, PUNISHMENT, AND ERADICATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN** "Belem Do Para Convention"- OAS. (Belem Do Pará, Brazil, June 9th 1994)The

This convention is the first international legal instrument that recognizes the right of women to live a violence-free life and understands violence against women as a violation of human rights. This convention was ratified by 31 Latin American and Caribbean States. The main contribution of this Convention is its definition of violence against women, and the scope of this definition.

*In this convention violence against women is understood to include physical, sexual and psychological violence: **that occurs within the family or domestic unit or within any other interpersonal relationship**, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the women, including, among others, rape, battery and sexual abuse; **that occurs in the community and is perpetrated by any person**, including, among others, rape, sexual abuse, torture, trafficking in persons, forced prostitution, kidnapping and sexual harassment in the workplace, as well as in educational institutions, health facilities or any other place; and **that is perpetrated or condoned by the state or its agents** regardless of where it occurs (Art.2)*

This Convention contains mechanisms to protect the rights established therein, and it commits party States to revise their legislation to provide specific solutions to the existing violence against women.

The Convention authorizes the Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM) to revise each State's reports on actions for the prevention, eradication and punishment of violence against women. This Commission is an organization of the OAS that was created in 1928 and is made up of 34 Permanent Delegates, one for each member State.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND SUMMITS

■ SECOND WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS (Vienna, June 14-25, 1993)

On June 25 1993, representatives of 171 States adopted the Declaration and Program of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights by consensus. This Conference recommended that the measures taken in order to assure *"the equal status and human rights of women"* be incorporated into the United Nations system, uniting the efforts of the Commission on the Legal and Social Status of Women, the Commission on Human Rights and other United Nations organizations. It was also concluded that necessary steps should be taken to assure that the United Nations activities for human rights address and include women's human rights on a regular basis.

The human rights of women and of the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights. (...)

Gender-based violence and all forms of sexual harassment and exploitation, including those resulting from cultural prejudice and international trafficking, are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person, and must be eliminated. This can be achieved by legal measures and through national action and international cooperation in such fields as economic and social development, education, safe maternity and health care, and social support. (Art. 18)

At the same time, the mechanism of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on violence against women- including its causes and consequences- was created in 1994 in response to a conference proposal. The principle mandate of the Rapporteur is to seek and receive information on violence against women, specifically on its causes and consequences, and to recommend measures to eliminate violence against women, eradicate the causes of this violence, and remedy the consequences.



This conference established:

- Women's rights as an indivisible part of universal human rights.
- The need to create actions to eliminate the different forms of violence faced by women that threaten their dignity.

At this Summit, agreement was made regarding:

- The need to establish laws and policies that eradicate all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls.

This Declaration states the need to:

- *Prevent and eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls (Art. 29) and to promote and protect all human rights of women and girls (Art. 31).*

■ WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT (Copenhagen, March 6-12, 1995)

The Summit was attended by 117 heads of State or government, and ministers of 69 other countries. The primary objectives of this meeting were: to promote social development throughout the world so that men and women, especially those who live in poverty, can exercise their rights, use resources and share responsibilities that will enable them to lead a satisfactory life and contribute to the well-being of their families, communities and humanity; and, to support and foster this task, particularly with respect to those persons affected by poverty, unemployment and social marginalization.

We will take effective measures, including through the enactment and enforcement of laws, and implement policies to combat and eliminate all forms of discrimination, exploitation, abuse and violence against women and girl children, in accordance with relevant international instruments and declarations (Art. 31).

■ FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN (Beijing, September 4-15, 1995)

The Conference was the corollary of the 21st Century of a series of conferences on this subject that started in 1975, with the International Year of Women in Mexico D.F., and among other results, a consensus was reached on a Declaration and Platform for Action. This Declaration, which was adopted by consensus by the 185 governmental delegations participating in the Conference, is *"a program aimed at building the necessary conditions for the empowerment of women in society"*.

The Platform for Action adopted by consensus aims at **creating the necessary conditions for the empowerment of women in society**. Three strategic objectives to eliminate violence against women are stated in this Platform, and are developed in articles 112 through 130:

- Adopt integrated measures to prevent and eliminate violence against women.

■ Study causes and consequences of violence against women and the effectiveness of prevention measures.

■ Eliminate the trafficking in women and give assistance to women victims of violence resulting from trafficking and prostitution.

The term "violence against women" means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm, including threats, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life. Accordingly, violence against women encompasses, but is not limited to, the following: a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation; b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution; c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs. (Art. 113)

Other acts of violence against women include violations of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict, in particular murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy. (Art. 114)

Acts of violence against women also include forced sterilization and forced abortion, coercive/forced use of contraceptives, female infanticide and prenatal sex selection. (Art. 115)

Some groups of women, such as women belonging to minority groups, indigenous women, refugee women, women migrants, including women migrants workers, women in poverty living in rural or remote communities, destitute women, women in institutions or in detention, female children, women with disabilities, elderly women, displaced women, repatriated women, women living in poverty and women in situations of armed conflict, foreign occupation, wars of aggression, civil wars and terrorism, including hostage-taking, are also particularly vulnerable to violence. (Art. 116)

Furthermore, in 2000, the document "New measures and initiatives for the implementation of

The main points established in the Platform identify:

■ The obligation of the States to prevent and eliminate violence against women and girls, and makes this obligation known to society, non-governmental organizations and the private sector.

■ A definition of violence against women that has been sustained by gender inequality and the cultural practices of society.

■ The different forms of violence, the places where violence is exercised -domestic and public- as well as in the media, including State violence, by action or omission, against women.

■ The consequences of violence against women, which hinders their daily routines and their access to basic activities.

■ The need to incorporate gender-disaggregated statistics related to violence.

■ Necessary alliances with groups of men that mobilize against gender-based violence.

■ Trafficking and trade of women and girls as a form of violence that must be eliminated.

■ The need to incorporate the gender perspective in programs and actions related to violence against women.



The Plan of Action approved in this Conference establishes:

- The need to increase women's safety in their community.
- That those people responsible for formulating crime prevention policies must be aware of the causes and consequences of violence against women.

the *Beijing Platform for Action* adopted by the UN General Assembly in the 23rd Special Session", also known as "Beijing + 5", included an assessment of the first five years of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action, and broadened the scope of actions considered as violence against women to include the specific experiences of women in armed conflict situations, such as murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy. It also identifies other acts such as crimes of honor, crimes of passion, child pornography, forced sterilization, forced abortion, the coercive use of contraceptives, female infanticide, prenatal sex-selection, crimes on the basis of race, kidnapping of and trafficking in girls, acid attacks and early marriages as forms of violence against women.

■ SECOND UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS (Istanbul, July 3-14, 1996)

The goal of the Conference was to ensure healthy, safe, just and sustainable cities and towns. The Habitat Agenda and the Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements, adopted by 171 governments during the Conference, outlined 100 commitments and strategies to address shelter and sustainable human settlements, emphasizing themes of partnership and local action.

Growing insecurity and violence are mentioned in Article 4 of this Declaration as factors to be considered in order to improve quality of life in settlements, and, the need for women to live in safe, healthy and stable conditions is addressed in Article 7.

To prevent, reduce and eliminate violence and crime, Governments (...) should:

(123 e) Enhance women's safety in communities through the promotion of a gender perspective in crime prevention policies and programs by increasing in those responsible for implementing those policies the knowledge and understanding of the causes, consequences and mechanisms of violence against women (...)

(123 i) Encourage the establishment of programs and projects based on voluntary participation, especially of children, youth and older persons, to prevent violence, including violence in the home, and crime (Art.123).

■ UNITED NATIONS DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE OF PLENIPOTENTIARIES
ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT
(Rome, July 17 1998)

The main objective of this conference was to develop and draw up a Statute to create the International Criminal Court:

"The Court shall be a permanent institution and shall have the power to exercise its jurisdiction over persons for the most serious crimes of international concern, as referred to in this Statute, and shall be complementary to national criminal jurisdictions. The jurisdiction and functioning of the Court shall be governed by the provisions of this Statute" (Art.1).

The Statute was approved in 1998 and it entered into force the first of July of 2002, with 76 ratifications and 139 signatories. All Latin American countries, except Chile and Mexico, ratified and signed the Statute. The United States has opposed the Court's jurisdiction, which hinders its functioning. In Article 7, crimes against humanity, and its manifestations, are defined as:

"any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack:

- a) Murder;*
- b) Extermination;*
- c) Enslavement;*
- d) Deportation or forcible transfer of population;*
- e) Imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law;*
- f) Torture;*
- g) Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity;**
- h) Persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender as defined in paragraph 3, or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law, in connection with any act referred to in this paragraph or any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court;**





- i) Enforced disappearance of persons;*
- j) The crime of apartheid;*
- k) Other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health"*

Paragraph 3 of the same article states that the term "**gender**", *"refers to the two sexes, male and female, within the context of society."*

As regards section "g", it is specified that:

"forced pregnancy"*means the unlawful confinement of a women forcibly made pregnant, with the intent of affecting the ethnic composition of any population or carrying out other grave violations of international law. This definition shall not in any way be interpreted as affecting national laws relating to pregnancy"*

Article 8 includes what the Statute considers "**war crimes**". We highlight here section VI of paragraph "e" of this article:

"Committing rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, as defined in article 7, paragraph 2 (f), enforces sterilization, and any other form of sexual violence also constituting a serious violation of article 3 common to the four Geneva Conventions"

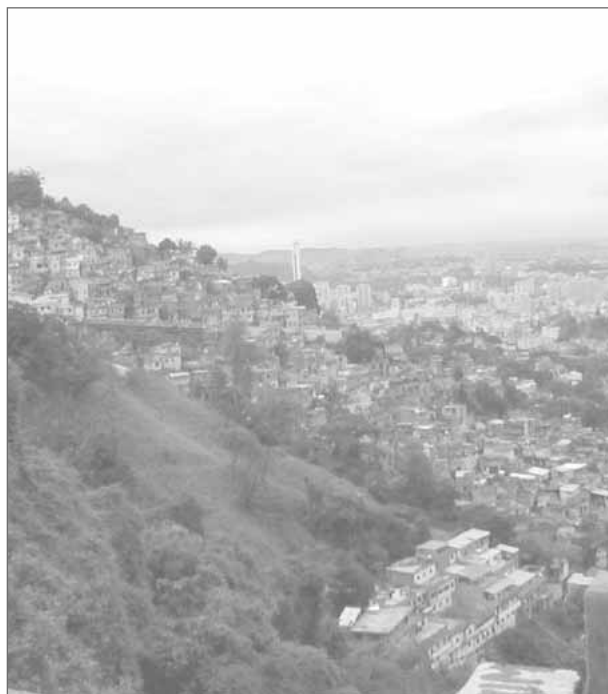
The International Criminal Court is the first international instrument not exclusively related to women that includes the gender perspective, along with procedural and evidentiary rules, as well as rules about elements of the crimes, and as such may be considered an advancement in matters of sexual crimes. Nevertheless, Latin American and Caribbean governments have not yet passed internal laws to implement the Court, nor have they adapted their criminal rules to the Court's standards. The non-recognition or use of this instrument represents a regression in terms of gender justice.



MODULE IV

CRITERIA FOR THE INCLUSION OF A GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN URBAN SAFETY AND SECURITY POLICIES





The incorporation of the gender perspective in Latin American municipal agendas is the result of a gradual process that has achieved important victories; however, undoubtedly there are still many obstacles to its implementation. Such incorporation has occurred simultaneously with the recognition of the importance of the role of local government and of their new functions and responsibilities in relation to local development. In this sense, we believe it opportune to offer some guidelines here, which are the product of the assessment and systematization of other experiences, in order to support current initiatives, especially relating to the promotion of safer cities.

The production of knowledge and reflection on different experiences in countries of the region, as well as in other contexts, has generated guides and manuals that are meant as resources and support for those persons responsible for the design and implementation of equitable public policies.

On the basis of these experiences, we highlight some basic criteria here that local governments should consider for a better and more productive incorporation of the gender perspective.

■ **Integrity:** Town councils should simultaneously address situations of exclusion or vulnerability of women so as to improve their quality of life and the services they require and receive, and also the position of women in local society (access to resources, education, political participation, etc.). This entails shifting from specific actions directed at a specific group, to the design and implementation of a gender policy, i.e. a policy to promote equal opportunities between men and women.

■ **Affirmative actions:** These are corrective actions aimed at overcoming situations of discrimination and inequality faced by women as regards to their needs and rights, particularly addressing and giving priority to these situations. For example, through the allocation of resources for specific programs for women, or through the establishment of access quotas for certain benefits. These actions are important tools that local governments should use to promote gender equity.

■ **Training:** All policy implementation requires the training of the agents responsible for the writing of such policies. In this sense, gender perspective training is essential for the development and implementation of policies directed at women, and, in order to enable transformations in the political-administrative structure and dynamics of municipalities.

■ **Gender Mainstreaming:** Gender equity should transverse the municipal agenda at all levels, which requires the commitment of every area and all actors, and at the same time, prevents the segregation and isolation of women's issues to a specific department. This does not exclude the existence of gender-specific policies, which are essential to guaranteeing that gender mainstreaming is actually put into practice.

■ **Coordination:** The effectiveness of local gender equity policies requires collaboration between the different areas of local government as well as between different local governments, and, at the same time, with the central or federal government. The application of this principle leads to the strengthening of institutional capacities and the optimization of resources in a concerted municipal action.

■ **Institutionalization:** This entails the inclusion of the gender perspective and women's rights in municipal regulations and local governments' organizational structures, allowing sustainability over time, in the structure of policy spaces and actions for gender equity. For example: Equal Opportunity Plans for Men and Women, Women's Areas, etc. Sustainability also implies that municipalities assign a recognized and hierarchical place to these institutional examples and allocate funds in the budget to guarantee their functioning.

■ Another absolutely essential criterion for the formulation and implementation of public policies is **the promotion of women's participation**. This entails creating and assuring conditions and mechanisms that facilitate women's access to different participatory spaces.

Text based on: Bassols, D.; Massolo, A.; Aguirre Pérez, I. (2004) *Guía para la Equidad de Género en el Municipio*. GIMTP. Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Social. Mexico; Falú, A. (Coord.); Massolo, A. (Texts) (2000) *Guía para la Formulación y Ejecución de Políticas Municipales dirigidas a Mujeres*, Notebook #72, PGU, CISCsa, Women and Habitat Network of Latin America, UNIFEM, Quito, 1st Edition.



PROGRAM H - PROMUNDO INSTITUTE, Brazil, Rio de Janeiro.

This program is aimed at men, especially young men, to raise awareness of violence against women. To this end, the program implements:

- Educational actions to prevent violence and promote healthy practices as regards to sexuality, paternity, anger management, etc.
- Public campaigns aimed at transforming preconceptions about what it means to 'be a man', for example, the white ribbon campaign.
- Activities with community organizations that attract and support young men living in violent contexts.

Source: ProMundo Institute, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil:
www.promundoorg.br

HOW CAN GENDER PERSPECTIVE CRITERIA BE INCLUDED IN URBAN SAFETY POLICIES?

According to the above mentioned criteria, local governments should consider the following aspects in the design of urban safety policies:

■ INTEGRALITY:

- It is essential to adopt a perspective on **violence against women**, and on its causes, that specifically considers violence against women as a **socio-cultural problem**, without failing to recognize its **multidimensionality** (social, economic, political aspects, etc.).
- It is necessary to formulate comprehensive strategies that include **support for women and girl victims of violence**, as well as violence **prevention** and the **promotion** of women's rights, giving priority to the last two aspects. This implies the inclusion of a **perspective not limited to "crime"** and that seeks safer cities for everyone, both men and women.
- From a gender perspective, **the inclusion of educational actions directed at men** and aimed at achieving fairer relations between genders, respect for women's autonomy and a non-violent resolution of conflicts, is essential. This is especially so for boys and young men. Likewise, traditional standards of masculinity that associate this concept with aggressiveness and authoritarianism must be deconstructed, as must arguments used to justify violence exercised by men that suggest alcoholism or male unemployment, among others, as causes of such violence.



■ AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS:

■ **Given that, in general, we lack of understanding of the causes and consequences of the different expressions of violence against women's on women's lives,** which many times generates a double victimization of women by the public institutions responsible for their care, situations of violence experienced by women require specific organizations with trained staff. This need and the demand of women's organizations have led many central and municipal governments to take different actions.

■ Municipal governments should create and promote **organizations and resources** in order to address the specific nature of violence against women, for example: **Women Police Stations, Emergency Telephone, At-risk Women's Shelters and Care Departments or Areas.**

■ It is essential that workshops and spaces be developed where **women can recognize and appropriate their rights** as human beings and as citizens.

■ **Equal Opportunity Plans for Men and Women** are one of the most important mechanisms developed by municipalities to put the principle of equity into practice, and, where it is possible, to incorporate affirmative actions as regards to women's safety in the city.

ROSARIO'S EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PLAN- Argentina.

The First Equal Opportunity Plan for Men and Women for the period 2001-2004 includes in its objectives, in the subject "Urban Planning: Habitat, Housing and Services," contributions to the generation of proposals that facilitate women's appropriation of urban spaces.

Among the actions outlined for the guarantee of women's appropriation of their right to the city, is:

The generation of proposals that guarantee women's safety in the use of public spaces, and that incorporate the gender perspective in the design, maintenance and adaptation of the different places.

Source: Women's Area, Department of Social Promotion, City Council of Rosario (2004) *Plan for Equal Opportunities for Men and Women 2001/2004*. Technical Consultant- The Friedrich bert Foundation. Rosario, Argentina



UNIFEM - Public policy training and territorial intervention on social violence and women's safety in five departments of Colombia- 2005

The objective of the training was to promote a process of awareness-raising on phenomena of social violence and women's safety at municipal and regional decision-making levels, including technical and political officials from different areas, and particularly those responsible for policies related to transportation, public spaces, planning and housing.

This training was carried out in the context of the UNIFEM Regional Program on Peace and Safety and the campaign "Safe lives for women in five departments of Colombia".

Source: UNIFEM (2005) Informe de Consultoría. UNIFEM Office. Colombia.

■ **TRAINING:**

■ **Training processes for technical and political municipal officials** must be implemented, helping these individuals to understand violence against women as a consequence of unequal relations between men and women, and the mechanisms utilized for their socialization. Furthermore, awareness must be raised on the mechanisms that permanently create and re-create gender inequities in the social dynamic, the public sphere, institutions and the territory of the city, as well as on the ways in which urban design, both physical and social, can promote safer cities for both men and women.

■ In order to address violence against women in a sustained and coordinated matter, the formulation of public policies should involve citizens' participation. Therefore, **training activities directed at civil society organizations, and especially women's organizations, on the exercise of rights-** that contribute arguments for the formulation of demands and proposals to local governments for the design of policies on the prevention of violence against women- must be designed and implemented.



■ PARTICIPATION:

■ An urban safety policy should consider the responsibility of **the different actors in the design and implementation of such policy: local governments** and their different departments, civil society organizations and **especially women's organizations**.

■ **It is essential to include the voice and experience of women as central figures** in spaces of decision-making and discussion about urban safety policies in order to ensure women's integration. Women should be convoked and consulted as citizens regarding the lack of safety in the city, recognizing that women experience specific forms of urban violence that affect their everyday lives, which, are generally not addressed by public policies. Situations of fear and danger that affect women also translate into greater knowledge of the conditions of places in the city that they perceive as unsafe and, therefore, women play a key role in assessing the safety of the different public spaces and of the city as a whole. The participation of women contributes to a safer city for everyone and, at the same time, helps raise awareness about the different needs and interests of all social groups.



*Sculpture by Fernando Botero,
Medellín, Colombia*

WOMEN'S COMMUNE

Municipality of Montevideo, Uruguay.

This program was proposed by women residents of Montevideo in the context of the formulation of decentralized government plans in Montevideo.

Women's Communes are neighborhood centers that are organized as spaces for social participation and personal development and as places where women can meet. Each Women's Commune is jointly managed by a Zone Commission of women who design actions and monitor services, with the support of decentralized social teams and in coordination with local governments. Services are also coordinated with specialized NGOs. The Women's Commission of the City Council of Montevideo is responsible for the program's political and institutional direction.

The general objective of the Program is to contribute to women's civic rights and their real participation in the defense and construction of their rights through the creation of spaces for local participation, the designations of plans and services, and the development of educational actions.

Source: **Ciudades para un futuro más sostenible**
(2000) <http://habitat.aq.upm.es/dubai/00/bp998.html>

INTRA-MUNICIPAL COORDINATION, Bogota, Colombia

The Care Guide - Identification of possible cases of sex crimes, developed by the District Council for the Comprehensive Care for Child Victims of Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, features institutional resources to which people should refer, as well as the order in which each they should be referred to, expressed as an inter-institutional flow-chart with the corresponding addresses and telephones. This enables any public official to assist child victims of sexual violence, and know the institutional paths to follow in order to assist such children.

Source: Administrative Department of Social Welfare.
City of Bogota. Serie Cartillas. Bogota, Colombia.

PUBLIC POLICY ON WOMEN AND GENDER, City of Bogota, Colombia.

One example of gender mainstreaming is the effort made to work in an articulated manner with the different Departments and/or entities (technical offices), in which specific female officials were assigned the task of ensuring the inclusion of the gender perspective in each of their areas, as well as in programs and projects of the District Plan.

■ COORDINATION:

- In keeping with the principle of gender mainstreaming, and in order to achieve results that impact the eradication of violence against women, **actions of intra-municipal coordination that address the integrality of this problem** must be strengthened. In the municipal structure, different areas and departments address the issue of violence against women, from different perspectives and, generally, without any coordination. In this way, what is observed is the implementation of isolated actions that have little impact.
- Furthermore, joint actions that are coordinated **between different municipalities** must be implemented, for example, municipalities from the same geographical region, and at the same time, these actions should be coordinated **with central government programs**.

■ GENDER MAINSTREAMING:

- The principle of gender mainstreaming is especially relevant to the formulation of municipal policies that address the prevention of violence against women. To this end, it is necessary to **include and involve different municipal areas and departments in the design and implementation of policies, programs and actions aimed at preventing violence against women**, and to avoid delegating this issue to one specific organization. In general, when the State addresses this problem it does so through a Women's Area Program or a Women's Police Station, which does not transform the institutional structure as a whole. Therefore, it is essential to initiate actions that include not only urban safety departments but also other areas, such as social areas (education, health care, social promotion, childhood, old age, etc.), as well as public works, transportation, housing and urban planning areas.

■ INSTITUTIONALIZATION

- The gender perspective, specifically on violence against women, should be included in municipal policies on urban safety and Information Systems that register the different types of crimes and violence, as well as in established programs and actions for which resources allocation is guaranteed.
- One way that this issue is institutionalized is through Participatory Budgets, which develop mechanisms to raise awareness on women's needs as regards to urban safety, as well as mechanisms for the equitable participation of women and men in Budget Councils.
- Furthermore, regulations and municipal instruments must be formulated that give adopted measures related to violence in different areas (health care, justice, urban planning, etc.) the status of law and ensure the compliance and enforcement of these measures.



MONTREAL, CANADA

The city of Montreal has developed guides for professionals and public organizations responsible for urban planning. The guides systematize, from a safety standpoint, the principles of design and function that the city's public spaces and services should comply with in order to be authorized by local governments:

- Guide for the safe organization of parking lots (1994)
- Guide for the safe organization of residential areas (1994)
- Internal document on the design of bus stations
- Guide for a safe urban environment (2002)

Source: CAFSU (2002) *La Seguridad de las mujeres: De la Dependencia a la Autonomía. Actuando para la seguridad de las mujeres.* Montreal, Canada.



MODULE V

**INTERVENTION IN
URBAN SPACE.
A TOOL FOR
SAFER CITIES FOR
BOTH MEN AND WOMEN**



INTERVENTION IN URBAN SPACE.

A TOOL FOR SAFER CITIES FOR BOTH MEN AND WOMEN.

The phenomenon of violence, and specifically urban violence, is determined by multiple causes and factors. Violence should therefore be addressed based on such complexity, while at the same time taking account of the perspectives and responsibilities of all involved actors. There are no one-cause answers to the phenomenon of violence, and, consequently, nor are there exclusive solutions. It is necessary to evaluate all the different variables involved in each context - social, economic, political and cultural -, and be aware of the fact that although answers will be partial, they will be relevant.

Intervention in urban space is one strategy for action that should be implemented and that can contribute to increased safety in the city and, mainly, improve the perception of safety that affects relations among people. This implies recognition of the city as the main territory of social interaction, where conflicts of different nature are part of such interactions and are expressed and resolved in a certain physical and social space. In aims of providing a few examples, some sectors are disputing over economically or environmentally valuable areas of the city or areas favorable for the development of certain activities. There are also impoverished populations occupying areas of the city where the possibilities for survival are greater (proximity to services and potential jobs), who are in confrontation with sectors interested in the real estate value of the land. Different neighborhoods of the city compete for the allocation of State investments; conflicts exist between peddlers and business owners over the use of public space, between youth and adults over conflicting activities that occur in public spaces, or among groups with diverse cultural practices, etc. This type of conflict is not necessarily expressed through violence, although violence is usually involved, and it is the State who should intervene to solve these conflicts through urban regulations, public policies and fairly distributed investments in the territory.

Reasons cited for security/insecurity, and considered as determining factors as to whether people use, transit or linger in certain places of the city, are also linked to conflicts taking place in urban space (robberies, rapes, physical aggression). Fear is a response to objective and/or subjective factors related, among other aspects, to the physical conditions of the urban envi-

ronment and/or the activities developed in such environment, as well as behaviors associated to a certain place; all of these factors interacting and influencing each other. For example, as a result of the lack of motivation for their use, places that have a great deal of activity only at certain times of the day transform into inhospitable spaces at other times of the day or at night. Such is the case in urban areas that have been revitalized due to financial or administrative activities, thus eliminating residential activity. Vandalized areas are not properly maintained or cared for and result in people's reluctance to visit them. Closed perimeter neighborhoods, with solid windowless walls that border the outer environment; acting as true visibility barriers and discouraging people from circulating the surrounding areas. At the same time, both the distances covered and the conditions of the places where people circulate are factors taken into consideration when deciding whether or not to visit certain places.

Any intervention in urban space first requires a consideration of its physical and social dimensions:

a. Physical Dimensions.

Physical dimensions refer to the physical support for human activities and the material and functional attributes that make them possible.

The parameters of quality of life may be measured in relation to the accessibility of different services offered by a city, as well as the degree of adaptability of services to meet the different requirements of the population, as according to the age of the people (youth, elderly, families with young children) dependant on these different types of services, i.e., the reality of sectors with specific problems (migrants, displaced people), etc. Reference is made here to heterogeneous societies; on one hand with unequal possibilities to access wealth, and on the other, with specific requirements according to age, sex, ethnicity and social insertion. In this sense, the demands of all cannot be met to the same level without running the risk of generating greater inequality.

For example, physical proximity to different urban services (health, education, recreational services, etc.), the ease of access to such services through public transportation, or, safety in the broad sense, in connection with road and traffic conditions, may facilitate and encourage people's mobilization. On the other hand, physical distances, the cost of transport in terms of time and money, or the fear of being attacked or ending up victim to robberies or any other

"BETWEEN TWO STOPS" SERVICE CAFSU - CANADA

The aim of this public transportation program implemented in Montreal and Toronto is to increase women's safety and perception of safety when traveling.

In order to shorten the distance women must walk to reach their final destinations at night, this service permits women of any age traveling during these hours to get off the bus between stops.

This experience contributed to the association of women's organizations, Municipalities, and the Public Transportation Service.

Source: Michaud, Anne. (2000). *Aplicaciones a escala urbana de la perspectiva de género: la seguridad de las mujeres y el transporte público en Montreal*. Montreal. CAFSU; Femmes et Ville, Ville de Montréal; STCUM.



type of violence, are possible inhibiting factors that encourage people to enclose themselves in their private world, or in controlled environments with limited socialization. This particularly affects people living in neighborhoods that are segregated from the fabric of urban life and who lack basic services, and specifically affects women. The lack of public transit, especially at night; the unreliability of transit services; the fact that streets can not be circulate on after heavy rains; and difficulty accessing public telephones in order to seek help, are all factors that increase the perception of risk and insufficient protection, and that discourage women from participating in many activities, including activities related to their free time. In this sense, the existence and quality of public services helps diminish unsafe and insecure situations, as well as the perception of such situations.

The different requirements of men and women in terms of their relation with the city- product of the sexual division of labor whereby women are still assigned responsibility for unpaid activities linked to household care, which makes them especially dependent on proximity to urban services- is an important factor that should be prioritized in city design, and is closely linked to the issue of the markedly different way women experience safety and security in the city. In the case of poor or impoverished sectors, the deficiency or non-existence public services constitutes a cause for a greater insecurity, at the same time that it increases both the perception of danger, as well as the situations of violence that women from these sectors are exposed to.

Different international experiences have highlighted some physical characteristics of urban spaces that increase the feeling of insecurity, especially among women. Places cited as potentially dangerous include: empty and poorly maintained urban spaces or deteriorated and uninhabited areas (e.g. vacant lots, open fields, abandoned buildings); poorly lit places; areas with physical barriers or fractures (e.g. railroad tracks, bridges, underpasses, large avenues or highways); and, hideouts (e.g. no-exit streets, narrow passages, etc.).

Municipal government territorial interventions aimed at the prevention or reduction of insecurity can have different ranges and magnitudes, from the development of a housing plan, to the development and construction of a public square. Likewise, community actions to upgrade deteriorated buildings; assigning a social use to a vacant lot or abandoned area and conditioning the area accordingly; or the construction of a bridge to connect a physically segregated neighborhood with the rest of the city. Furthermore, all interventions can be developed so that they take into consideration design conditions that can help generate safer urban envi-

ronments, and perceive them as such.

b. Social dimensions.

Social dimensions refer to people's relationship and sociability modes and are manifested in the urban space through different social dynamics. Transformations in our cities may currently be observed as regards to the way territory is occupied and used in response to different factors, among which is the perception of insecurity, and, that reproduce the defenselessness and insecurity of people. An example of this is the emergence of large recreational or commercial centers, which are not explicitly banned for general public use but undoubtedly operate as mechanisms of social selection through codes like dress or the type of consumption. Likewise, people considered "potentially conflictive", generally young people from poor sectors or others that have been stigmatized as problematic, are expelled from certain areas of the city through the use of police control mechanisms. This has generated territories that are for the exclusive use of certain sectors of the population and forbidden for others. At the same time, the weakening of the social networks among neighbors, limited identification with one's own neighborhood, and social friction among different socioeconomic spaces that is expressed in the territory- high income sectors and neighborhoods rubbing up against sectors and neighborhoods living in poor material conditions, without any real contact between them- have led people to take refuge in private spheres, and to be suspicious of others.

On the other hand, the feeling of belonging to a neighborhood and a city, along with communication and articulation among neighbors from geographically close areas, and, the presence of people of different sex, age and socioeconomic conditions in public spaces, are continually believed as factors that contribute to the achievement of greater safety and security.

In parallel with the concern for urban insecurity, the importance of the city's public spaces as meeting points and as places to learn about cultural, gender, generation, and social diversity has also been promoted. Many local governments have pledged their firm commitment to the creation, conditioning and development of public spaces in their cities and to the promotion of activities to take place in such spaces. This commitment is made under the understanding that public spaces contribute to the democratization of the city, to communication and solidarity among inhabitants, and, have a direct bearing on people's quality of life through the provision of spaces of coexistence and expression. At the same time, the participatory management of public spaces is another tool that has been consented upon as a contribution to the



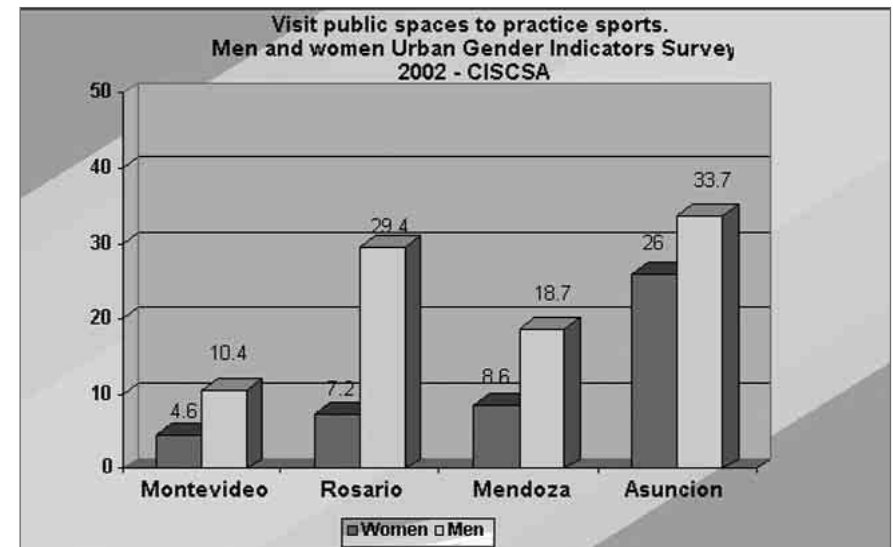
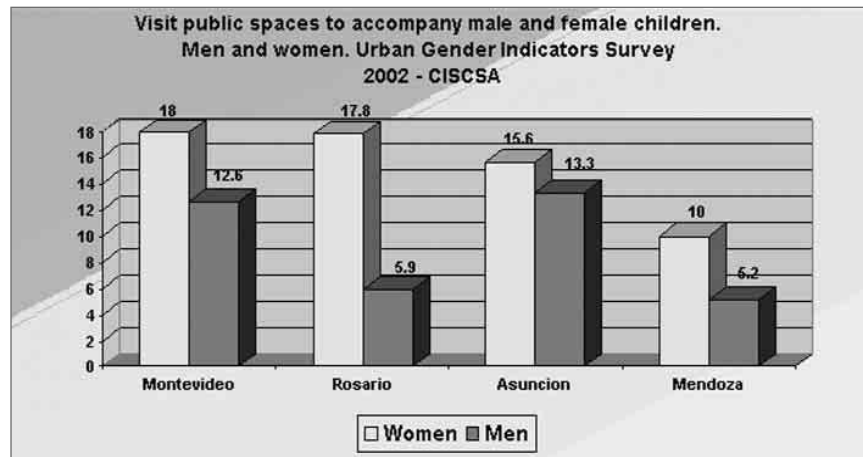
"Barcelona. La transformació d'una ciutat".
Ajuntament de Barcelona. Regidoria de Promoció i
Relacions Cíviques. Enero, 1995





reconstruction of social fabric.

The social dynamic expressed in space also has, from the gender relations perspective, its correlate in the private/public relationship that responds to cultural determining factors typical to the social organization of each historical time and context. Nevertheless, the common denominator has been the sexual division of labor, whereby the private world is assigned to women and the public to men. This also translates into behaviors that are acceptable for men and forbidden for women. Despite changes that have occurred, the street as a space is still predominately under the domain of men, and is manifested in the way planners think of public space, for example, infrastructure for sports is designed for men and passive activities are designed for women. On the other hand, and in response to a vision women have of themselves that relates to certain mandates, it is common for women to use public spaces in connection with their children or family needs.



Women and men's mode of behavior in public space, and the greater or lesser control over such space are related to early socialization modes. Although neither boys nor girls generally go to public spaces without the permission and/or supervision of adults, it is still girls who are restricted from circulating about their own neighborhood, which limits their mobility and knowledge of the city. This restriction is expressed through warning messages that girls receive in relation to the fear and danger of walking in streets and public spaces due to their condition as women and the inherent possibility of facing situations of sexual violence. These messages are internalized and reproduced in the behaviors of these women as adults.

The appropriation of some spaces, mainly by groups of men with aggressive behaviors towards women, and sometimes worsened by the consumption of alcohol and drugs, is one of the ways that men acquire control of the street, and as already mentioned, results in physical violence, sexual abuse and rape. These situations refer not only to spaces like the street, and squares or parks, but also to institutional spaces such as educational centers, places of work, public transportation and one's own house.

From the perspective of women's needs, cultural obstacles derived from patterns of conduct that are socially assigned to men and women in patriarchal societies must be eliminated, and, public space in its double sense- as a common-use physical space and a space for the exercise of public activities- can and must be shared by men and women, and likewise must be shared in the private sphere.

Local government is responsible for urban planning and interventions in the urban territory. Hence, it is able to address urban safety and security problems through the implementation of actions to improve social ties and promote the feeling of belonging and identification with places and solidarity among citizens, or actions that, on the contrary, increase isolation, as well as physical and social segregation. Likewise, the municipality can implement actions oriented towards the greater appropriation of public space by women, and can promote respectful relations and behaviors of men with respect to women's integrity.



Photograph: "María, María", UNIFEM, "United Nations Campaign on Women and Girls' Human Rights: A life free from violence - It's our right"



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FORMULATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN INTERVENTION PROJECTS FOR SAFER CITIES FOR WOMEN

Following are some recommendations for interventions in urban space from the perspective of safety and security, particularly aimed at women's inclusion.

To this end, the logic of an intervention process is followed, focused on the following items:

- 5.1. Diagnosis
- 5.2. Necessary conditions for planning and intervention
- 5.3. Possible lines of intervention
- 5.4. Some guidelines for evaluation and monitoring

5.1. LOCAL AND PARTICIPATORY DIAGNOSIS CENTERED ON WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE

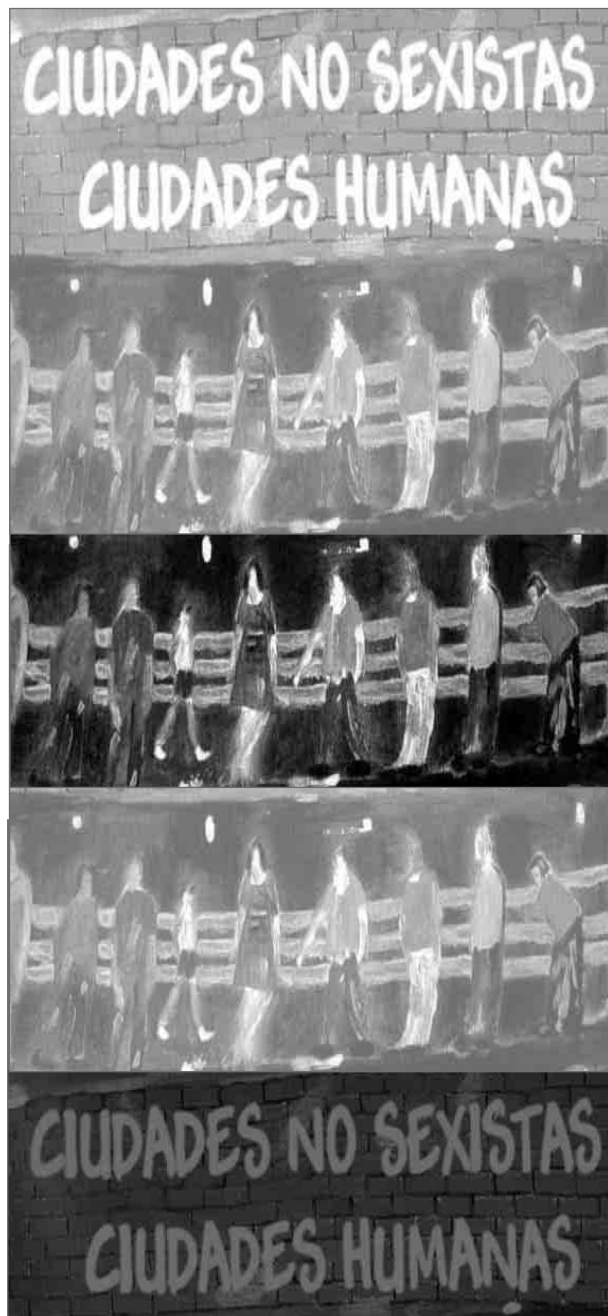
In order for local government to provide solutions to the problem of urban insecurity, they must first generate information and knowledge about situations of violence and insecurity, keeping in mind the experiences of all citizens.

Starting from the premise that every public policy should consider its target group as the "expert voice", diagnoses in experiences that seek to promote safer cities should consider the centrality of the objective and subjective experiences of women regarding the violence they face in the city, as well as the leadership of women's organizations. The sensation of insecurity and the fear of being attacked in public space, as well as domestic violence, impact on women's daily lives and limit their possibilities as citizens. The interrelation of these types of violence has not yet been thoroughly investigated, and should be included in the diagnoses of each reality.

Premises to approach a diagnosis of violence against women in cities:

- Place women's experience at the center of any intervention and, in this sense, acknowledge their fear as justified and well-founded (CAFSU, Canada, 1992).
- Understand violence against women as a cultural phenomenon that includes the so-called private space and the public space, since it responds to the same causes and factors. Investigate men and women's conceptions of the social roles assigned to each of them, as well as the ways that gender relations are constructed in each context and sustain inequalities and asymmetries between the sexes, of which violence is an expression.
- Consider the different experiences of daily violence faced by women in cities, which are not considered as "crimes" under the law or within social spheres, and therefore, are invisible to society and public institutions.
- Compile gender disaggregated victim/aggressor statistics on acts of violence, which include the place and time crimes are committed, in order to help territorialize those crimes and investigate causes and predisposing factors.
- Incorporate the participation of different governmental and social actors in the diagnosis so these actors are also involved in the proposals necessary for the problem's resolution.
- Recognize the territorial dimension of security/insecurity and the active role of space as a physical condition of certain social dynamics. The description of the neighborhoods where the intervention will take place, the habitability conditions of houses, the environment and public spaces, as well as the characteristics of the transportation system and community facilities, are items that should be included in a diagnosis.
- Consider the multidimensionality of the issue, and consequently, of the possible interventions (cultural, social, political, economic and territorial factors).
- Identify, apart from the critical needs of this area, the institutional resources that already exist and that are yet needed to confront violence against women.





5.1.1. The diagnosis should consider the gathering of information on:

- The stereotypes that persist in society and that support the "naturalization" of practices of violence against women: how they operate; what of the central cores has been modified or still persists; how present they are in different sectors of the population; and, how they affect practices of the use and appropriation of the city's public spaces.
- The different forms of violence that women face in the city (at home and in the street), from a gender perspective: the forms, magnitude and territorialization, and keeping in mind the heterogeneity of women as a collective.
- Women's perceptions of violence in the city and the implications of these perceptions on the use and appropriation of the city, as well as possible strategies to reverse this situation, including currently implemented strategies.
- The performance of State institutions addressing this issue, as well as the "gaps" in current safety and security policies from a gender perspective, which it is not limited to the inclusion of intra-family violence or sexual crimes.

Photograph: Source: UNIFEM,
"Safe Lives for Women Campaign"

EXAMPLES OF INDICATORS TO BE USED IN A DIAGNOSIS OF URBAN VIOLENCE TOWARDS WOMEN

Knowledge of the violence women suffer in the city

- Places where women face violence, distinguishing: the house, the street, means of transportation, public spaces in general in their own neighborhood and in other sectors of the city.
- Statistics on the types of violence suffered by women, according to age, ethnicity, socioeconomic condition, activity they partake in, sexual inclination and situations of diverse vulnerabilities (women immigrants, women displaced for different reasons).
- Social and spatial conditions of public spaces in neighborhoods that facilitate situations of violence and insecurity for women.
- Perception of insecurity differentiated by sex, distinguishing places and times of day.
- Women's and men's assessment of the actions of bodies specialized in urban security (police, police sectors for families, urban guard).

Positive actions for women in Local Development Plans

- Percentage of women victims of violence incorporated as beneficiaries of specific programs for the economic improvement of their life conditions.
- Percentage of women victims of violence or those in potentially vulnerable situations that are prioritized in housing plans.

Use of public space, discriminated by sex¹

- Accessibility: Knowledge of public spaces in one's own neighborhood and in the city, distance (measured in time) to such spaces, means of transportation used, existence of physical obstacles to their access.
- Use: Women's activities that take place in public spaces that are developed in terms of sociability, as well as time and frequency of use.
- Assessment and preferences regarding use of free time, participation in cultural or other activities, and perception of the roles assigned to men and women in public spaces.

¹ CISCsa (2003) *Informe de Resultados de la Encuesta de Indicadores Urbanos de Género, aplicada en cinco ciudades del Conon Sur*.

Social and institutional context receptive to women's needs and their participation

- Institutionalization of women's participation in public consultations on city planning and urban safety policies.
- Percentage of women holding positions in the municipal government.
- Percentage of women holding positions in officially recognized neighborhood organizations.
- Local government's actions aimed at improving women's participation in Urban Development Plans (i.e., adaptation of schedules, child-care service, etc.).

Knowledge and raised-awareness of public officials and technical teams about women's safety and security in the city

- Percentage of women's proposals incorporated into programs or projects of Local Development or Urban Design Plans.
- Modifications made to initial projects in response to women's proposals.



5.1.2. Tools for conducting a diagnosis:

Gender-disaggregated statistics on crime, as well as victimization surveys, are traditional diagnosis tools that should continue to be used and perfected. Statistics on acts of violence should be gender and age disaggregated, for both victims and aggressors, and should include a register of the place and time crimes occurred; important to this is the development of geo-reference. Victimization surveys were created to more clearly assess the criminal phenomenon, since real estimates of the problem are problematic due to the lack of filed victim reports. Also incorporated over time was the measurement of the perception of insecurity, as well as preventive or protective measures people take as a result of such perception. This is particularly relevant for women since they alter their routines more frequently than men due to insecurity or fear of being the victim of aggressions on the street. As already highlighted, subjective reasons are as important as objective ones in terms of the fear that sustains perceptions of safety or insecurity. Furthermore, what happens to a woman in the street affects the perception of all women, who see themselves as potential victims of similar aggressions.

Taking into account different experiences developed on the premise of prevention and the gender perspective, we will reference some innovative tools that we consider useful for local governments, and that can be adapted to the different realities of countries of the region.

As described in this module, the Canadian experience led the way in the development of strategies focused on women's safety in the city. Two of the tools used were the construction of exploratory maps and walks. These tools are based on the principle that women have a particular sensitivity that enables them to identify qualities of the urban environment that make some places unsafe and insecure, or, on the other hand, point out the factors that make them feel safe in such places. The greater sensitivity that women demonstrate is based on the fact that it is more likely for them, as well as their children, to be victims of violence in the street.



Photograph: Source: UNIFEM,
"Safe Lives for Women Campaign"



1 Canada and India have been leaders in using this methodology. The Map of the Forbidden City for Women (Basauri, Spain, 2002) is also worth mentioning, specifically because of the inclusion of young women.

2 The exploratory walks were introduced in the city of Toronto in 1989, and following this were introduced by the Femmes et Ville Committee of the city of Montreal, under the direction of the Department of Habitat and Urban Development in Quebec, in the 1990's.

■ Maps of women's perception of insecurity:

The construction of maps is a valuable tool that has been used in different international experiences.¹ Maps demarcating insecurity are developed through women's identification of the places where they feel unsafe or where they have experienced situations of violence, as well as of the physical and social characteristics that contribute to the feeling of insecurity.

This tool allows for the design of actions aimed at the promotion of safer urban spaces, both in relation to the physical dimension of the city and its public spaces, as well as the social dimension (kinds of relationships these spaces promote, use and appropriation of these spaces, the strengthening of neighborhood networks, etc.).

This methodology must be combined in parallel with workshops for reflection and debate aimed at dismantling stereotypes. For example, stereotypes that associate crimes and violence with impoverished sectors of the population or immigrants -external or internal- that are in turn associated with certain neighborhoods of the city, which become stigmatized as unsafe places. At the same time, reflection and debate helps to identify the frontiers and obstacles to coexistence of sectors from different social and/or ethnic-cultural backgrounds.

■ Exploratory walks and marches:

These walks are surveys conducted in the field by a group of 3 to 6 people- for the most part women- that are used to critically assess the urban environment. This methodology, introduced in Canada, is being applied in many cities of the world, although not all experiences specifically include the participation of women.²

The group visits specific places of the city, accompanied by local government representatives of the municipality, with the aim of analyzing the safety or insecurity of those places as according to five principles associated with the characteristics and conditions of these spaces. Some men also take part in the walks as observers in order to raise awareness among men about women's perceptions of insecurity.

The walks are supported by a questionnaire and a list of elements to be observed in the urban environment, such as: signs, lighting, hideouts, transportation facilities and ease of access, available help, influx of people at different times of the day, and the condition and maintenance

ce of the place.

The observations are compiled and sent to authorities and members of the community, in aims of ensuring that recommendations are considered so that corrective actions may be taken to improve those places considered as "unfriendly."

From this point of view, this tool not only contributes to the design of a safer city, but also alerts and raises awareness in the community about women's needs in relation to their life in the city, one of which is safety and security.

■ Focus or Discussion groups:

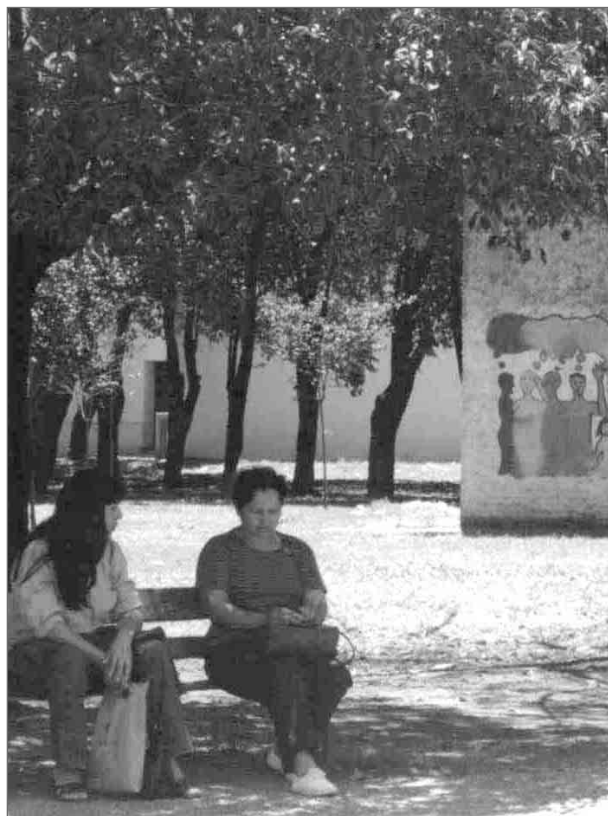
This methodology is especially recommended to address perceptions of the different forms of violence against women and the social discourses that sustain and legitimize such violence. In these groups, the use methodological devices are recommended that help women visualize and specify the aggressions they face as well as their perception of the causes and factors that generate such aggressions. Phrases, stories, construction of scenes and situations of violence using photographs of the city, cartoon stories or models are useful means for examining the problem in greater depth.¹

Focal groups should take account of the "outlook" of men and women of different ages and from different social conditions. The perception of insecurity must also be known of social groups that experience the city and this issue in a different way because the street is their place of survival (street kids- adolescents and children-, sex workers, peddlers). Likewise is the case for immigrants or populations who have been displaced for different reasons, that experience rejection or social discrimination in the new environment in which they must live.

Furthermore, the perception of the public officials that are in charge of formulating public policies about safety in the city must be known, as well as of the sectors officially appointed to control, prevent and intervene in situations of urban violence, such as the police or other specialized forces. It is also important to incorporate the visions of technical public officials responsible for designing urban public policies or in charge of city public works, who are often



1 These devices were used in the Program "Cities without Violence for Women, Safe Cities for All", city of Rosario, CISCESA, 2004.



absent in debates on the issue of urban safety and security, and especially from the gender perspective promoted by this guide.

■ Surveys:

The design and use of surveys on urban violence against women, which reveal the different expressions of violence linked to the forms of use and appropriation of the city and its public spaces, is another necessary tool. The perception of security and insecurity that women experience while taking part in their activities, in connection with the places of the cities where they carry out such activities, should be taken into account in order to design preventive actions. In parallel, it is also essential to identify the factors (places, times, situations) that women perceive as serving to protect their integrity and life, as well as those factors that favor the perception of insecurity. The assessment of the public prevention and assistance services related to violence against women should be included in the information gathered.¹

At the same time, surveys must be developed and carried out on women's use of public spaces and the city, the activities they carry out in these spaces, their sociability, the obstacles they face to the satisfaction of their needs (work, educational, health, justice and recreational) in relation to the urban facilities. Furthermore, these surveys would support a social and urban design reflective of women's needs, and address the security aspects that make their every day activities more manageable.²

¹ One precedent is the survey conducted in the *Estudio sobre Seguridad Ciudadana: percepción desde las mujeres en los distritos de San Juan de Lurigancho y Villa El Salvador*, Peru, Flora Tristán (2004).

² A reference is the *Urban Gender Indicators Survey*, developed by CISCsa (2003).

5.2. NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR THE FORMULATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN SAFETY INTERVENTIONS FROM THE GENDER PERSPECTIVE

Local government should guarantee equal conditions for the participation of men and women, on the basis of an acknowledgment of women's citizenship.

To this end, plans should be made to remove the obstacles that restrict or prevent women from participating on equal terms with men. Some concrete actions that should be considered are the collective organization of child-care, and the adaptation of schedules to women's timetables and work dynamics (a high percentage of women need to reconcile work at home with work outside the home). Furthermore, along these lines cultural projects can be developed that help women recognize their right to participate.

On the other hand, two aspects should be taken into account: the **representativity** of the participants, and their **training** to act and participate in processes of public policy formulation.¹

In regards to **representativity**, it is essential to incorporate the diversity of women as a collective in the different mechanisms of consultation and participation proposed by the local government. Violence against women is diverse, as is the way women confront such violence. This diversity is as according to socio-economic group, generation, ethnicity, sexual orientation, groups of women that work or live in the street, sex workers, groups of women migrants and women displaced from their homes due to environmental, economic or armed conflicts.

For participation to be effective, **training aspects must be incorporated**. In this sense, it should be highlighted that *"On many occasions people are convoked to participate in decision-making processes with high technical content; on most of these occasions underprivileged people lack the technical tools or advice that would allow them to discuss 'peer to peer' with those who hold the power- or the 'advantage'-, greatly reducing their capacity / possibility to achieve greater equity in decision-making. It seems necessary, in all cases, to implement actions for the training and institutional strengthening of social organizations 'before' they participate in the 'debate panels', 'consultation bodies' or 'planning workshops', in order to educate the population topics about which they have no knowledge and, therefore, cannot control".*²

Local government must develop actions that promote and guarantee:

- The participation of women and other sectors of the civil society, especially those belonging to the target groups of interventions, as well as the participation of different municipal bodies.

- Accessible and clear mechanisms and procedures that assure participation in the process and results, as well as training actions that lead to a more democratic and common ground interaction between civil society and government.

1 These assumptions, among others, were pointed out and assessed in a critical study on citizens' participation in participating state programs in Bombarolo, Félix (2002) ***El fortalecimiento de la participación ciudadana frente a los retos de la desigualdad social***.

2 Bombarolo, Félix. (2002) El fortalecimiento de la participación ciudadana frente a los retos de la desigualdad social. Buenos Aires, Argentina.



Informed participation is an essential aspect of the **sustainability and continuity** of intervention projects. This aspect deserves special attention, particularly from the gender perspective since the "naturalization" of roles and conduct assigned to men and women pervades organizational and institutional practices, and especially public policies. Conditions that assure a social commitment to women's rights must be generated.

Participation training in programs with a gender approach should contemplate:

- Specific training actions for public officials: This implies the incorporation of theories, concepts and methodological tools to assist in understanding the sex/gender system that sustains inequalities between men and women in society, which are reproduced through culture and social practices. Many times the gender perspective is limited to working with women or ensuring that public policies are directed at women. However, this stance is reductionist, and prevents people from understanding gender relations and manifestations of these relations in the social dynamic, and, consequently, from developing actions aimed at changing inequitable situations.
- Training actions directed at women that help them prioritize and legitimize their own interests. Women must acquire knowledge on their rights, and internalize that the non-fulfillment of these rights has gender subordination at its core. Such subordination is socially reproduced and naturalized through different mechanisms that prevent women from stating their own demands explicitly, while giving priority their children's or family's demands, for whom they act as mediators.

5.3. URBAN INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

5.3.1. Montreal's proposal:

We present here the experience of Montreal, Canada, where women's organizations developed a line of action on urban safety and women that is based a synthesis of two perspectives:¹

- crime and violence prevention through planning in the physical environment
- safety from the perspective of women, constructed in light of numerous experiences

■ The first perspective:

This perspective, normally called Crime Prevention due to its link to environmental planning, and also known as Situational Prevention, holds that through control of the urban environment, the incidence of crime can be reduced and offenders can be deterred, and likewise, citizens' perception of insecurity and security can be diminished by affecting the conditioning of physical space and the informal social control of citizens.²

The intent of this approach is for public spaces to allow for safer social interactions, keeping the physical characteristics of the urban environment especially in mind. Stances that assign a prevalent role to the conditioning of the physical environment in the prevention of crime have been the object of diverse criticisms. Criticisms are based on the fact that crime is interpreted within this approach as an opportunistic act given the possibilities offered by certain spaces and situations, and therefore, strategies to prevent crime are focused on eliminating predisposing spatial factors or opportunities; this interpretation underestimates the complexity of the factors involved and the multiple causes of crime.

However, according to the experience in Montreal, the urban environment's characteristics and conditions are considered from a principle of accessibility to and appropriation of the spaces by its inhabitants, and not from a defensive principle. This logic is summarized in six principles on the environment's conditions that should be considered to promote safety and security, which are later described.



Photograph: Source: UNIFEM, "Safe Lives for Women Campaign"

1 The experience and the resulting theoretical principles were extracted from MICHAUD, Anne (Coord.) (2002) *Pour un environnement urbain sécuritaire. Guide d'aménagement. Femmes et Ville Program of Montreal*. Montreal, Canada.

2 This perspective is based on the defensible space theory of NEWMAN, Oscar (1972) *Defensible space: people and design in the violent city*. Architectural Press, London.



Photograph: Source: UNIFEM,
"Safe Lives for Women Campaign"

■ The second perspective

Refers to the need for an analysis of urban space from the point of view of women. This perspective holds that:

On one hand, women are seriously affected by urban insecurity, since feelings of insecurity as a result of aggressions force many women to restrict their personal goals and their participation in collective life: work, studies and political participation.

On the other hand, in different intervention experiences conducted in the urban space, women show a greater perception of the situational, social and physical conditions that make a place safe or unsafe.¹ This perception is linked to the violence that women experience in the city, especially gender-based violence, the magnitude of which is not generally recognized in social and institutional discourses.

The synthesis of both perspectives proposes that territorial planning, and the design of the public space in particular, should incorporate the safety of public space as a design premise, and, to this end, take women's perceptions and experiences into account from the preliminary design stages; not only could this result less expensive, but is also in line with prevention principles. Nevertheless, it is always possible to intervene in existing spaces by making modifications that do not require a complex restoration or major financial investments.

Interventions should also take into account the location and function of each public space (square, a pedestrian street, etc.) in the context of the city, and, the way this relates to the immediate environment, as well as the original function of the place and possible changes, avoiding partial and isolated actions.

¹ Montreal (Canada), Basauri (Spain), Rosario (Argentina), etc.

■ The six principles of urban planning for safe cities.

Of the six principles established by the city of Montreal aimed at designing and modifying the urban environment for greater safety and security, the first five principles have a direct impact on physical design, while the sixth refers to the social dimension of urban planning. Although these principles can be applied to any scale of intervention in public space, it is worth mentioning that in the experience of Montreal they were incorporated into urban regulations that regulate the opening of public spaces and buildings, and therefore, have a greater impact. We here summarize the most relevant aspects that we consider useful in our context.

PRINCIPLE 1: Know where you are and where you are going. Signposting.

This principle refers to the need to improve the capacity of people to orient themselves in the physical environment, by means of visual elements.

Signposting should be:

- clear, accurate and strategically located
- consistent so as to facilitate them being understood.

Principle 1: Know where you are and where you are going. Signposting.

Principle 2: See and be seen. Visibility.

Principle 3: Hear and be heard. The presence of people.

Principle 4: Be able to escape and get help. Formal surveillance and access to help.

Principle 5: Live in a clean and friendly environment. Spatial design and maintenance.

Principle 6: Act together. Community participation.

Example:

Signs and billboards with colors, icons and directions, indicating:

- public telephones,
- exits from different places,
- most frequent routes of a circuit (for example, in a park),
- street names,
- maps of the neighborhood or public spaces.



PRINCIPLE 2: See and be seen. Visibility.

Urban space should be designed so as to allow people to see and be seen. This implies having a certain control of the space where we are moving around. A visible and well-lit place increases people's perception of safety and visits will be made to such a place.

The principle of visibility implies:

- a) Sufficient lighting
- b) Control of possible hideouts
- c) Extension of the field of visibility
- d) Control of foreseeable movements

a) Sufficient lighting:

- places should not be obstructed of natural light (location and distribution of large groves of trees).
- lighting should be guaranteed at night, equally distributed to ensure a uniform effect, and marked contrasts between well-lit and poorly lit areas should be avoided.
- the installation of artificial sources of light should be considered, especially in order to ensure visibility in pedestrian areas.
- artificial sources of light should be maintained and protected.

b) Control of possible hideouts:

A **hideout** is a place with visual barriers that can result in people's isolation, favoring acts of aggression. Examples of hideouts include: bushes, tunnels, underground parking lots, building sites, vacant lots, abandoned houses, etc. Along these lines, an intervention to improve safety might include the use of transparent materials in public transportation bus or rail

stops, or likewise, an intervention to reduce insecurity in places perceived as especially unsafe might be through the generation of social activities in surrounding areas.

c) Extension of the field of visibility:

People's field of visibility should not be obstructed and should be as extensive as possible. In this sense, it is important to:

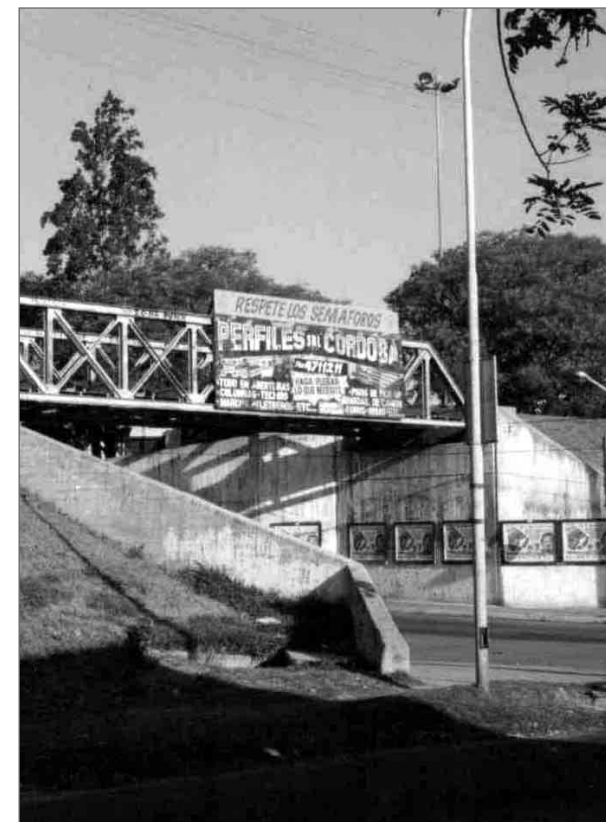
- eliminate visibility barriers such as solid windowless walls. This applies to closed neighborhoods in urban areas that delimit their perimeter with walls that block visibility of the street from inside these walls. This transforms public spaces on the other sides of these walls into inhospitable place, especially at night.
- extend and improve the field of visibility through lighting or other possible device, as well as through the physical design of these spaces.
- allow for people inside a glazed glass building to see the exterior of the building at night.

d) Control foreseeable movements:

A **foreseeable movement** is movement on a circulation route for which there are no alternative roads. People walking on such routes face a greater possibility of being attacked. In this sense, it is important to consider the treatment and location of tunnels, pedestrian bridges, viaducts and stairs.

The suggestion is to:

- provide as much lighting and visibility as possible.
- build detours to alternative roads.
- promote social activities that foster a greater presence of people.





PRINCIPLE 3: Hear and be heard. The presence of people.

A space or place that generates different social activities fosters a greater presence of people, and this itself is a protecting factor. Inversely, the absence of people is a factor that aggravates violence and insecurity.

This principle requires a revision of the consequences of the spatial segregation of functions and activities in the city that diminish a sense of community and territorial belonging and, therefore, augment feelings of insecurity, the product of areas of the city that are deserted at certain times of the day.

A crowded place is subject to the spontaneous self-control of the people using that space. "A crowded street" implies smaller possibilities of violence against women; the presence of other people in public spaces results in the existence of potential help in case of danger. In this sense, it is important that the design and management of public space promotes diversity in terms of function and use. This diversity leads to greater social activity and favors contacts between different people and groups -based on socio-economics, and / or sex and age-.

The suggestion is to:

- promote and favor the diversity of spatial use with mutually compatible activities, including, for example activities that are residential, commercial, recreational, cultural (library or exhibition hall), etc., in nature.
- condition recreational places, such as squares and parks, with necessary facilities. For example: sports facilities, children's playgrounds, tables and seats, drinking fountains, public washrooms, telephones, etc.
- promote the holding of social and cultural events in the street, in squares and parks, etc., especially at night.

Although belonging to certain neighborhood or institutional spaces and walking through familiar territory serves as a protecting factor, in contexts of generalized violence and social indifference- observed in some Latin American cities-, this sense of belonging must be revitalized.

PRINCIPLE 4: Be able to get help. Formal surveillance and access to help.

The possibility to quickly find help refers to formal surveillance that is both direct (security guards) and indirect (the presence of people).

This principle implies:

- the distribution of public telephones in spaces with large stretches of land.
- outlining those places where it is possible to find help and the distance in meters to them.
- indicating the opening and closing times of stores. This measure allows women to locate, in advance, the places where they can ask for help.
- the installation of orientation maps at the entrance of and inside parks and buildings, with information about the closest safety and security services.
- the guarantee of surveillance on a regular basis by formal assistance services in public spaces, i.e., an urban guard with specific training towards this end.

PRINCIPLE 5: Live in a clean and friendly environment. Spatial design and maintenance.

A friendly public space encourages people to use this space and preserves the function (recreational, for example) for which it was designed. Fostering the use of space by citizens indirectly acts to reduce the sensation of vulnerability that people feel when walking through these spaces, which in turn increases people's use of them. Two aspects are contemplated in this principle: design and maintenance. As regards to maintenance, it is important to not only include corresponding municipal services, but also the participation of inhabitants of the area.

As regards to **design**, it is possible to:

- give a social use to vacant lots or abandoned spaces. In some Latin American cities experiences have been carried out in which vacant or abandoned lots have been reused for urban agriculture (community or family gardens) or for community recreation.





- avoid "blind" walls (solid windowless walls) facing the street or pedestrian roads.
- design pedestrian walkways, paths and streets so as to create accessible networks for pedestrians.
- formalize, as appropriate and given their daily use, informal paths walked by people in public places.
- design public transportation routes and stops in a way that ensures their close proximity to houses, health care centers, schools, etc.
- design public places so that they favor social activities and meetings.

As related to **maintenance**, it is necessary to:

- maintain the state of public spaces and repair broken items.
- keep public spaces clean and tidy.
- foster the maintenance of private land and buildings by their owners and/or the community.

PRINCIPLE 6: Act together. Community participation.

This principle aims at the need to consult citizens, as an initial action, about the design of neighborhoods and the city in general, as well as about specific actions to guarantee safety and the perception of safety.

Popular participation in the design, development, management and maintenance processes of public space is a premise that helps to better guarantee the different requirements of men and women of diverse ages, as well as to increase the safety of public places thanks to the appropriation of such places by citizens. Community participation is the foundation of the sustainability of any intervention project within the sphere of urban safety. It is also of interest to involve bodies specifically responsible for urban safety and security in public consultation activities on territorial intervention.

It is necessary to create and/or strengthen **participation and consultation mechanisms** that are institutionally guaranteed and articulated with the **municipal government** decision-making authorities.

It is also important to promote such mechanisms at the **neighborhood or district level in cities**, conducting prior awareness-raising and mobilization actions that allow for the development of ties among inhabitants and more active participation on their part. On the other hand, it is essential to promote the participation of women.

The **territorial articulations** of the different involved actors must be attended to and strengthened because it is in this space that actions and proposals acquire further meaning and vitality; thus, making in-depth debate possible on the different types of logic for action that participating organizations and institutions have, and achieving a constructed consensus.

It is important to highlight that all these principles should be accompanied by actions that include the multiple factors involved in urban insecurity, from a human-rights perspective, and in the specific case of violence against women, the cultural factors that sustain such violence.

5.3.2. Interventions in the social dynamics of urban space.

One kind of intervention that contributes to an increased sensation of safety and security for male and female citizens, and therefore important to mention, are proposals that seek the better appropriation of the city and its multiple spaces by its inhabitants. In this sense, and building upon the before mentioned, the use of the city and its spaces by women presents difficulties derived from prevailing gender relations and the differential socialization of men and women. Consequently, interventions that contain affirmative actions for women and that are implemented as institutionalized programs of wide territorial range for greater effectiveness, must be designed.

Experiences and activities that foster a different use of space- with a multiplicity of functions (economic, cultural, recreational, and for sports) and that result in different people's (neighbors and passers-by) use of these spaces-, have begun to emerge and multiply in various Latin American cities. The participation of different actors remains essential. However, these experiences do not always consider the different and particular needs of the city's various inhabitants, and in particular, of women.

Promotion and awareness-raising related to women's use of the city in a different and fearless way, is line of work that should be undertaken by municipal governments, which can be implemented through different activities.

"NIGHT FOR WOMEN" - Bogota, Colombia.

Since 1999, the City of Bogota decreed "the night for women" in commemoration of March 8th. Women go to public spaces to celebrate and organize women-only cultural events. The objective of this celebration is to raise awareness among citizens about women's rights to the city. Men were asked to stay home in order to care for the children.

Source: "La noche de las mujeres - 2001".
Memorias. City of Bogotá, D.C. District Institute of Culture and Tourism, and Urban Culture Observatory.

Photograph: Source: UNIFEM,
"Safe Lives for Women Campaign"

■ Within these actions, **socio-cultural activities that foster a different use and appropriation of city public space** should be carried out, specifically for women. At the same time that these actions lead to a different, enjoyable and fearless experience of public space, they also send a message to all other citizens regarding the rights of women. This promotion should be simultaneously accompanied by self-affirming messages for the collective of women regarding their autonomy and recognition of their rights.

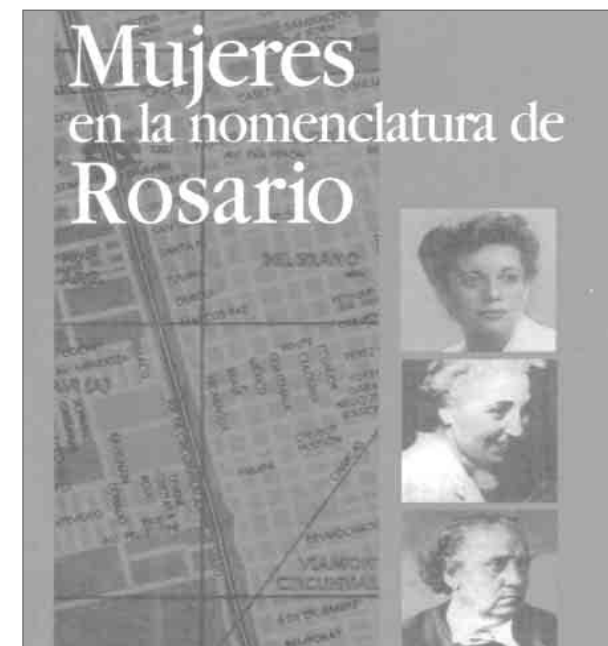
■ **Actions that contribute to a non-traditional socialization regarding the use of public space by boys and girls.** Community and educational institution programs aimed at the recognition and appreciation of the home and neighborhood as urban environments, as well as of information on social and state institutions. Road regulations, etc., like Urban Outings from the "Nuevas Voces Ciudadanas" project of the City of Bogota, may be learned from a gender perspective. By exploring and getting to know public spaces, thus widening their references, boys and girls are able to move about and stop in public spaces with greater confidence, and see themselves as equals in these spaces. This thus contributes to the deconstruction of myths and stereotypes, such as "girls are easily scared" or "girls should not be in the street".

Contributing to this perspective are recreational actions that foster greater freedom of movement of girls' bodies in public spaces (climbing trees, ball games, or games requiring motor-coordination skills, etc.), accompanied by spaces of mixed reflection.



■ Within the awareness-raising measures, it is important that local governments symbolically recognize the contribution of women to the construction of culture and society. Cities somehow reflect social processes, and the invisibility of women in public social life correlates to the minute proportion of streets, squares and public places that are named after women. In this sense, initiatives that have fostered **the use of the names of active women citizens for streets or squares as an act of collective memory**, should be repeated and promoted, and, accompanied by information on the actions these women have carried out. Public competitions should also be promoted for the design of monuments, sculptures or murals that show images of women that not only refer to them in their maternal role, but that also appeal to the recovery of the diverse existence of women as citizens, politicians, artists, workers, etc.

■ **Campaigns that assert and diffuse women's rights to live in safe cities** should be fostered. In general, these campaigns have been implemented through mass media, whose importance is undeniable. However, more innovative means have recently been introduced, including street theater or physical urban installations, i.e. the use of cultural means to promote social changes. These devices achieve greater closeness with the public and, hence, the age and socio-cultural specificity of the public is taken into account. Incorporating messages about women's rights in the daily lives of the city's inhabitants requires the identification of the highest-traffic places to locate such messages. Examples include: posters placed on vehicles for the collective transport of people (buses, subways, cabs), as well as at public transportation stations and stops, with specific messages about the right of women and girls to sexual integrity.



Cover of the book *"Mujeres en la nomenclatura de Rosario"* [Women in the index of streets of Rosario] (2003), Authors: Viviana Mesanich, Graciela Schmidt. Commission of Women Architects, Association of Architects of Rosario (Santa Fe, Argentina)



Transportation user cards with captions saying No to Violence against Women. Rosario, Argentina, 2004

The Women's Area of the city of Rosario, Argentina, reached an agreement with the Public Transportation System to include captions on non-violence against women on pre-paid public transportation cards, thus incorporating the diffusion of and awareness-raising on this right into the daily lives of this city's inhabitants.

Source: Women's Area, Municipality of Rosario, Argentina.



BIBLIOGRAPHY



1. Bibliography of Cited Sources

- ALBERDI, Inés; MATOS, Natalia. (2002) ***La violencia doméstica. Informe sobre los maltratos a mujeres en España***, Colección Estudios Sociales N° 10. Fundación "La Caixa", [en línea] <http://www.es.lacaixa.comunicacions.com/es/pfes.php?idioma=esp&libre=10> (descargado el 25 de Noviembre, 2005)
- BASSOLS, Dalia B.; MASSOLO, Alejandra; AGUIRRE PÉREZ, Irma. (2004) ***Guía para la Equidad de Género en el Municipio***. GIMTP, México, D.F. Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Social.
- BOMBAROLO, Félix. (2002) ***El fortalecimiento de la participación ciudadana frente a los retos de la desigualdad social***. Biblioteca Digital de la Iniciativa Interamericana de Capital Social, Ética y Desarrollo - www.iadb.org/etica Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- COMITÉ D'ACTION FEMMES ET SÉCURITÉ URBAINE -CAFSU. (2002) ***La Seguridad de las mujeres: De la Dependencia a la Autonomía. Actuando para la seguridad de las mujeres***. Montreal, Canadá.
- COMISIÓN DE SEGURIDAD HUMANA. (2003) ***Informe "La Seguridad Humana Ahora"***, Seminario Internacional "Seguridad Internacional Contemporánea: consecuencias para la seguridad humana en América Latina".
- CISCOSA. (2003) ***Informe Final. Encuesta de Indicadores Urbanos de Género, aplicada en cinco ciudades del Cono Sur***. Programa apoyado por UNIFEM Región Brasil y Cono Sur.
- CISCOSA. (2005) ***Ciudades sin violencia para las mujeres, ciudades seguras para todos. Módulo: Acciones y Estrategias; Módulo Capacitación. Material de trabajo***. Textos: RAINERO, Liliana; RODIGOU, Maite y PÉREZ, Soledad. Ed. CISCOSA. UNIFEM, Córdoba, Argentina.
- CISCOSA. (2005) ***Informe de la Investigación Cualitativa Percepciones sobre la violencia urbana hacia las mujeres en la ciudad de Rosario - Argentina*** en el contexto del Programa Regional Ciudades Seguras Sin Violencia para las Mujeres, Ciudades Seguras para todos, con el apoyo de UNIFEM.
- CONVENCIONES INTERNACIONALES. Fuente: www.redmujer.org.ar
- DEPARTAMENTO ADMINISTRATIVO DE BIENESTAR SOCIAL (DABS) (2003) ***Experiencias Innovadoras***. Serie Proyectos. Bogotá, Colombia.
- EHIZMENDI ALDASORO, Idoia y SANZ DEL POZO, Anabel - Área de Igualdad de Ayuntamiento de Basauri. (2002) ***Mapa de la Ciudad Prohibida para las Mujeres. Una experiencia de participación con las mujeres jóvenes. Memoria***. Basauri, País Vasco. España.
- FEIJOO, María del Carmen, ***Violencia contra a mujer, la epidemia más persistente***, 6 de Diciembre, 2005, Diario El Clarín, [Opinión] [en línea] <http://www.clarin.com/diario/2005/12/06/opinion/o-02901.htm> (descargado el 6 de Diciembre, 2005)
- FLORA TRISTAN. (2004) ***Informe Final. Investigación Cuantitativa y Cualitativa. Estudio sobre Seguridad en Mujeres del distrito de Villa El Salvador y San Juan de Lurigancho***, Lima, Perú, en el contexto del Programa Regional Ciudades Sin Violencia para las Mujeres, Ciudades Seguras para todos, con el apoyo de UNIFEM.
- GIORGI, Víctor. (2001) ***La seguridad como necesidad humana: una perspectiva desde la psicología comunitaria***. Ponencia presentada en el Congreso Interamericano de Psicología (SIP), Chile.
- ISIS INTERNACIONAL. (2002) Informe ***El último peldaño de la agresión***, [Violencia contra la Mujer] [en línea]

<http://www.isis.cl/temas/vi/informe.htm> (descargado el 3 de Diciembre, 2005)

■ MICHAUD, Anne. (2000) **Aplicaciones a escala urbana de la perspectiva de género: la seguridad de las mujeres y el transporte público**, Montréal: CAFSU; Femmes et ville, Ville de Montréal; STCUM.

■ MICHAUD, Anne (Coord.). (2002) **Guide D'Aménagement. Pour un environnement urbain sécuritaire**, Programme Femmes et Ville de la Ville de Montréal. Montreal, Canadá.

■ MORRELL, Helen. (1998) **"Seguridad de las mujeres en la ciudad"**, en Booth, C.; Darke, J; Yeandle S. **La vida de las mujeres en las ciudades. La ciudad, un espacio para el cambio**. Edit. Narcea. Madrid.

■ PARAVICINI, Ursula. (2000) **Rol y uso social de espacios públicos en una perspectiva de género**, Universidad de Hannover, [en línea] [http://www.iap.uni-hannover.de/iap/apt/\\$40~Personen/\\$10~Professorin/_pdf/Rol_y_uso_social_de_espacios_p%C3%BAblicos_\(2000\).pdf](http://www.iap.uni-hannover.de/iap/apt/$40~Personen/$10~Professorin/_pdf/Rol_y_uso_social_de_espacios_p%C3%BAblicos_(2000).pdf) (descargado el 5 de Diciembre, 2005)

■ PROVOSTE Fernández, Patricia y GUERRERO Caviedes, Elizabeth. (2004) **"Violencia de género y seguridad ciudadana en el debate público local"**. Informe final de la investigación **El género en el debate público local: una aproximación a la ciudadanía de las mujeres**, realizada con el aporte financiero de la Fundación Ford. Santiago de Chile.

■ PROVOSTE, Patricia. (2002) **"Indicadores de Género en la Gestión Municipal"** en Falú, Ana (Ed) **Ciudades para varones y mujeres**. Herramientas para la acción. CISCESA, UNIFEM, Red Mujer y Hábitat (LAC) Córdoba, Argentina.

■ RAINERO, Liliana, RODIGOU, Maite. (2004) **"El espacio público de las ciudades. Proceso de construcción de Indicadores**

Urbanos de Género", en **Discurso social y Construcción de identidades: mujer y género**. Edic. Centro de Estudios Avanzados-Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, CISCESA. Córdoba, Argentina.

■ RUSSELL, Diana; RADFORD, Jill. (1992) **Femicide: The Politics of Woman Killing**, Twayne Publishers, New York.

■ SMAOUN, Soraya. (2003) **Violencia Urbana contra la mujer: análisis del problema desde la perspectiva de género**. Programa de Gestión Urbana / UN HABITAT, Cuaderno de Trabajo N° 74. Quito, Ecuador.

■ SENNET Richard. (1994) **Carne y Piedra. El cuerpo y la ciudad en la civilización occidental**, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, España.

■ TORRES FALCÓN, Marta, (2004) **Violencia social y violencia de género**, Programa Sociedad sin Violencia, El Salvador, [Documentos e Investigaciones] [en línea] www.violenciaelsalvador.org.sv/documentos/otros/violencia_social_violencia_genero.pdf (descargado el 2 de Diciembre, 2005)

■ UNIFEM - Fondo de Naciones Unidas para la Mujer. (2002) **Informe sobre la violencia contra las mujeres en América Latina y el Caribe. Balance de una década 1990-2000**. Elaborado por Elizabeth Guerrero Caviedes. Santiago de Chile: ISIS Internacional.

■ **Vigencia, protección y violación de los derechos humanos de las mujeres en un país en guerra, Colombia, 2005**. Informe preliminar a la Relatora para los derechos de las Mujeres - Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos realizado por diferentes organizaciones y grupos de mujeres colombianas.

■ **Violencia contra la mujer**. Anexo 16 días de activismo contra la violencia hacia las mujeres. ISIS, CWGL, UNIFEM, UNFPA, PNUD, UNICEF, INSTRAW, CIM/OEA, INTERCAMBIOS. [Violencia contra la Mujer] [en línea] <http://www.isis.cl/temas/vi/activismo/Espa%F1ol/10VIOLENCIA-MUJER.pdf> (descargado el 5 de Diciembre, 2005)

2.- Consulted Websites

- Website of the Division for Citizen Security. Ministry of Internal Affairs, Chile. <http://www.seguridadciudadana.gob.cl/regiones.htm>
- Website of the National Division of Criminal Policy, Argentina: <http://www.polcrim.jus.gov.ar/>
- Website of the Municipality of Rosario, Argentina: <http://www.rosario.gov.ar>
- Website of the Profundo Institute, Río de Janeiro, Brasil: <http://www.promundo.org.br>
- Website of the Feminist Network, State Network of Feminist Organizations against gender violence: www.redfeminista.org.

3.- Supporting Resources on the Wider Issue

- AAVV (2000) **Conversaciones Públicas para Ciudades más Seguras**, Ediciones SUR, Santiago, Chile.
- BOOTH, C.; DARKE, J.; YEANDLE, S (Coord.). (1998) **La vida de las mujeres en las ciudades. La ciudad, un espacio para el cambio**, Narcea S.A. De Ediciones, Madrid.
- CARRIÓN, Fernando (Ed.). (2002) **Seguridad ciudadana. ¿Espejismo o realidad?**, FLACSO Sede Académica de Ecuador, OPS/OMS, Naciones Unidas, Quito, Ecuador.
- CONCHA-EASTMAN, Alberto. **Violencia urbana en América Latina y el Caribe: dimensiones, explicaciones, acciones**, En Foro Seguridad Ciudadana, Nueva Sociedad, [en línea], www.nuevasoc.org.ve

- DEL OLMO, Rosa. **Ciudades duras y violencia urbana**, En Foro Seguridad Ciudadana, Nueva Sociedad, [en línea], www.nuevasoc.org.ve
- FALÚ, Ana (Ed) (2002) **Ciudades para varones y mujeres. Herramientas para la acción**, CISCESA, UNIFEM, Red Mujer y Hábitat de América Latina, Córdoba, Argentina.
- FONT, Enrique. (2004) **Documento sobre políticas públicas de seguridad "Mas Derechos Más Seguridad"**, en AAVV, en **Políticas de Seguridad Ciudadana y Justicia Penal**, CELS/Siglo XXI de Argentina, Buenos Aires.
- MOSER, Carolina. (2004) **Urban Violence and Insecurity: an Introductory Roadmap**, Environment and Urbanization.
- MASSOLO, Alejandra. (2005) **Género y Seguridad Ciudadana: el papel y reto de los gobiernos locales**, Programa "Hacia la Construcción de una Sociedad sin Violencia", Seminario Permanente sobre Violencia, PNUD, El Salvador.
- PETRELLA Laura, VANDERSCHUEREN Franz. (2003) **"Ciudad y Violencia, Seguridad Y Ciudad"** en BALBO Marcello, JORDAN Ricardo, SIMIONI Daniela (Comp.) **La Ciudad Inclusiva**, CEPAL, Santiago de Chile.
- RICO, Nieves. (1996) **Violencia de Género: Un Problema De Derechos Humanos**, Serie Mujer y Desarrollo N°16, Santiago de Chile, CEPAL (LC/L957).
- SEGOVIA, Olga; DASCAL, Guillermo. (2000) **Espacio público, participación y ciudadanía**, Casa de la Paz, SUR Corporación de Estudios Sociales y educación, Fondo de las Américas Chile, Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, Chile.

4. Reference Guides

- **Guía Práctica: Municipios en Búsqueda de Equidad.** (2005) Coordinación: Catalina Hinchey Trujillo, Anne Loustau, Aitziber Eguskiza Samos. Textos: Beatriz Giobellina y Liliana Rainero. Ed. UN-HABITAT - Programa Regional de las Naciones Unidas para los Asentamientos Humanos, CISCOSA- Coordinación Latinoamérica Red Mujer y Hábitat.
- **Guía para la Equidad de Género en el Municipio.** (2004) BASSOLS, Dalia B.; MASSOLO, Alejandra; AGUIRRE PÉREZ; Irma. Grupo Interdisciplinario sobre Mujer, Trabajo y Pobreza, México, D.F. Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Social.
- **Guide D'Amenagement. Pour un environnement urbain securitaire.** (2002) MICHAUD, Anne (Coord.). Programme Femmes et Ville de la Ville de Montreal. Montreal, Canadá.
- **Guía de Atención - Identificación de posibles casos de delitos sexuales.** (2002) Consejo Distrital para la Atención Integral a Niños y Niñas Víctimas de Abuso y Explotación Sexual. Departamento Administrativo de Bienestar Social. Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá. Serie Cartillas. Bogotá.
- **Guía para la Formulación y Ejecución de Políticas Municipales dirigidas a Mujeres.** (2000) Coord. Ana Falú, Textos: Alejandra Massolo. 1ra Edición: Cuadernos de Trabajo N° 72, PGU, CISCOSA, Red Mujer y Hábitat, UNIFEM, Quito Ecuador. 2da. Edición (2002). CISCOSA, Red Mujer y Hábitat América Latina, UNIFEM. Córdoba, Argentina.

5. Charters and Declarations for Safe Cities for Women

- **Carta Mundial por El Derecho de Las Mujeres a La Ciudad.** (2004) Foro Mundial de las Mujeres en el contexto del Foro Mundial de las Culturas, Barcelona, España.

- **Carta Europea de la Mujer en la Ciudad.** (1995) investigación-Acción 1994-1995 subvencionada por la Unidad para la Igualdad de Oportunidades de la Comisión Europea. Bruselas, Bélgica.
- **Declaración de Bogotá. Ciudades Seguras para Mujeres y Niñas.** 25 de noviembre de 2004, Bogotá D.C., Colombia.
- **Declaración de Montreal sobre la seguridad de las mujeres.** (2002) Documento realizado en el marco del Primer Seminario Internacional sobre la Seguridad de las Mujeres: Tejiendo lazos. Femmes et Villes International. Montreal, Canadá. 9 al 11 de mayo de 2002.

6. Networks linked to Violence, Women and Urban Security

- **Latin American Women and Habitat Network.** www.redmujer.org.ar
- **Women and Cities International.** www.femmesetvilles.org
- **CLADEM (Comité de América Latina y El Caribe para la Defensa de los Derechos de la Mujer)** www.cladem.org
- **Huairou Comission** www.huairou.org
- **Safe Cities Network for Women and Girls.**

7. Other References

- **El Ágora,** Córdoba, Argentina. Área de Seguridad Urbana. www.elagora.org.ar
- **Safe Cities Program UN-HABITAT.** www.unhabitat-rolac.org