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## *Safety, Gender Mainstreaming and Gender-Based Programmes*

The importance of women's safety and security in cities throughout the world – both within the household as well as outside in public spaces - is now widely recognised. An extensive range of state and civil society institutions are currently implementing a range of cutting edge 'good practice' policies, programmes and projects to rigorously address this issue. Amid the many success stories, this presentation raises two pertinent questions that may inform the (re) conceptualization of such programmes. First, is women's safety a separate women's issue, or is it one that needs to be mainstreamed into broader safer cities research, policy and practice? This presentation examines the implications of gender mainstreaming for policy goals, as well as the development of strategies to prevent crime. Second, do urban safety issues affect all women equally or are contexts of exclusion and poverty, as well as characteristics of identity and agency also important determining factors? The presentation proposes that the incorporation of a gender analysis into a violence roadmap - of categories, types and manifestations of violence in urban areas - provides a useful operational tool that can better ensure that the critical interests and needs of poor urban women are incorporated into mainstream gender-based programmes.



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## **Safety, Gender Mainstreaming and Gender-Based Programmes**

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### **1. Introduction**

This paper is a personal challenge for me. Having worked on urban violence, on gender-based violence, and on gender mainstreaming, it represents an opportunity to combine together three distinct perspectives and in so doing to see whether it provides a useful analytical and operational tool for increasing women's safety in cities.

The importance of women's safety and security in cities throughout the world – both within the household as well as outside in public spaces - is now widely recognised. An extensive range of state and civil society institutions are currently implementing a range of cutting edge 'good practice' policies, programmes and projects to rigorously address this issue. Indeed the individuals and institutions working on these issues and present at this meeting are themselves indicative of the extraordinary progress to date.

Amid the many success stories, this presentation raises two pertinent questions that may inform the (re) conceptualization of such programmes. First, is women's safety a separate women's issue, or is it one that needs to be mainstreamed into broader safer cities research, policy and practice? This paper briefly describes gender mainstreaming as a policy approach and explores its contribution to women's safety policy goals and associated the range of strategies that address the different types of violence experienced by women.

Second, do urban safety issues affect all women equally or are contexts of exclusion and poverty, as well as characteristics of identity and agency also important determining factors? Incorporation of the gender mainstreaming component of gender analysis into violence roadmaps - of categories, types and manifestations of violence in urban areas – may provide a useful mainstream operational tool to ensure that the critical interests and needs of poor urban women are incorporated into mainstream gender-based programmes.



Gender mainstreaming has been severely criticized on various accounts. These include the fact, as some feminist services maintain, that such an approach threatens women's autonomy. Others are concerned that mainstreaming reduces financial and institutional resources specifically allocated to women's needs. Finally, the most vocal criticism maintains that it has 'failed', either because it has not been implemented at all, or when it has this has subsumed women's interests into those of families, households or communities.<sup>1</sup> The severity of such criticisms means that they also need to be addressed when discussing the contribution of a gender mainstreaming approach to women's safety.

## **2. What is gender mainstreaming?**

Gender mainstreaming can usefully be identified in terms of four related stages;

- i. Defining gender mainstreaming;
- ii. Getting a gender mainstreaming policy into place;
- iii. Implementing gender mainstreaming in practice;
- iv. Evaluating or auditing the practice of gender mainstreaming.

To explore its contribution to women's safety it is useful start by elaborating briefly on each of these four stages.

### *i. Defining gender mainstreaming*

The origins of gender mainstreaming stem from the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (PfA), when governments across the world endorsed a policy to promote gender equality and empower women. Gender mainstreaming was identified as the most important mechanism to reach the PfA's ambitious goals, with the UN in 1997 adopted gender mainstreaming as the approach to be used in all policies and programmes in the UN system.

Most definitions of gender mainstreaming follow closely those set out by the UN Economic and Social Council (1997: 28), defined as follows:

*'Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.'*

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, a UNDP report concluded that gender equality perspectives are not adequately mainstreamed into the MDG reports and confined primarily to Goal 3 (UNDP, 2003). See also Birdsall et al. (2004); Watkins (2004), Whitzman, C. (2008); Sandler (1997).



Two further aspects of gender mainstreaming appear in some definitions. First, the institutionalisation of gender concerns within the organization itself, with gender equality in staffing and other organizational procedures to ensure a transformative process for the organization in terms of attitudes and 'culture'; second, gender empowerment through women's participation in decision-making processes, to have their voices heard and the power to put issues on the agenda<sup>2</sup>.

*ii. Getting a gender mainstreaming policy into place*

Throughout the last decade governments and civil society organizations across the world have sought to implement the PfA—and in so doing to develop gender mainstreaming policies, strategies and methodologies. A desk review<sup>3</sup> of 14 bilateral, IFI, UN and INGO development-focused organization identified the following critical key components in their gender mainstreaming policies.

- A dual strategy of mainstreaming gender equality issues into all policies, programs and projects, combined with context-specific supporting targeted actions for gender equality
- Gender analysis (sex disaggregated data and gender analytical information)
- Women as well as men playing active role in decision-making processes to influence development agenda
- Organization capacity building and gender training
- Monitoring and evaluation systems and tools
- Combined institutional approach with all staff, supported by gender specialists sharing responsibility for implementation

*iii. Implementing gender mainstreaming in practice<sup>4</sup>*

The real challenge in gender mainstreaming is to implement it in practice. This requires institution and context-specific strategies. Figure 1 shows in diagrammatic form the components of a twin-track strategy that includes the following two components<sup>5</sup>:

- Integration of women's and men's concerns (needs and interests) throughout the development process (in all policies and projects).

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<sup>2</sup> The degree to which 'equality' as against 'empowerment' is emphasized by different agencies may reflect the extent to which they are focused on all women in society, or prioritizing those who are poor. Development agencies prioritize poverty reduction and emphasis empowerment as much as equality as a mechanism to achieve poverty reduction (see Moser, 2005)

<sup>3</sup> See Moser and Moser (2005).

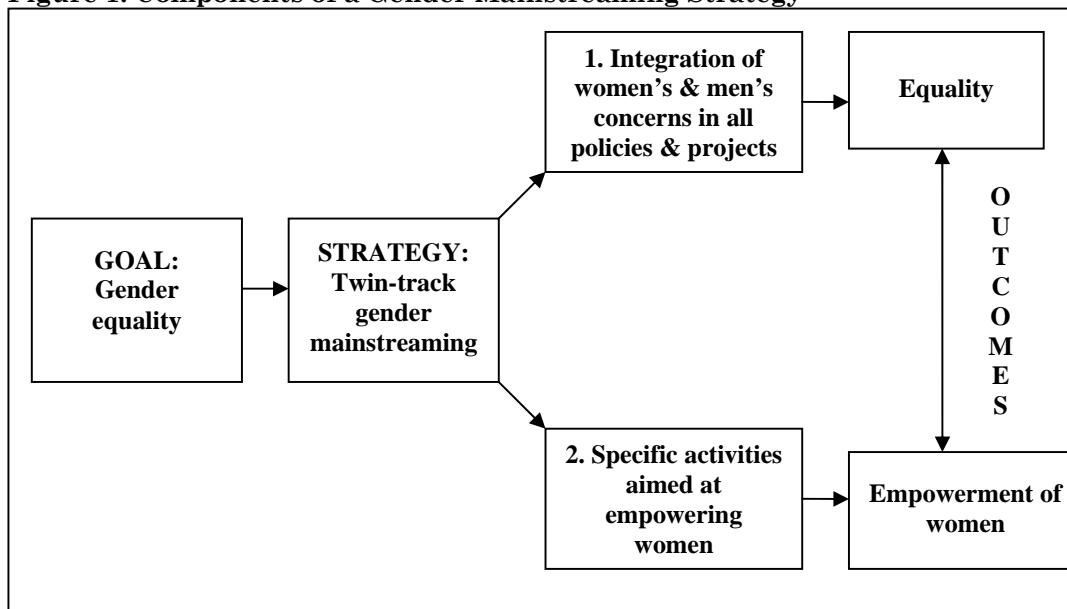
<sup>4</sup> This section draws on Moser (2005)

<sup>5</sup> This diagram was developed as a tool for the UK Department for International Development (DFID) as part of a Gender Audit Methodology (see Moser 2005)



- Specific activities aimed at empowering women.

Figure 1: Components of a Gender Mainstreaming Strategy



Source: Moser (2005, 10)

The implementation of both strategies combines both equality and empowerment outcomes, and also ensures that some of the criticisms of gender mainstreaming, identified above, are addressed – namely that women’s specific needs are excluded.

*iv. Evaluating or auditing the practice of gender mainstreaming.*

The biggest challenge for auditing gender mainstreaming is the issues of measurement.

First, it is necessary to identify the wider context. For instance, in a gender audit undertaken for DFID the measurement of gender mainstreaming was contextualised within the contested debate about ‘policy evaporation’. This debate, closely linked to the Millennium Development Goals, argues that ‘gender mainstreaming has failed’, owing to the lack of real on the ground impact on gender equality. In undertaking the audit I extended the framework to the following three evaluation concepts:

- **Evaporation:** When good policy intentions fail to be followed through in practice.
- **Invisibilisation:** When monitoring and evaluation procedures fail to document what is occurring ‘on the ground’.
- **Resistance:** When effective mechanisms block gender mainstreaming, with opposition essentially ‘political’ and based on gender power relations, rather than on ‘technocratic’ procedural constraints.



Appropriate quantitative or qualitative indicators to assess progress in gender mainstreaming, based in the structure in Figure 1 above, include the following:

- **Implementation:** Measurement of gender mainstreaming strategy in terms of:
  - a) Integration of women's and men's concerns throughout the development process;
  - b) Specific activities aimed at empowering women.
- **Outputs and impacts:** Measurement of in terms of equality and the empowerment of women.

This section of the paper has shown that gender mainstreaming is not a simple planning blueprint but rather is a complex process with a number of interrelated components. Summarizing the main elements of each component is a necessary first step in order to explore its potential contribution to women's safety policy goals and associated strategies. The following section explores these in terms of the four components.

### **3. Implications of gender mainstreaming for women's safety policy and programmes**

#### ***i. Defining gender mainstreaming for safety and security in cities***

Gender mainstreaming requires a shift from a specific focus on women's security to one that incorporates the safety and security of women and men, as well as boys and girls. Such gender disparities can then be cross-cut with other types of diversity such as those based on age, ethnicity, race, or sexual orientation. A mainstreaming framework also provides the opportunity to focus on the interrelated nature of different types of violence, and the different associated social actors that may be male or female perpetrators or victims.

An example to illustrate this which comes from a participatory urban appraisal of violence<sup>6</sup>, is a causal flow diagram of intra-family violence and insecurity in Bucaramanga, Colombia. Figure 1 shows perceptions of the interrelated relationship between different types of violence of three young men. They identified socially constituted intra-family violence between their parents (almost certainly gender-based violence) as the basis for other types of violence. This leads some young people, particularly young men to leave home and join gangs, or to turn to drugs which are linked with insecurity as well as the economic violence of robbery, attacks, crime and delinquency. The

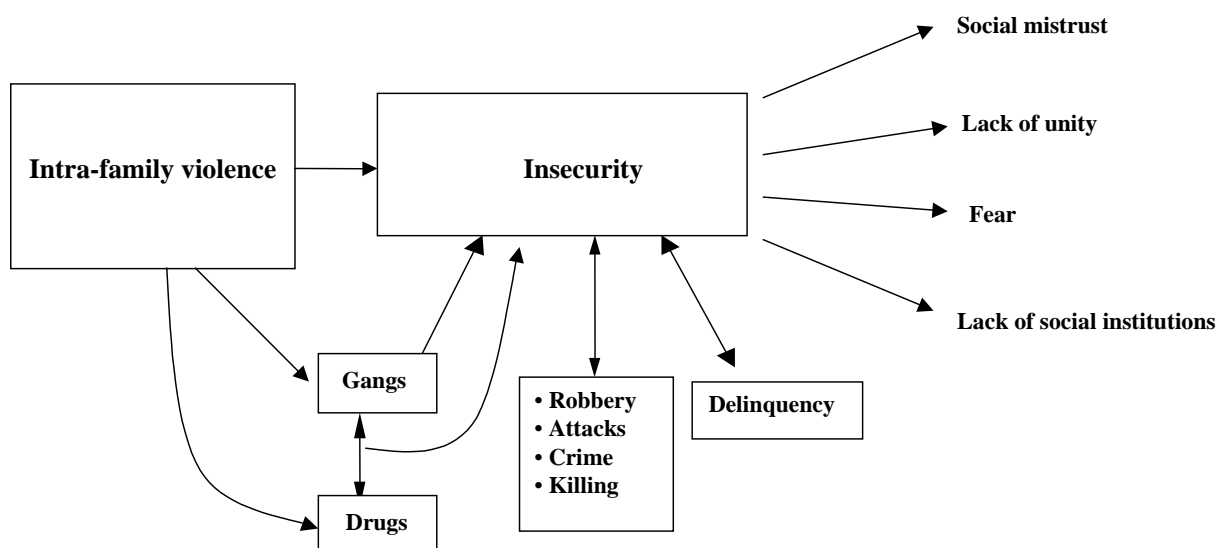
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<sup>6</sup> See Moser and McIlwaine (2004; 2006).



outcome is increased fear, together with the erosion of trust, unity, and social institutions associated with the erosion of social capital. The importance of such a holistic causal analysis relates to the associated strategies for violence reduction. This allows for a better understanding of the linkages between gender-based violence within the household and other types of violence in public spaces<sup>7</sup> with important implications for cross-sectoral gender-based programmes and projects.

**Figure 2: Causal flow diagram of intra-family violence and insecurity in Bucaramanga, Colombia (drawn by three young men from a youth centre)**



Source: Moser and McIlwaine (2004)

### *ii. Getting a gender mainstreaming policy for safety in cities in place*

As identified above, the implementation of a gender mainstreaming policy comprises the development of a dual strategy. This comprises the following:

- The mainstreaming of women and men's safety and security issues into all policies, programmes and projects
- Context specific targeted interventions to project to both protect women from insecurity and to empower them to contest local institutions, such as the municipality and civil society organizations, to make the city safe for them.

<sup>7</sup> As an indigenous young man, also in Colombia once explained to me:

*'I joined the guerrilla so I could get a gun, so I could shoot my father, and stop him beating up my mother'*



To inform such a strategy requires a detailed gender analysis of violence and insecurity. A violence roadmap provides a useful diagnostic tool, first to list the extensive manifestations of violence in a specific context, and then to categorize them so that policymakers can identify appropriate solutions. Table 1 provides one such example taken from a consultation process in Honduras, in which the predominant categories, types and manifestations of everyday violence were identified<sup>8</sup>.

In a context where the economic and social violence of youth gangs (*maras*) was a primary concern of the state and civil society alike, the roadmap was an important diagnostic tool to take account of other important manifestations of violence including institutional violence, as well as the wide scale prevalence of gender-based violence affecting women's safety inside and outside the home.

**Table 1: A gendered violence roadmap: A diagnostic tool to identify context specific categories, types and manifestations of violence**

<i>Category of violence</i>	<i>Types of violence by perpetrators and/or victims</i>	<i>Manifestations</i>
Political	State and non-state violence in conflict and fragile city	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Guerrilla and paramilitary conflict</li><li>• Armed conflict between political parties</li><li>• Political assassinations</li><li>• <i>Rape as an instrument of war</i></li></ul>
Institutional	Violence of the state and other 'informal' institutions Including the private sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Extra-judicial killings by security forces</b></li><li>• <b>State or community directed social cleansing</b></li><li>• Lynching</li><li>• <i>Doctor / patient and teacher / pupil abuse particularly girls and women</i></li></ul>
Economic / institutional	Organized crime Protection of business interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Kidnapping</li><li>• Armed Robbery</li><li>• Drug trafficking</li><li>• Car theft</li><li>• Small arms dealing</li><li>• <i>Trafficking in prostitutes</i></li><li>• Violence intimidation to resolve economic disputes</li></ul>
Economic	Delinquency / robbery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <i>Street theft with women as victims</i></li><li>• <i>Robbery with women as victims</i></li></ul>

<sup>8</sup> This section draws on Moser and Winton (2002) and Moser (2004)



Economic/ Social	Youth gangs ( <i>maras</i> )	• Collective 'turf' violence; robbery, theft
Economic/ Social	Street children (boys and girls)	• <b>Petty theft</b>
Social	Gender-based intimate partner and sexual violence between adults	• <i>Physical, sexual or psychological abuse primarily of women</i>
Social	Child abuse: boys and girls	• <b>Physical and sexual abuse, particularly in the home</b>
Social	Inter-generational conflict between parent and children (both young and adults)	• <b>Physical and psychological abuse of both men and women, boys and girls</b>
Social	Gratuitous/routine daily violence	• <b>Lack of citizenship in areas such as traffic, road rage, bar fights and street confrontations</b>

Source: Adapted from Moser and Winton (2002)

Reviewing this roadmap from a gender mainstreaming perspective raises the question as to how gender is represented. How can we ensure that such maps do not become gender neutral, with gender-based concerns evaporated? In Table 1, for instance, is it useful to differentiate between the following:

- Manifestations where men are predominantly the perpetrators and victims - such as political, economic (in case)
- Manifestations where women and girls are more likely to be the victims (in italics)
- Manifestations affecting men and women equally, as perpetrators or victims (in bold).

In terms of mainstreaming gender, Table 1 is exploratory rather than definitive. But it is intended to illustrate how a gendered roadmap can become a useful tool to show the way different categories and manifestations of violence are clustered by gender and age, where men and/or women are more likely to be perpetrators or victims, as well as the range of violence affecting children and youth.

### ***iii. Implementing gender mainstreaming in security and safety policies, programmes and projects in practice***

**Table 3. Gender mainstreaming of policy approaches to violence and examples of associated urban-focused interventions**

Policy approach	Objective	Types of violence	Innovative urban focused interventions
<b><i>Sector-Specific Approaches</i></b>			



<b>Criminal Justice</b>	Violence <i>deterrence</i> and <i>control</i> through higher arrest, conviction rates and more severe punishment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crime</li> <li>• Robbery</li> <li>• Delinquency</li> <li>• Family violence</li> </ul>	Judicial, legal and police reform Accessible justice systems Mobile courts Conciliatory mechanisms Training of police and judiciary
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family violence</li> </ul>	Community policing Women's police stations
<b>Public Health</b>	Violence <i>prevention</i> through the reduction of individual risk factors, and victim support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Youth violence</li> </ul>	Youth policies /social protection Education reform Entrepreneurship
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Youth violence</li> </ul>	Vocational skills training Cultural & recreational activities Promotion of behavioural change
<b>Education</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gender-based violence</li> </ul>	Staff training School-based education programmes
<b>Conflict Transformation / Human Rights</b>	Non-violent <i>resolution</i> of conflict through negotiation and legal <i>enforcement</i> of human rights by states, and other social actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political violence</li> </ul>	Traditional systems of justice
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Institutional violence</li> <li>• HR abuses</li> <li>• Arbitrary detention</li> </ul>	UN guidelines Government human rights advocates or ombudsman Civil society advocacy NGOs Task force on humanitarian abuse
<b>Cross-Sectoral Approaches</b>			
<b>CPTED / Urban Renewal</b>	<i>Deterrence and Reduction</i> in violence opportunities through focusing on the <i>settings</i> of crime rather than the perpetrators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic violence</li> <li>• Social violence</li> </ul>	Municipal level programs (see below)
<b>Citizen / Public / Community Security</b>	Set of cross-sector measures to <i>prevent or reduce</i> violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic violence</li> <li>• Social violence</li> </ul>	National level programs Municipal level programs
<b>CDD / Social Capital</b>	<i>'Rebuilding'</i> social capital, trust and cohesion in informal and formal social institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Youth gangs / <i>maras</i></li> </ul>	Community based solutions
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Domestic / family violence</li> </ul>	Crisis services for victims Ongoing support & prevention Communication campaigns School programs Programs for perpetrators

Source: Adapted and updated from Moser and Winton (2002); Moser, Winton and Moser (2005).



Although not necessarily identified as such, an extensive range of programmes and projects already seek to mainstream gender primarily by addressing gender-based violence. Table 2 seeks to provide a systematic categorization of the main policy and programmatic approaches in terms of objectives, level and the type of interventions. As with any categorization, these are ideal types. Although some are separate gender-based violence initiatives, practitioners are shifting more towards more integrated approaches. Therefore it may be useful to distinguish between three types of gender-based programmatic interventions:

- Women-focused programmes: these specifically focus on protecting or empowering women
- Women- focused components in integrated programmes: these often end up as additional 'add-ons' to programmes
- Gender-mainstreaming programmes that equally address women and men's needs: the danger is that women's priorities may face evaporation or resistance

In addition institutions responsible for implementation vary along a continuum. At one end are neighbours, the community and local women's organizations undertaking small projects; at the other end are municipalities, national government and finally international institutions, with global initiatives. Within this continuum, different organizations have comparative advantages and disadvantages.

In urban centres throughout the world there are a growing number of examples of programmes that are designed to mainstream gender-based violence reduction into sector-specific and cross-sector violence reduction programmes. Many such examples will be presented during the course of this conference. In the time available I will mention just one, CPTED (Crime Prevention through Environmental Design), which uses the urban specific problem of renewal and upgrading as an entry point to comprehensively address various types of violence, including sexual abuse. Such an approach seeks to deter or reduce violence opportunities by focusing on the settings of crime rather than the perpetrators.

One such example is the 'Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading' project in the Khayelitsha township, Cape Town, South Africa. The project feasibility study demonstrated a strong relationship between levels of violence and crime, and inadequate infrastructure provision, much of which was identified as spatially manifested. Extreme levels of rape, for instance, were exacerbated by narrow paths, open fields, distant communal latrines, unsafe transport hubs, poor lighting, empty shacks, and proximity to shebeens (bars) (KfW / City of Cape Town, 2002).



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In seeking to respond to extreme violence levels it developed an interlinked 'triangle' that links the following:

- Urban renewal strategies for better environmental arrangements (to reduce opportunities for violence)
- Criminal justice measures (to discourage potential violators)
- Public health and conflict resolution interventions (to support to victims of violence)



**Table 3. Violence prevention through urban upgrading: The Khayelitsha Project**

<b>Spatial Manifestation</b>	<b>Types of Gender-Based Violence</b>	<b>Spatial and Non-Spatial Gender-Based Violence Prevention or Reduction Interventions</b>
<b>Domestic spaces</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assault</li> <li>• Rape</li> <li>• Emotional abuse</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Houses of refuge, &amp; counseling &amp; conflict resolution facilities</li> <li>• Police stations equipped with trauma facilities &amp; female officers</li> </ul> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Police receive training in handling domestic violence cases</li> <li>• Awareness-raising campaign on domestic rights</li> </ul>
<b>Open public space</b> <i>Open fields</i> <i>Narrow lanes</i> <i>Empty stalls</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rape</li> <li>• Assault</li> <li>• Murder</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improvement of street lighting, visibility &amp; telephone system</li> <li>• Rape-relief centers &amp; self-defense training</li> <li>• Safe walkways provided &amp; vegetable stalls locked at night</li> <li>• 24-hour internal public transportation system</li> </ul> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More visible police patrolling &amp; neighborhood watches</li> </ul>
<b>Sanitary facilities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rape at or near public sanitary facilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sewers installed &amp; outside toilets phased out</li> <li>• Communal sanitary facilities supervised</li> </ul>
<b>Shebeens</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assault</li> <li>• Rape</li> <li>• Drug/alcohol violence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shebeens relocated to where social &amp; police control is efficient</li> <li>• Alternative socializing opportunities where alcohol is controlled</li> </ul> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Business code of conduct by Shebeen owners' association</li> </ul>
<b>Schools</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Physical violence</li> <li>• Group rape</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Schools protected against theft &amp; keep out guns by installing better fencing, metal detectors &amp; guard dogs</li> <li>• Guarded schools could then double as safe playgrounds after hours</li> </ul>
<b>Roads &amp; transport</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assault</li> <li>• Sexual harassment &amp; assault by drivers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stations declared gun-free zones (metal detectors &amp; lockers)</li> <li>• Jobs &amp; services brought closer to residents: reduce transport needs</li> </ul> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trains need to be accompanied by police</li> </ul>

*Source:* Summarized from KfW / City of Cape Town (2002). (In Moser, Winton and Moser 2005, 152-153)

Gender-based violence interventions are integrated into a spatially-constituted urban renewal strategy to deter offenders; both criminal and sexual in nature (see Table 3). This includes the improvement and installation of lighting, CCTV and public telephone systems, internal public transportation, safe walkways, and outside toilets replaced by sewers. Specific anti-rape strategies include rape crisis centres, counselling services, self-defence training, community awareness-raising, and police training and increased presence in dangerous locations. The program also incorporates interventions to bring jobs and services closer to residents through the



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development of a series of 'safe nodes', where complementary violence reduction facilities are clustered together in one area.

One advantage of spatial solutions is that physical infrastructure initiatives are relatively straightforward to implement and can increase perceptions of safety and well-being. However, it is important to reemphasise that this is only one of a fascinating range of new interventions that include the re-examination of traditional sectors such as criminal justice from a gender perspective, through to new municipal level initiatives such as citizen security projects that identify community safety and security as a public good. Such projects recognise the importance of building partnerships to reduce violence and acknowledge that the primary responsibility is not only that of the police, but of local governments as well, with a crucial role for municipal leaders<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See for instance CSIR (2000) Shaw (2001); Whitzman (2008)



#### ***iv. Evaluating or auditing the practice of gender mainstreaming for safety in cities***

As identified above evaluation is highly complex and expensive, with important differences between quantitative and qualitative indicators, as well as between implementation and outputs and impacts. Since this could be the subject of a paper itself, here I would like to raise just one question:

##### **Where does the money go?**

Tracking where the money goes provides a concrete way of measuring the extent to which gender mainstreaming policies are integrated into design, let alone implemented, or evaporated. This is particularly important in comprehensive integrated cross-sector interventions to reduce urban violence.

One such example is provided by the Inter-American Development Bank-supported national-level 'peace and citizen security' projects currently being implemented in Colombia, El Salvador, Honduras, Jamaica and Uruguay (IDB, 1998; 2001; 2002; 2003; Traverso, 2001)<sup>10</sup>. As summarized in Table 6, this is a blueprint approach based on a similar, underlying policy that links public health (violence prevention) and criminal justice (violence control), with common components across countries on institutional strengthening, juvenile violence prevention, community-police relations programs, and social awareness and rehabilitation programs<sup>11</sup>.

Embedded in these broad categories are specific actions to prevent and reduce gender-based violence that vary across countries<sup>12</sup>. For instance:

- In Colombia the project supports multi-service centres for families by strengthening detection protocols and training staff. In the city of Medellin early detection protocols identify cases of abuse in children and youth in schools.
- In Honduras the domestic violence strategy involves strengthening the assistance and case follow-up system, public workshops on addressing the problem, and training. A telephone hotline is also provided to promote a reporting culture.
- In El Salvador, an added emphasis is on strengthening family values to address the 'root causes' of violence.

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<sup>10</sup> This section draws on Moser and Moser (2003) and Moser, Winton and Moser (2005)

<sup>11</sup> Honduras has a distinct emphasis on positive development and community facilities for at-risk youth.

<sup>12</sup> The demonstrated links between children witnessing violence at home and subsequent juvenile delinquency provides the rationale for mainstreaming gender components—in this way legitimizing domestic violence interventions as a key element in combating the insecurity experienced in many Latin American cities (see Buvinic et al 1999).



- The Jamaica project aims to develop a national plan for violence prevention, with a chapter addressing intra-family violence.
- In Uruguay, the domestic violence component includes a public information campaign, training for public employees who deal with victims of abuse, and support centres for victim care.

Since there is no specific budget line for gender-based violence it is not possible to directly assess the relative amount apportioned to this. Nevertheless the budgets are revealing. As shown in Table 6, in all countries the greatest proportion (38-52%) is spent on community and other actions to prevent juvenile violence and delinquency, while up to a third (23-31%) goes to institutional strengthening. At the same time there are interesting differences that are likely to have implications for addressing gender-based violence. Community police programs and strengthening the criminal justice system receive around 30% of the budget in Colombia and only 4% Honduras; social awareness and communication is not higher than 11% (as in El Salvador) but is as low as 2-3% in others (Honduras and Jamaica). While the size of the project loans suggests these countries are seriously investing in violence reduction, a gender budget audit can help ensure that the rhetoric about addressing gender-based violence is implemented in practice.

**Table 6. Comparison of components and budget allocation in IDB violence reduction projects in four Latin American countries<sup>13</sup>**

Component	Colombia		Jamaica		El Salvador		Honduras	
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
Institutional strengthening	\$27.9	29	\$5.2	26	\$8.4	24	\$6.8	31
Community & other actions to prevent juvenile violence & delinquency	\$19.7	20	\$7.6	38	\$13.8	39	\$11.4	51
Social awareness & communication	\$8.8	9	\$0.6	3	\$4.1	11	\$0.5	2
Community policing & criminal justice	\$28.5	30	\$2.8	14	\$3.3	9	\$0.9	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$95.6</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>\$20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>\$35.4</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>\$22.2</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Author's re-categorization of data from four project documents (see IDB 1998, 2001, 2002, 2003; n.d.). (In Moser, Winton and Moser 2005, 155)

## Concluding comment: A note of caution on implementation

<sup>13</sup> Differences in the way in which countries 'cut' activities across project components means that cross-project comparisons are difficult. Colombia, the earliest project, divides all activities between national and municipal levels rather than by component types, an approach which is reversed in all subsequent projects. Due to these mixed categories of component activities, the data presented in table 6 has been re-categorized to enable useful comparison between projects. Amounts are in US\$ millions.



*'Here you can't hit your child because someone may report you. Not to mention your partner. If you try to beat her, the police will take you away. There's more respect here. You get used to the discipline here. The police officers treat you well. They ask you to show them your documents and they thank you and even apologize for bothering you. It's very different in Ecuador, where they ask you to show your ID and they beat you right away'.*

Juan, 35 year old migrant from Guayaquil, Ecuador to Barcelona, Spain.

*'Jose has a tough temper, but I ignore him. Men here are macho like in Ecuador but here they can't touch us because we get much support from the police. Jose can't raise his hand at me, because I can go straight to the police and press charges. My husband in Guayaquil sometimes insulted me and hit me but I never went to the police, never said anything. But it's different here; I've told Jose that if he ever lays a hand on me he knows what I'll do. I don't put up with that crap over here'.*

Maria, 28 year old migrant from Guayaquil, Ecuador to Barcelona Spain

These two quotes both come from a longitudinal anthropological study I have been undertaking in a poor community in Guayaquil, Ecuador, in which I also tracked the second generation kids that had migrated to Barcelona, Spain<sup>14</sup>. Both quotes illustrate the way perceptions of a functional legal structure and associated policing system can change attitudes and tolerance levels around child and domestic abuse. For Juan the benefits that Barcelona offers are linked to increased awareness of civic and state responsibilities - with the legal rights to protect children and women backed up by a credible police system. For Maria increased knowledge of legal rights has made her more assertive about the protection against domestic abuse that a well-functioning state provides.

These quotes highlight the importance of implementation and lead me to end this paper on a cautionary note. Despite the tremendous achievements to date in developing policies and programmes that mainstream gender into safety and security in cities, at the end of the day its successful implementation that counts. Like many countries Ecuador has excellent laws on the book, but the daily reality of women's lives often shows a very different story, which in turn is reflected in perceptions around insecurity and the lack of safety. And Ecuador is not unique. There is a considerable gap between laws and policies to address different categories of gender-based violence and their implementation in practice in countries and cities across the world (see Annex 1).

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<sup>14</sup> See, for instance, Moser and Felton (2007; 2008); and Moser (2008).



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Just as academics and practitioners alike are concerned to ensure that gender mainstreaming is implemented in practice, with robust auditing and evaluation tools developed, so too the priority for gender mainstreaming into city safety must now be the same. While some advocate a return to women-specific interventions, these not only often fail to address male violence-related concerns but frequently can only reach small target groups. Therefore gender mainstreaming is essential. It clearly identifies violence as an issue affecting women and men, girls and boys and can present opportunities in terms of getting to scale – as illustrated by the IDB supported citizen security projects. But this also makes it essential to ensure that in the process of implementing such programmes and projects gender-based violence issues do not experience evaporation, invisibilization or resistance.



### Annex 1. National laws addressing different categories of gender-based violence

Type	Country	Law	Reality
<b>Intimate partner violence</b>	Costa Rica	Penal Code, Article 378	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Law enforcement officials are reluctant to intervene if rape occurs between spouses</li><li>• Prison sentences are short or suspended, and fines are minimal amounts</li></ul>
	Zimbabwe	Martial Rape Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Marital rape recognized only with separated partners</li></ul>
	Ghana	Marital Rape Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• No cases ever documented as of 1993</li></ul>
<b>Sexual violence</b>	South Africa	Sexual violence against women, Articles 5, 6 & 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Less than 8% of reported rapes result in criminal sentence</li><li>• Rule of 'hue &amp; cry': if reporting is delayed, it is considered more likely that the woman is lying</li></ul>
	India	Indian Penal Code, Section 375	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Character assessments and sexual history of the woman can be used to deny rape charges</li><li>• In one study, 68% of judges believed that 'provocative' clothes invited sexual assault</li></ul>
<b>Workplace violence</b>	Bahamas	Sexual offences & Domestic Violence Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• While sexual harassment is criminalized, no remedies such as reinstatement are provided to a woman dismissed as a result of resistance to sexual harassment</li></ul>
	Sri Lanka	Penal Code, Sexual Harassment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Three years after its introduction, only 46 cases had been filed, despite a sexual harassment rate of over 80%</li></ul>

*See Moser and Moser 2005 for sources*



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