Gender-based Violence in the Private and Public Sphere: 
Results from Recent Research

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Has gender-based violence (GBV) increased?

or

Does the current global media attention provide new opportunities to address an age-old problem?
Huairou Commission: Delhi and Beyond: Concrete Actions for Safer Cities | Grassroots Women, Feminist Organizations and Local Authorities in 48 Cities Join February 19 Global Day of Action
Do we need more evidence?

- Extensive recognition across the globe of causes, costs and consequences of violence
- World Bank WDR 2012
- Mary Ellsberg’s cutting edge research and manuals
- Earlier work on GBV for WB!
Objective of presentation

- To use results from recent studies for a debate about the World Bank’s role in identifying new solutions

1. When does gender-based conflict tip into violence?
   - Income differentiated tipping points of GBV in Santiago, Chile

2. How do violence chains exacerbate GBV?
   - Political violence and GBV violence chains in Nairobi

3. Do ‘safer cities’ policies focusing on the public sphere invisibilize GBV in the private sphere?
   - Review of gender mainstreaming approaches to safer city projects

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Background

- University of Manchester research project on ‘Understanding the tipping points of urban conflict’ (UTP) (2010-2012) (ESRC/DFID grant)

- Project rationale: Cities are inherently conflictual spaces with conflict generally ‘managed’ peacefully by a range of mechanisms: sometimes these cannot cope and different forms of violence can emerge

- Search for new research concepts:
  - Tipping points: ‘small events and actions that produce big changes’ (Gladwell)
  - Violence chains: ‘processes that increase the scale and inter-connectedness of different types of violence’ (adapting the concept of commodity chains)
The primary fieldwork sites

- Santiago de Chile, Chile
- Nairobi, Kenya
- Dili, East Timor
- Patna, India

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City case studies chosen on basis of four factors conventionally identified as causing violence

*Each city paradigmatically associated with one factor, but displaying different levels of overall violence*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Centre</th>
<th>Researchers</th>
<th>City and Country</th>
<th>Paradigmatic factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GURC/BWPI, U. of Manchester</td>
<td>Caroline Moser Dennis Rodgers</td>
<td>(PI)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eco-Build Africa</td>
<td>Alfred Omenya Grace Lubaale</td>
<td>Nairobi, Kenya,</td>
<td>Political exclusion</td>
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<td>Corporacion SUR</td>
<td>Alfredo Rodriguez Marisol Saborido Olga Segovia</td>
<td>Santiago, Chile,</td>
<td>Gender-based insecurity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centre on Conflict, I&amp;DS, Geneva</td>
<td>Oliver Jütersonke Jovana Carapic</td>
<td>Dili, East Timor,</td>
<td>Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute for Human Dev.</td>
<td>Alakh Sharma Dennis Rodgers Shivani Satija</td>
<td>Patna, India,</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Santiago

- Combined research components:
  - City profiles
  - Sub-city studies in 3 income areas
- Participatory methodology: (PVA) building on work of Chambers, Moser & McIlwaine on violence in Latin America
- Principles: Reversal of power - learning from local people rather than extracting: shift from verbal to visual, individual to group
- Robustness: Purposive focus group sampling
## Santiago: Violence problems identified by income group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of violence</th>
<th>Low: <em>Castillo</em></th>
<th>Medium: <em>Controlaria</em></th>
<th>High: <em>La Dehesa</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of FG</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No. of FG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra-family violence/sexual abuse</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fights/assaults/mugging</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug / alcohol related</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimidation / fear / bullying</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Castillo – 21 Focus Groups; Controlaria – 18 focus groups; La Dehesa – 7 focus groups
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Public</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HOME</td>
<td></td>
<td>HOME</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Low   | • Drugs-consumption & trafficking  
      | • Conjugal violence, *machismo*, jealousy  
      | • Child abuse  
      | • Overcrowding | • Drugs  
      | • Related shootings  
      | • Fights between W  
      | • Rape  
      | • Child abuse in pp. | • Drugs consumption  
      | • Sexual abuse of boys & girls | • Drugs, fights, money & shootings  
      | • Power struggles “who is cooler” |
| Medium| • Intrafamily-violence | • Assaults & mugging  
      | • Rapes & psychos  
      | • Verbal arguments  
      | • Employment uncertainty | • Fights parents & children  
      | • Sexual abuse of boys | • Fights adults & young men |
| High  | • Fear of break-ins  
      | • Intrafamily-violence  
      | • Physical appearance  
      | • Children & violent games (video games) | • Alcohol & drugs in public squares  
      | • Smash-and-grab vehicle theft  
      | • Fear of rape  
      | • Sexual harassment | • Assaults & break-ins | • Fights among young men,  
      | • Discrimination  
      | • Bullying |
Santiago: When does conflict tip into violence?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOW INCOME</th>
<th>MIDDLE INCOME</th>
<th>UPPER INCOME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El Castillo</td>
<td>Controlaria</td>
<td>La Dehesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The losers’</td>
<td>‘Caught in the middle’</td>
<td>‘The winners’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <strong>Drugs</strong> as part of the family economy.</td>
<td>• <strong>Stress</strong> – parents work long hours, focused on money</td>
<td>• <strong>Urban development</strong> – shift from a semi-rural area to heavily populated area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The use of <strong>firearms</strong>.</td>
<td></td>
<td>• The <strong>mix</strong> of people – poor enclaves in a wealthy area.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A cycle of violence connected to drugs is reproduced in the neighborhood & in the home.

Stress leads to intra-family violence, alcohol and drug consumption.

Fear of ‘the other’, lack of tolerance of social diversity lead to violence and a feeling of insecurity.
Comparative results from different income groups showed that:

- By defining urban violence only as a problem of poor areas, other existing manifestations of violence become invisible.

Social cohesion, inclusion and citizen participation must be incorporated as crosscutting urban policy themes, particularly those associated with violence reduction.

Public policy responses should be on violence instead of security.

Interventions focused on families, schools and communities are necessary to break the violence chains.

Violence chain, group of adult women, aged 35-56, El Castillo

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Nairobi: UTP study of political violence

Post Election Violence in Kenya, 2007/8
Nairobi: Participatory research in 3 low-income settlements

- Kangemi slums
- Huruma Slums
- Mathare slum

Kawangware: Population 210,000
Kibera: Population 600,000
Mukuru: Population 350,000
### Nairobi: Violence problems identified in FGs in 3 low-income communities (in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Violence</th>
<th>Kawangware</th>
<th>Kibera</th>
<th>Mukuru</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic (esp. robbery)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenants/landlord</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Kawangware – 19 focus groups; Kibera – 37 focus groups; Mukuru 18 focus groups
Spatial dimensions of violence in Nairobi

- Insufficient space, and of poor quality, in informal settlements results in violence
- Lack of adequate space requirements relates both to productive and reproductive activities
- Poor quality public spaces are sites of violent acts, including rape
- The mapping of hotspots helps people to understand different types of violence in concrete terms, resulting in specific community actions

Visual representation of violence hotspots in Kibera, Nairobi showing multiple forms of violence
Nairobi: How do violence chains exacerbate GBV?

- Where there are stronger chains, communities are perceived as more violent.
- Political violence is perceived as most significant, but other types of violence in totality are greater.
- GBV is perceived as second most important, both in itself, but also and as part of violence chain.
- Policy prioritization of political violence makes other forms of violence – particularly GBV – invisible and ‘normal’ parts of violence chains.
- Reflections on research methodology.
Some conclusions from UTP project

- **Inadequate consideration of gender-based insecurity**
  - While the entry point in Santiago, it emerged as major concern in all 4 cities
  - Clear interconnections between private and public spheres again in all cities

- **Tipping points**
  - All 4 cities showed importance of moving beyond static measures of violence – aggregated statistics –including GBV

- **Violence Chains**
  - Shows the interconnectedness between different forms of violence - focusing on one type of violence in isolation from others offers incomplete reality and obscures causality

- **Policy implications**
  - **Experiment with innovative ideas to prevent conflict tipping into violence**
    - After 50 years, small innovations rather than blueprints required
  - **Shift in policy from addressing specific problems to determining the kind of society citizens want**
  - **Is a middle class response a more privileged space in which to reverse unequal gender power relations?**

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Do ‘safer cities’ policies focusing on the public sphere invisibilize GBV in the private sphere?

- **Background:** Article in recent special issue of *Gender and Development* on Gender Mainstreaming

- **Objective:** To review of mainstreaming women’s safety into safer city policies and programs in terms of two issues:
  - Is women’s safety a separate women’s issue or should it be mainstreamed in broader safer city research and practice?
  - Do urban safety issues affect all women equally or are contexts of poverty and exclusion, characteristics of identity and agency, important?
A Reminder: Components of a Gender Mainstreaming Strategy

**GOAL:**
Gender equality

**STRATEGY:**
Twin-track gender mainstreaming

1. Integration of women’s & men’s concerns in all policies & projects

Equality

2. Specific activities aimed at empowering women

Empowerment of women
Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming

Policy EVAPORATION
When good policy intentions fail to be followed through in practice

Policy RESISTANCE
Mechanisms block GM for ‘political’ rather than ‘technocratic’ reasons

Policy INVISIBILIZATION
When M&E fails to document what is occurring on the ground
Implications of gender mainstreaming for women's safety policy and programs

- Requires a shift from a specific focus on women’s security to incorporates the safety and security of women and men, boys and girls.

- Gender disparities cross-cut with other types of diversity such as those based on age, ethnicity, race

- Provides opportunity to focus on the interrelated nature of different types of violence
  - Different associated social actors that may be male or female; perpetrators or victims.
Getting a GM policy for safety in cities in place

- Development of a dual strategy
  - Mainstreaming of women and men’s safety and security issues into all policies, programmes and projects with context specific targeted interventions to:
    - Protect women from insecurity
    - Empower them to contest local institutions, such as the municipality and civil society organizations, to make the city safe for them.

- To inform such a strategy requires a detailed gender analysis of violence and insecurity.
  - A violence roadmap provides a useful diagnostic tool
    - List the extensive manifestations of violence
    - Categorize them so that policymakers can identify appropriate solutions.
Implementing gender mainstreaming in security and safety policies, programs and projects in practice

- Useful to distinguish between three types of gender-based programmatic interventions:

1. Women-focused programmes:
   - These specifically focus on protecting or empowering women

2. Women-focused components in integrated programmes:
   - These often end up as additional ‘add-ons’ to programmes

3. Gender-mainstreaming programmes that equally address women and men’s needs:
   - Danger is that women’s priorities may face evaporation or resistance
Good practice?

Khayelitsha Urban Renewal Programme, Cape Town

- Triangle of violence reduction components linking:
  - Urban renewal strategies for better environmental arrangements to reduce opportunities for violence
  - Criminal justice measures to discourage potential violators
  - Public health / conflict resolution interventions to support to victims of violence in the private space.

- Examples
  - Open public sphere: rape. Assault
    - Improved street lightning / Widespread and functional telephone system
  - Shebeens (bars); drug/alcohol violence; rape
    - Relocate to site where social and police control more efficient
  - Private domestic space; emotional abuse / rape
    - Counselling and conflict resolution facilities
## Follow the budget: IDB Citizen Security Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Colombia</th>
<th>Jamaica</th>
<th>El Salvador</th>
<th>Honduras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional strengthening</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community &amp; other actions to prevent juvenile violence and delinquency</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social awareness and communication</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community policing and criminal justice</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion: Both are necessary

- Gender mainstreaming into safer cities has advantages and limitations

- Women-specific interventions
  - Often fail to address male violence related concerns
  - Tend to consider women in vulnerable welfare terms
  - Make it easier to reinforce public / private separation
  - Often only reach small target groups

- Gender mainstreaming interventions
  - Essential to identify robust institutions
  - To confront issues around POWER relations
  - To monitor and prevent or challenge policy evaporation, invisibilization or resistance
  - To disseminate good practice
Conclusion:
To return to the original question?

The intention has been to contribute to a debate about the World Bank’s role in identifying new solutions to gender-based violence
Resources


www.urbantippingpoint.org