

A critical look at the women-only wagons in Transmilenio

Una mirada crítica a la medida de los vagones exclusivos para mujeres en Transmilenio

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Given that the problem of sexual violence in Colombia has increased unusually, the government entities, together with the Secretary of Women, have adopted measures to reduce these facts, such as the wagons for exclusive use by women in Transmilenio. However, these have not been efficient, so it is essential to seek a real strategy that does not bring consequences in the coexistence.

Keywords: Civil engineering, culture, inequality, mobility, segregation, sexual harassment

Dado que la problemática de violencia sexual en Colombia se ha incrementado de una manera insólita, los entes gubernamentales, junto con la secretaria de la mujer, han adoptado medidas para reducir estos hechos, como los vagones de uso exclusivo para mujeres en Transmilenio. Sin embargo, estas no han sido eficientes, de manera que es indispensable buscar una verdadera estrategia que no traiga consecuencias en la convivencia.

Palabras clave: Acoso sexual, cultura, desigualdad, ingeniería civil, movilidad, segregación

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Introduction

Mass public transport in Bogotá, Colombia was initially proposed as a solution to mobility in this city (Lecompte & Bocarejo, 2017; Lemoine et al., 2016; Mosquera et al., 2012). The inhabitants were surprised and rewarded with this innovation, which consists of an articulated bus with two or three cars and several stations within the city (Cesafsky, 2017). However, what was initially the salvation to mobility, today has become one of the problems that most affect the inhabitants (Hunt, 2017; Vecchio, 2017).

The constant increase of population in the capital of the country, the sexual harassment against women, the lack of culture in the society, are reasons for which we want to achieve that the reader takes into account from a critical look the factors that are related to this transport and some proposals that have been wanted to adopt (Bastowski & Smith, 2017; Gekoski, Gray, Adler, & Horvath, 2017; Gekoski et al., 2015; Whitzman, Legacy, & Andrew, 2013).

This article is structured as follows. In the following section, we consider sexual violence in the public transportation system in Bogotá, the reasons for not implementing wagons for the exclusive use of women, and alternatives to combat sexual violence in Transmilenio. In the end, we present our conclusions.

Sexual violence in public transport in Bogotá

During the sixties in the city of Bogotá, it was possible to appreciate a considerably comfortable life in several aspects. The city had a population that barely exceeded one million people, a territorial extension of around 8000 hectares, and a transportation system capable of satisfying the demand of that time without caring that this service was private. But this lifestyle would deteriorate over the years, the capital of Colombia presented a huge population growth due to migration from the countryside to the city, generating a huge disorder at the territorial level, environmental problems, and mobility within the city.

In the last years of the 20th century, the crisis that was being experienced was unsustainable since the city lacked a massive public transportation system that was capable of meeting the demand, generating comfort, tranquility, and efficiency. There was the additional problem that the city did not have an adequate road infrastructure for the time that reached every part of the capital.

It was then that the idea of possible solutions to this problem began to be considered during the mandates of Mayors Andrés Pastrana, Jaime Castro, Antanas Mockus, and Enrique Peñalosa. However, these alternatives presented some limitations, such as the implementation of the subway,

which was not considered a short-term response, and its construction was quite costly.

And so it was decided to use the implementation of the Transmilenio system which is: *"a massive transportation system that uses trunks with exclusive lanes, large capacity buses, and exclusive stations with prepaid systems that were put into service in the city of Bogotá at the end of 2000, as a solution to the problem of vehicular chaos that occurred daily in the capital"*, and is based on four pillars (Andina, 2001):

1. *"Respect for life, represented in a comfortable, safe, and modern service."*
2. *Respect for people's time, with a transportation system that meets minimum quality standards in terms of itineraries and travel time."*
3. *Respect for citizen diversity, as it would become a transportation system in which different social classes converge without preferences of any kind and, on the contrary, equal treatment."*
4. *International quality, complying with the minimum requirements indicated by the transport engineering for the provision of a comfortable, safe, and effective service"* (Transmilenio, 2013).

The first three trunks delivered to the population were Autonorte, Calle 80, and Caracas which are expected to mobilize close to 660,000 users per day. The first route used by the system had 14 buses, and the route was between Calle 80 and Calle Sexta along the Caracas trunk line. This project, with an ambitious outlook, expected to have by 2016 around 22 trunk lines with stations and yards by, with sufficient resources provided by the government and the district. However, currently, the system has 112.9 km of track in operation, 11 trunks in operation, 134 stations, 9 portals, and 9 patio garages (Transmilenio, 2013).

Although the implementation of this system provided citizens with a solution regarding mobility, it also brought about not only changes at the infrastructure level but also economic, social, cultural changes, and an increase in the quality of life of Bogotá's people. But over time this solution would bring more problems to Bogotá's society than just those related to displacement within the capital.

At present, the problem within Transmilenio is becoming greater and greater. Insecurity, crime, sexual harassment, and many other events affect all users, but the most frequent victims are women. These crimes are part of the daily routine at the stations of this system, especially on Avenida Jiménez, Calle 76, Calle 40 Sur, Santa Lucía, Ricaurte, Portal del Norte, Calle 100, Calle 72, Flores, Calle 63, Marly, Restrepo, Portal del Tunal, Portal de las Américas, and Banderas, which are largely in the Troncales del Norte, Caracas, and the Americas (El Espectador, 2015).

Sexual harassment is a form of gender discrimination, and most victims are women. Emotional stress, humiliation,

anxiety, depression, anger, impotence, or fatigue are some of the serious effects suffered by victims of this type of harassment. Sexual harassment is an attack on the dignity and physical and psychological health of women. It causes the loss of freedom to say NO, emotional, physical, and moral damage.

Sexual harassment is in all areas, it can be in the street, at work, on public transportation, at school, on social networks (cyber-bullying), and it can even be in the family. If it is not addressed initially it could turn into sexual violence, something that neither Colombia nor other countries have been able to end. Every day women are exposed to uncomfortable situations such as penetrating glances, insinuations, gestures that are too much, and even transgressions of personal space. These situations are very frequent, so much so that today they have become naturalized in such a way that people make *funny* comments regardless of whether they affect anyone.

There are too many victims, but too few women who dare to report, since most believe that this is an unnecessary, time-wasting process with no results. In most cases of sexual harassment, there is a witness, but he does not do anything about it, since he does not know what to do or how to intervene, thus giving the harasser the freedom to continue with his bad actions. Women should know that it is better to denounce than to do nothing about it, nothing is lost by trying.

The UN, in General Assembly Resolution 48/104 on the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, defines violence against women, including sexual harassment, as prohibited at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere (Article 2.b), and encourages criminal, civil and other administrative penalties and preventive approaches to eliminate violence against women (Article 4.d-f) (Espectador, 2016).

The District Women's Secretariat, in alliance with the Bogotá Metropolitan Police and the Transmilenio system, continues to work to prevent this type of incident and to improve the safety conditions of women on public transportation. In this sense, campaigns to prevent violence against women in the system will be strengthened, with the aim of increasing social sanctions against sexual harassment and promoting solidarity and co-responsibility among users (ONU, 2017a).

Some important worldwide numbers that should be taken into account to better understand this topic are:

- According to a survey conducted in 2016, more than 1 in 4 women in Washington D.C. (United States) have experienced some form of sexual harassment on public transportation (SDMujer, 2017).
- One in 10 women in the European Union reports having been cyberbullied since the age of 15, including receiving unwanted, sexually explicit, and offensive emails or SMS

messages, or inappropriate and offensive attempts on social networks. Young women between the ages of 18 and 29 are most at risk (ONU, 2017b).

The World Bank worked on a pilot program to find effective ways to combat the problem of sexual harassment at public transportation units and stops in Latin America. From this, the following characteristics were found:

- Reporting is not easy. There is a general feeling that it is not worthwhile to report events because it is complicated and there are rarely results.
- There is no solidarity among strangers. If there were a greater sense of community, people would dare to raise their voices when an incident occurs and would be more supportive of the victims.
- Segregation is not a sufficient solution. Some saw it as another way of victimizing women, suggesting that women *choose* to submit to abuse if they do not go in the women's compartment (Unión Europea, 2014).

Sexual harassment is a very broad problem, and countries close to Colombia have also experienced problems in public transportation-related to this issue. Although with some campaigns that have been proposed in the country it is proposed to improve, the truth is that this is a more cultural issue, therefore, there must be more corrective measures in this regard. Colombia is a country that has very uneducated citizens.

As can be seen in Fig. 1 and Fig. 2, the number of women who suffer violence and sexual harassment in public transport daily is quite high. A large number of complaints and reports led the Mayor's Office of Bogotá and the Secretary for Women to take extreme measures, and thus implement through the campaign called *Women travel safely on Transmilenio*, wagons exclusively for women in the articulations of the Transmilenio mass transit system, starting with a pilot plan on March 7, 2014, on some routes in the northwest of the city, which lasted a month, showing positive results, so the implementation of the strategy was extended and expanded on the most used routes throughout the city for approximately two years.

This strategy emerged in the city after its implementation in other countries such as:

1. **Brazil.** Since 2006, the Rio de Janeiro subway has a car marked with pink signs for women that operates during rush hour, and public buses in the city of Goiânia also use this media, which operates there all day.
2. **Egypt.** Since the '90s, exclusive wagons for women have been implemented in the Cairo subway, which is marked by the color pink (Banco Mundial, 2014).
3. **India.** Since this is a country with a great number of sexual harassment, Indian authorities implement train services only for women, being equally popular with the cab services by women.

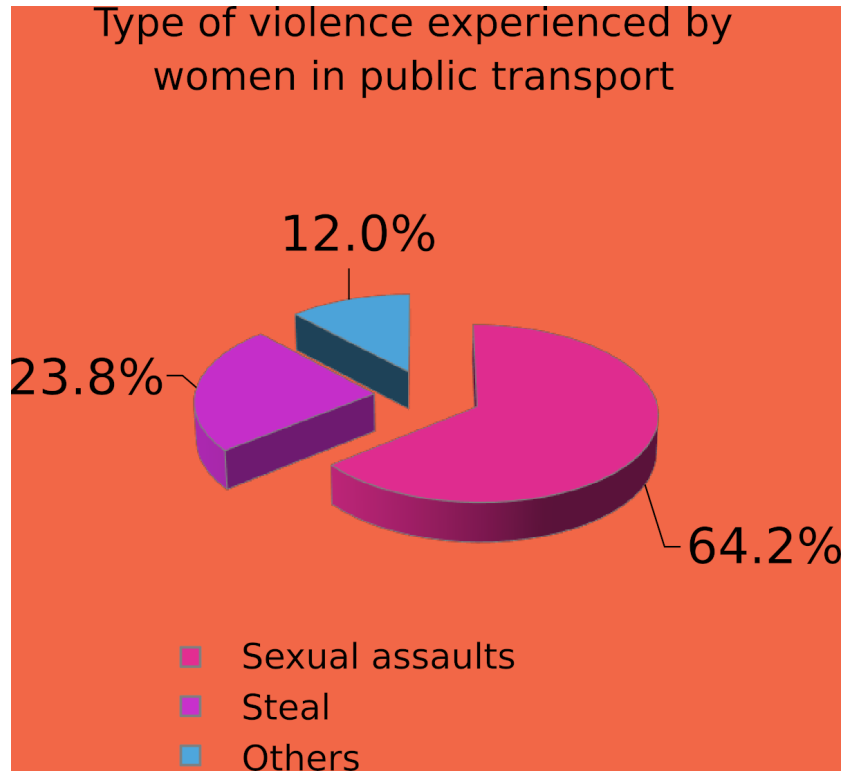


Figure 1. Violence suffered by women on public transportation (SDMujer, 2014).

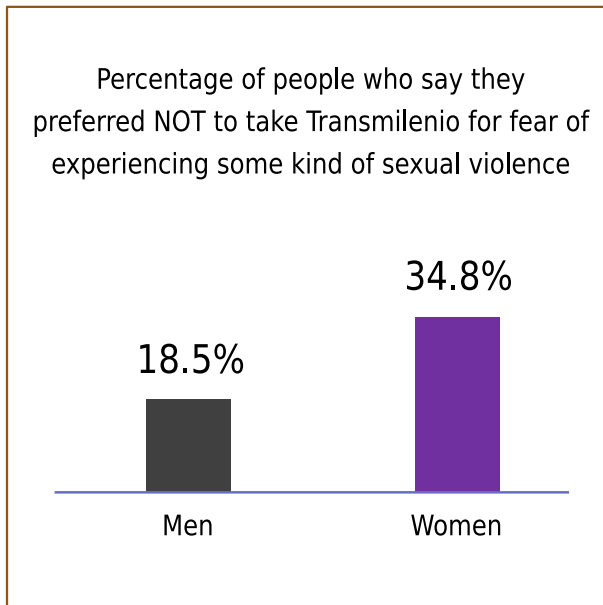


Figure 2. Percentage of people who say they prefer not to take Transmilenio for fear of suffering some kind of sexual violence (SDMujer, 2014).

4. **Indonesia.** The first women-only carriages were implemented in August 2010 in the Jakarta metropolitan

area, while in 2012 a train was created on which men cannot travel (La Prensa, 2014).

5. **Israel.** The private sector implemented a service in which part of the bus is exclusively for women, an idea that was driven by religious sensitivities of ultra-conservative sectors of the Israeli population.

6. **Japan.** The Japanese capital's subway has wagons for the exclusive use of women, a measure that was created in 1912 and that currently provides service from Monday to Friday, some during the service's peak hours and others throughout the day, which are easy to distinguish because they are a different color. There is also a special service of cabs driven by women at night.

7. **Malaysia.** There are women-only carriages on trains throughout the country since 2010. That same year, exclusive buses were implemented in the capital Kuala Lumpur, while a year later an exclusive cab service was created, driven by women (La Prensa, 2014).

8. **Mexico.** Since 2008, through the campaign *we travel safe*, urban trucks and subway cars are used in Mexico City only for women, complemented by the installation of video cameras and special groupings within the system.

9. **Taiwan.** The women-only subway cars were implemented in the Taiwanese subways, however, they only operate during rush hours.

Once the pilot plan was carried out in the city, the Women’s Secretariat decided to survey Transmilenio users to see how it had progressed. Although most of the people surveyed were aware of the measure, most of them also considered that this measure would not contribute much to preventing violence against women in this means of transport, as can be seen in Fig. 3.

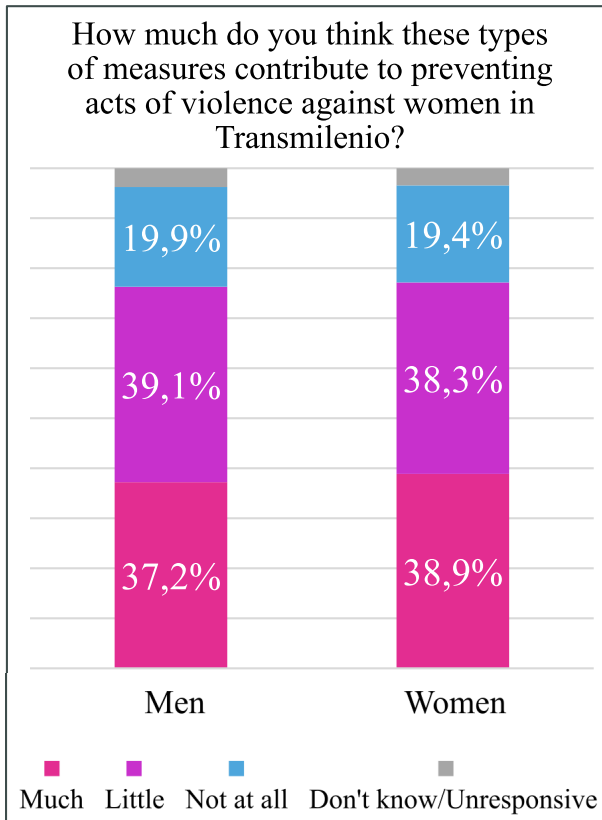


Figure 3. Community perception of the effectiveness of restriction in Transmilenio (SDMujer, 2014).

Even so, it was decided to implement this measure. However, as its popularity grew over time, so did user dissatisfaction. It seems that the contribution of such a measure is very small, because, although it seems to have a good purpose, it does not seem to be relevant for the transport system that is being developed in the city. This can be explained by the lack of culture and tolerance among users, much less if what is wanted is to achieve equity and good coexistence in society. After two years of its implementation, it was decided by the mayor’s office not to continue using this strategy; it took this time for the administration to deduce that the results were less and less favorable.

Well, in a consultation made by Caracol Radio in March of this year to the secretary of Women’s Affairs of the current administration, Cristina Velez, to know what happened with the measure, she said that the city that has implemented more extensively the policy of exclusive cars is Mexico City, with

unflattering results that have not changed the violence in public transport, so it is not a measure that we will continue in Bogota (La Prensa, 2014). It was a very bad strategy, leaving the Secretary of Women alone to deal with a public transportation issue. This allows for the resolution of a situational problem, but not the structural one. It prevents harassment because it separates men and women, but it doesn’t solve the underlying issue, which is how we treat each other in public space (Espectador, 2016).

Therefore, this is not a measure that should be implemented in the city. The fact that it is no longer in operation is a relief since it also rules out the problems that this measure contracts with, such as segregation, secondary victimization of women, greater congestion in the system, and the reproaches that men would most likely make to women. But it is also important to bear in mind that the problem is not solved because women represent 53% of the almost 2’600.000 passengers that travel daily in the system (Caracol Radio, 2017), who must travel daily by this means of transportation to reach their workplaces, studies, and homes, going through really difficult times when they are harassed by men without any respect for them and without support from other people, who in many cases do not pay attention to what is happening around them.

Thus, the Women’s Secretariat seems to be continuing to look for suitable strategies according to the Secretary’s statement that we are working with data from the World Economic Forum to take long-term action. We are studying rapid reporting points to identify the lines where there are more incidents so that we can reinforce the presence of authorities, whether they are police or authorities of coexistence (Espectador, 2016). But it is very unrewarding to see long-term measures taken and not think about doing something now, at the moment when this type of violence is growing so rapidly and with so few repercussions for the perpetrators, so it continues to be the daily bread of a large number of users of the system and the satisfaction of many of the perverts who enjoy violating them.

Reasons not to implement women-only wagons

The most popular strategy that has been observed to combat the problem of sexual aggression in the Transmilenio mass system seemed to be the real solution, and the expectation of the users was great to the point that their deficiencies would be noticed. There were many doubts and questions about the real functioning of the women’s wagons and the repercussions that these would bring. Its consequences are so serious that instead of being an advance for society it seems to be a step backward, a direct pass to the old society that lacked aspects such as gender equality, tolerance, and citizen culture, which have been sought lately and would be lost immediately with such an absurd measure.

By implementing methodologies such as the above to provide a safer environment for all users of the mass transit system, especially women who are most affected by the countless cases of abuse and mistreatment within the system, not only are they ineffective, but they also generate a greater number of problems for the entire female gender.

1. **Gender Inequality.** Gender equality is understood as giving women and men equal value and real enjoyment of rights and opportunities, thus ending discrimination (El Espectador, 2017a). By making these measures effective, women are being given a position of weakness or fragility with the male gender, thus reversing all the efforts that women have made in their history to be valued and recognized as equals to men. Although much progress has been made in achieving this goal, even in this modern society women are often seen as equals, especially in the workplace. In Bogotá, according to DANE figures, for example, it has been found that women continue to earn up to 20% less than men despite having the same academic level and experience. Also, they spend nine and a half hours in unpaid work compared to two and a half hours for men and, as if that were not enough, they continue to be the main victims of domestic and sexual abuse (Unicef, 2017).

2. **Lack of civic culture.** Culture is the set of forms and expressions that will characterize a given society in time. By the set of forms and expressions is understood and includes the customs, beliefs, common practices, rules, standards, codes, clothing, religion, rituals, and ways of being that predominate in the common people who integrate it. The term culture has a very wide meaning and multiple meanings. The same happens with words like science, knowledge, or faith, concrete words with different values and meanings (Definición ABC, 2017). In Bogotá, in addition to mobility problems and insecurity in the mass transportation system, the lack of culture in Bogotá is also reflected. Before, it was not common to see people getting on the buses selling products or singing, while now there is a different vendor at each station. Justifications and permissiveness have helped to strengthen this phenomenon. On the other hand, in the year 2015 in Transmilenio about 67,000 users snuck in or entered without paying the fare, which corresponds to \$41 billion per year in losses, which are replaced with taxes from all Bogotá's citizens, that is to say, because of the sneakers, public money is no longer invested in other matters of vital importance such as health, education, etc. A rather thorny issue is the frequent acts of intolerance generated by not giving up a chair, by pushing or not letting the bus doors close or open. Symptoms of a lack of social awareness and social culture (Grandas, 2015). Colombia as a whole is not uneducated, because if we take as a reference other cities like Medellin, a city quite organized and educated, then why Bogota which is the capital of the country is not, if, with more reasons this should be an example for all other cities,

it is a question of customs, if a person from Bogota goes to Medellin is going to notice a big change and therefore will also behave like the inhabitants of this city. Another factor that is aggravated by the implementation of this type of measure in the Transmilenio transport system is the citizen's culture. What is evident in the current society of Bogota is the custom and tradition of individualism, where only each person matters, seeking the advantage over others and the most important thing within the system is to obtain a seat at all costs during their journey, leaving aside the value and quality of being civilized people only thinking about entering the articulated *as you can* in a society which lives its day to day to the efforts characteristic of a city that is constantly growing. But given this problem of the lack of citizen culture in several areas that affect the system, measures have been taken to generate awareness and a possible solution to so many discontents that harm the quality of this service. This is the initiative *Todos pagamos el pato* (We all pay the price), which consists of embodying in a character the insecurity, the atmosphere of disorder, and the discontent that those who avoid the passage symbolize. The call to personify that discontent will be a yellow duck that, from now on, will roam the different stations and portals of Transmilenio, leading all those behaviors that not only worry and bother users but also put them in danger and generate more occupation on the buses (El Espectador, 2017b). But even so, many more strategies are needed to improve the coexistence and citizen culture of all users of the mass transit system.

3. **Segregation.** An important aspect that would manifest itself during the execution of measures of this type is the gender or sexual segregation in which the woman would be in a situation of isolation because she considers herself to be weak concerning the other gender, seeking her protection by separating herself from the other users of the system as a measure to avoid further aggravating this problem. But it would be showing a society which is unable to take conscience and acquire a citizen culture based on respect and tolerance that can overcome the potholes of bad habits and customs and prefer to solve them in an easy and retrograde way damaging the image and the concept of the woman at present. A fundamental concept in social groups is the interaction between individuals, restricting this interaction breaks the balance of the system, and this is as true as in artificial systems (Penagos, Pacheco, & Martínez, 2018; Rendón, Arbulú, & Martínez, 2018).

Victimization of women

Many authors agree that secondary victimization is the negative psychological, social, legal, and economic consequences of the victim's relationship with the criminal justice system and that it represents a frustrating clash between the victim's legitimate expectations and the institutional reality, involving a loss of understanding of the

psychological and physical suffering caused by the crime, leaving them desolate and insecure, and generating a loss of faith in the ability of the community, professionals, and institutions to respond to their needs. It is also understood as a second victimization experience that results in some frequency being more negative than the primary one and can lead to an increase in the damage caused by the crime with others of a psychological or patrimonial dimension (Gutiérrez, Coronel, & Pérez, 2009).

Some of the factors that influence the development of an abusive and revictimizing environment in a judicial environment are:

- Lack of information to the victim of the rites and procedural times.
- The frustration of their expectations when the sentence is not reached.
- The victim must give the version of the facts in the presence of the victimizer.
- The subjectivity of the professionals themselves and their working conditions.
- Rationalization by some professionals of the victim's situation ("I would be doing something to make what happened to her happen!").
- How crimes are typified in the criminal codes and the definition of the passive subject of the crime.
- Iatrogenic interventions, in which the personnel in charge of caring for the victims, with their intervention, produce more harm than the criminal act itself.
- Giving priority to the search for the reality of the criminal event by forgetting to care for the victim or depersonalizing his treatment.
- The lack of information about the evolution of the process, about the sentence, and about the fate of the offender.
 - The lack of an environment of privacy and protection.
 - Excessive legal technicalities.
 - Ignorance of professional roles on the part of the victim.
 - The excessive slowness of the judicial process and its interference with the victim's recovery and rehabilitation process.
- The oral trial: the narration of the crime, the questioning of its credibility, and the feeling of guilt are important inducers of tension.
 - The behavior developed by the victim during the trial.
 - The costs of victimization.
 - The duration of the crime (Gutiérrez et al., 2009).

This is how it becomes more difficult to deal with sexual violence in the city and even in the country. The negligence of Colombian judicial authorities in many of the reported cases is quite clear, either because of a simple *lack of evidence*, lack of attention, or simply because they do not believe in the women who report.

Given that in many cases the people who attend to these complaints are men, there is a greater negative response on their part, affecting the women who have been raped even more with their comments. Also, the interrogations carried out by the authorities and even the trials themselves can make the victims feel guilty about what happened to them, without taking into account the possible evidence that may be requested by the judicial entities and that may lead the victims to go through uncomfortable and difficult moments that bring with them psychological and emotional effects accompanied by the accusations that other people may also make. And since the authorities are the main cause of this damage, the victims do not know who to turn to.

Therefore, it is pertinent to make a call for attention. If in cases where the aggression seems so evident, severe secondary victimization is observed, as it could be in the middle of the reporting of cases that occur in public transportation. This is the main reason for women not to report, as many consider the harm they may suffer by doing so or simply consider that they will not achieve anything by reporting.

In this way, to denounce, encouraged by the campaign of the wagons for women, is not very convenient while the judicial entities, continue acting and judging the victims in this way and while the laws are not hard enough with all that sexual aggressor so that it was enough reason not to want to commit a crime of this type.

Signposting of women from victim to victimizer

It's no secret that today's society is still very macho. So it would be something very delicate the role that would be taken by women who sometimes could not manage to use the wagons exclusively for women. All these women would be presented with a sign because as many people see, they would not have to be present in the mixed wagons, but this is possible given the flaws in the system since it is a large number of women who transit and use this means of transport daily, and very possibly they would not fit in a single wagon per joint and with the delays and delays of the buses it would not be possible to afford to wait for another one, because it would also be the delay of people in their places of work, study or whatever their destination.

It is almost obvious that with the only option of taking the mixed wagon because the women's wagon is full, it is pointed out by the men that if these women are attacked it is their fault since they are in the mixed wagon. The women who are victims of such a horrible experience every day would become the victimizers because they are in the area where men are possibly lurking to feed their morbidity.

But, then it is even more important to think about cases in which it is difficult to make use of these wagons, such as women with cars, because there is no place for them in the women-only wagon, people with some kind of disability

who are accompanied in many cases by people of another sex, including the illogical separation of families or groups of people who may go together and are forced to separate when they get into the articulate.

Thus, it would be very exclusive this measure that would become a big problem with which very possibly all users would be against, because it is unacceptable to want to achieve a really good and healthy coexistence among citizens, separating them into groups.

Consequences on mobility

Public transportation in Bogotá has generated several inconveniences, and the massive transportation system was believed to be the solution to these problems, however, today it has become a major problem since as all cities and countries in the world have constant population growth, Bogotá did not take that into account and that is why this system cannot meet its demand.

This *salvation* in the issue of mobility has lost its charm in Bogota, mainly because of the issue of security, since despite the measures taken by the police and the system, thefts do not stop, 83 percent of users, according to a survey by the Chamber and Commerce of Bogota, say they feel unsafe in the Transmilenio. Also, on the other hand, there is time, Bogota is a Latin American city where citizens spend more time on their journeys (about 97 minutes daily) people must get up very early if they want to get to work on time, many with 2 hours notice, adding that the delivery of the articles to the stations is not continuous, therefore there is an accumulation of people and when it comes to entering these buses, many get hurt.

Another important problem that affects the mass transportation system is the routes since it has a rather complicated route system, which involves congestion in the stations, the price of tickets, and the inefficiency of the system.

As the years go by, citizens realize that they must demand a decent means of transport because the city will continue to grow, so measures must be taken in terms of mobility and mass transport as soon as possible, because if it is currently chaos, at a prospective level, it will be catastrophic (Fig. 4). There is a need to research and develop quality, high capacity mass transit schemes with technologies that can replicate low energy, high-performance strategies (Gordillo & Martinez, 2018).

The initiative to implement wagons exclusively for women in the mass transport system would complicate the situation, both in terms of congestion and mobility, since the number of people who need to be transported is increasing. It is logical that with the lack of citizen culture in Bogotá, this measure would not work; in fact, there would be more aggression against women, and in the case that some of them do not comply with this alternative due

to time, eagerness, etc. men could take advantage of this situation, causing women to re-victimize themselves. Also, the problem of providing supplies for all stations would be more complicated, since if now that the wagons are mixed they do not give enough, with the segregation it would be Dantean.

Alternatives to combat sexual violence in Transmilenio

New ideas

To try to find a solution to the problem that half of the women who use TransMilenio feel unsafe during the trip and one in three say they have not used this mass transport system for fear of suffering some kind of sexual violence, Bancolombia, and the Silla Vacía decided once again to ally to generate a scenario in which possible solutions to city problems were developed, to generate proposals for action. This is why experts from the Cachaca Network were called to a brainstorming session (a hackathon) from which these ten ideas were taken by Cristina Vélez, the district Secretary for Women, to eventually include some of them in her plan of action within UN Women's "Safe Cities" program of which the city is a part.

1. **TransmitRecording.** Through the sound systems that already exist in Transmilenio, reproduce messages that with figures or cases of recent harassment warn about the consequences of being a harasser.

2. **Panic button.** Locate easily accessible panic buttons along the buses so that people who are feeling harassed can generate an alarm and expose the harassers.

3. **High Fire.** In the same way that people yell "Fire!" when there is a fire, you want to establish a keyword for users to yell if they see a woman being harassed. This will generate an alert and draw the attention of the other passengers to make the stalker stop.

4. **Look into my eyes, not my tits.** The organization of space on TransMilenio buses can be a determining factor in discouraging forms of harassment such as rubbing or uncomfortable glances. This idea seeks to make the organization of the space so that users have to be face to face, looking at each other's faces. In addition to the physical organization, it seeks to accompany the idea with a strong communication strategy so that men look at women's eyes, and not at their tits.

5. **Superpowered women.** To train women in self-defense (in non-violent ways) to empower women from a young age, and to give them tools with which they feel safe in the different environments of their lives.

6. **Life in the Mile.** "The last mile," the last stretch that women travel from bus stations to their final destination, is a place where women feel very unsafe. The idea, then, is to fill these stretches with life, hiring artists and musicians to make that last stretch safer, more lively, and cleaner. It was



Figure 4. Total daily travel time dinero2016.

also proposed that the Transmilenio and last-mile bridges could be "adopted" by companies or foundations, who would be able to make interventions to beautify them, improve them, and increase safety. The idea is that on the bridges or under them there will be music, exhibitions, or even English 'classes', to change the imaginary about these places that are generally synonymous with insecurity.

7. **The mile group.** In the same sense as the previous idea, this exercise proposes to create WhatsApp groups so that the neighbors can do the equivalent of a 'car pool' with different schedules to walk together that last route. At the same time, it seeks to alert neighbors to be aware of these groups from their homes and stores.

8. **Torni penis.** The turnstile, which is the first barrier to enter the system, would also be the first barrier against harassment. The idea is that the tourniquet is shaped like a penis to generate repulsion in the user, making him feel empathy with the victim. The idea is that male users put themselves in women's shoes and empathize with them. The idea seeks to document in video the moment in which people crash with the tourniquet penis, to make a campaign in media and social networks to convey the message.

9. **Positive hands.** This campaign seeks to show the positive things that men can do with their hands: painting, carpentry, fixing a bicycle, etc. The idea is to send a message to make bullies feel bad that the best thing they can do with their hands is to commit a crime like sexual harassment.

10. **Transmit Angel.** The idea is to create a network of volunteers within TransMilenio to take care of the women on the bus routes and in the "last mile". The

"Tu Llave" cards, which already have the possibility of being personalized, would allow the Transmi Angels to be identified (La Silla Vacía, 2017).

Some of the ideas seem to be pertinent, as well as others somewhat inappropriate, but according to this position to deal with, the most appropriate solutions would be those in which methods of warning are proposed in the articles that give the impression that there is a harasser exposing him to the public, and also sentencing him to heavy penalties since it would be appropriate to accompany these methods with great legal repercussions.

Penal solutions

Given the countless cases of sexual harassment within the Colombian public transportation system, the control agencies are trying to provide a more direct solution to the constant abuses that women suffer during their journeys to carry out their daily activities.

1. **Law project number 112 of 2014.** The Senate of the Republic has chosen to propose more drastic measures to minimize this problem that affects a large part of the population since it is already getting out of hand. Through Law Project number 112 of 2014, the Colombian Congress decreed the crimes of Sexual Harassment in Public Transportation. Anyone who makes unexpected touches on intimate parts of another person's body, without his or her consent, taking advantage of the circumstances of the means of access and use of public transportation, will incur a prison term of two (2) to four (4) years (Guerra, 2014). This will be contemplated in Title IV of the Crimes against the Freedom,

Integrity, and Sexual Formation of the Colombian Criminal Code. The origin of this project is the great deterioration of the behavior of citizens in public spaces, in addition to the appearance of new phenomena of intolerance and conduct of a sexual nature (Guerra, 2014).

2. Law Project 145 of 2015. Another measure or proposal given by the Colombian Senate is Law Project 145 of 2015, where the Congress of the Republic decreed the inclusion in the National Code of Police, the special contravention of Sexual abuse in Public Transportation, as conduct that seriously affects the coexistence, the sexual rights and the integrity of the citizens, as well as the adequate use of the spaces and means destined to public transportation. For all the effects of the law, the special contravention of sexual abuse in public transportation is created. In this sense, anyone who, taking advantage of the circumstances of access, congestion, and use of public transport, makes unexpected touches on intimate parts of a person's body, without their consent, or performs obscene acts, or infringes by any means upon the sexual rights and/or moral integrity of another person, shall incur an arrest of three (3) to nine (9) months and a fine of one (1) to (6) SMLV Minimum Legal Wages, without prejudice to any compensation that may be due to the victims for such conduct (Guerra, 2014).

The implementation or formulation of such laws was really necessary because the current laws were not very effective in bringing a concrete charge before a judge for abusers or attackers within the transportation systems, since such laws could not be fully enforced due to certain determining requirements such as violence for these sexual harassment cases. For example "*Violent Sexual Act*", which is enshrined in Article 206 of the Criminal Code, and specifies that whoever performs on another person a sexual act related to carnal access using violence, will incur a prison term of eight (8) to sixteen (16) years (Guerra, 2014). Or "*Injury by Fact*", is included in the Criminal Code in Article 226, Title V, Crimes against Moral Integrity, Single Chapter, and applies as a modality of the crime of Injury and Slander, which establishes that whoever makes dishonorable accusations to another person, will incur in prison from one (1) to three years, and a fine of ten (10) to one thousand (1000) monthly legal minimum wages in force (Guerra, 2014).

With the implementation of these laws, the victims of this type of harassment in the transportation systems will have more courage and enough basis to be able to safely report such abuses, with the confidence that their case will not be forgotten, their aggressor will not be released in a matter of hours and will be treated with the weight of the law for the fault he committed.

Conclusions

The problem that has become evident daily on the streets of Bogotá, due to the massive Transmilenio public transportation system, where, although measures have been taken to mitigate incidents such as sexual harassment, the problem has not diminished, and more and more people are complaining about the system. The most appropriate solutions would be those in which methods of warning are proposed in the articles that give the impression that there is a harasser, exposing him to the public and also sentencing him to heavy penalties, as it would be appropriate to accompany these methods with great legal repercussions.

One of the proposals that have been most considered is the exclusive use of wagons for women. However, this option would complicate the situation, both in terms of congestion and mobility, since, if now that the wagons are mixed they cannot cope, with segregation it would be a Dantean problem. Also, Bogotanos are not prepared for this type of segregation, the lack of culture has made these measures almost impossible because at the time of implementing them, society generates a great rejection. Therefore, it is not acceptable to want to achieve a truly good and healthy coexistence among citizens, separating them into groups.

It is expected that citizens are aware of the situation with the system and that they do not let themselves be convinced by proposals that apparently can be salvation, but in the end, they are not, because it is necessary to take into account the background of these facts in the city, and how the inhabitants have reacted, so that in this way we know if it could be a possible solution or not.

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