

**INTEGRATING GENDER INTO WORLD BANK
FINANCED TRANSPORT PROGRAMS**

CASE STUDY

PERU

TRANSPORT REHABILITATION PROJECT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The World Bank through IC Net Limited of Japan carried out a study titled “Integrating Gender into World Bank Financed Transport Programs”, which explores Case Studies in Asia, Africa and the Peruvian Case Study for Latin America, making a total of ten.

Its main objectives were to identify how gender dimensions are included in the preparation and implementation of the project; the outcomes of the project, and to identify lessons learned and good practices of gender inclusion.

The Transport Rehabilitation Project (TRP), executed between 1994 to 2000, was the source of the study and its main objectives were to provide essential transport infrastructure rehabilitation, and to assist the Government in implementing institutional reform in the road and railway sub sectors, strengthening road management and increasing private participation in the transport sector.

A small part of the budget addressed the studies for the project Urban Transports for Metropolitan Area of Lima and Callao, with eight different components, to create an Integrated System of Metropolitan Transport, and a Master Plan to support the Windows Corridor (*corredor vitrina*) proposal, which looked to provide more rapid and comfortable bus transport for districts of lower income residents. This project and results were transferred to the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima during the Transitory Government in 2001, which created a special project PROTRANSPORT with economic and administrative autonomy. While doing the study, it remained as a project and gender issues were not determined precisely.

The area of the study was urban transport in Lima and the corridor Tarma- Satipo, intermediate cities linking the lowlands to the coast, but the revised version put more emphasis on the first one. The methodology included interviews, focus groups and participatory workshops to policymakers, operators and users who manifested differentiated needs and interests. Interviews and testimonies of women gave the best source of information for this Case Study, as well as commitment of few policymakers at top levels promoting inclusion of women and recognizing their capacities and values.

Peru is committed to improve human development including gender equality. There is a Ministry of Woman and Social Development, which has created a set of units to cover assistance for the poor and excluded. The National Plan of Equality of Opportunities between Men and Women 2000-2005 and the Law “Basis of the Strategy for Overcoming Poverty and Economic Opportunities for the Poor” constitute the main instruments of policy. However, the liberalisation of the market and the permission for the import of used vehicles, in the 1990s, brought an uncontrolled increment of units for public transport creating an over offer and urban chaos that still remain.

The Metropolitan Municipality of Lima (MML) through its Municipal Direction of Urban Transport (DMTU), the Ministry of Transport and Communications (MTC) and the National Police of Peru, through its Division of Traffic, are the institutional units related to transports that must be sensitized on gender issues. The National Police has already started through the *feminisation* of the Traffic Division giving to female members the control of the traffic on streets where levels of corruption of male members were proved.

The study explored non motorised means of transport like bicycles and moto taxis, but also the state of the public transport units and organisations, as well as, institutions linked to transports and environment impact.

In conclusion, during TRP's design, policies, programs and projects in transports investment did not include civil society participation, gendered users and operators as direct stakeholders, there was not either a coordinated institutional body, to address people's gender needs. However, the component for urban transport studies, provided the basis for a new Urban Transport Project, which will be implemented under the Trans Milenium Colombian Model for 2006 as part of the new local government commitment. The study has identified labour niches, traditionally of male domain, where women are scaling positions of management and decision making, however cultural stereotypes like *machismo* are still strong and affect them.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

WB	World bank
TRP	Transport Rehabilitation Project
BIRF	International bank of reconstruction and promotion
MDTU	Municipality Direction Transport Urban
PROTRANSPORT	Pro Transport Lima
IHD	Woman Development Index
OSITRAN	Organism supervisor of the inversion in infrastructure of use public
PROVIAS Rural	Special program of rural transport rehabilitation
FONAM	Environment national Funds
NMTP	Non Motorized Transport Project Pilot
LB	Lima Bus
MML	Metropolitan Municipality of Lima
INEI	Statistic and Informatics National Institute
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
CORPAC	Peruvian Airport and Commercial Aviation Corporation
DGC	General Directorate of Roads
DGTA	General Directorate of Air Transport
ENAFER	National Railway Company
FCC	Central Railway
MEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
MTCC	Ministry of transport, Communications, Housing and construction
NGO	Non governmental Organization
SINMAC	National Highway Maintenance System
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
PNP	National police of Peru
MPCH	Provincial Municipality of Chanchamayo
MPS	Provincial Municipality of Satipo
MPH	Provincial Municipality of Huancayo
PTF	Feminine Transit Police
APAFA	Association fathers of family

ETS	Illness sexual transmission
MINDES	Ministry of women and social development
PROMUDEH	Program of women and development human
PAE	Population economically active

1. INTRODUCTION

The World Bank is providing loans to assist development of different transport programs and projects in Peru, one of which is the Transport Rehabilitation Project (TRP), executed from 1994 to 2000. This Case Study examines the development and implementation of TRP as part of a series of ten being carried out in nine countries for an overall study titled Integrating Gender into World Bank Financed Transport Programs. TRP is financed mainly by a USD 150 million loan from the World Bank and a local contribution of nearly USD 50 million USD¹. TRP's main objectives were to (i) rehabilitate essential transport infrastructure; (ii) assist the Government in implementing institutional reform in the road and railway sub sectors; (iii) strengthen road management; (iv) increase private participation in the transport sector; and (v) improve mobility of the poor. Gender issues were not determined precisely.

The Project had five components, all important for a developing country that in the 1990s was recovering from a long period of violence and infrastructure devastation. Peru² has a large territory and its geography is diverse and complex making it difficult to link the coast, highlands, (Sierra) and lowlands (Selva) to reach all the cities and major towns and most important, its human capital in very small towns. This human capital is women and men; boys and girls, old men and old women with different values, roles, skills, interests, needs and priorities, who interact in different conditions and circumstances, but also get access to resources, according to their gender, ethnic, social and cultural characteristics. In this scenario empowerment is a process as well as a challenge.

The main component of the TRP was to rehabilitate 725 km of roads and bridges and introduce a pilot maintenance program and a traffic safety program. This Case Study, in its first version, took the corridor Tarma-La Merced; La Merced- Satipo, totaling 194 km, as a sample which benefits large numbers of rural and urban women. Along this corridor and its area of influence area, people have gained access to better work opportunities, education and health, reduced their travel times and enhanced their social capital; however, there has been an increase in traffic accidents.

TRP's other components were: (i) privatization and rehabilitation of the railway, (ii) rehabilitation of Lima's airport runway; (iii) technical assistance and training to strengthen institutional reform and road management; and (iv) a pilot project for non-motorized transport in Lima that tested methods of promoting the use of bicycles by low-income residents. The last component included designing bicycles and bicycle ways useful to the poor, especially women. This Case Study is of the last component. The pilot project constructed 48 km of bicycle paths and made 4,580 loans for purchase of bicycles. However, it failed because there were technical and administrative errors and promotion was not sufficient.

Metropolitan Lima has evolved without planning; plutocracy and centralism delay any good initiative or strategy of management. Markets, services and public offices operate in overcrowded Lima which has more than seven million people and 800,000 vehicles. Mobility to reach the 43 districts plus six of Callao (the neighboring Metropolitan Constitutional Province) is facilitated by 844 public transport routes competing to gain passengers and generating chaos and pollution. The number of accidents in metropolitan Lima reached 46,726 with 13,135 victims in 2002 (MDTU 2003).

¹ Other partners: Kreditanstalt fuer Wiederaufbau (KFW), OPEC, Japanese Trust Fund.

² See Appendix 1

To ameliorate this situation, some studies have been carried out. The Council of Transport of Lima and Callao, through its Technical Secretariat, carried out studies for the project “Urban Transports for Metropolitan Area of Lima and Callao”, to create an integrated system of metropolitan transport and a master plan to alleviate and order the urban chaos. This study has eight components³ and supported a “windows Corridor” (*corredor vitrina*) proposal, which looked to provide more rapid and comfortable bus transport for districts of lower income residents. This project identified a network of secondary corridors, which include bicycle paths to feed the main corridor, and a series of safe stopping places. This project and results were transferred to the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima during the Transitory Government in 2001, which created a special project with economic and administrative autonomy. This proposal is called the Lima Bus project. The original routes in it were changed somewhat. Studies are being carried out by PROTRANSPORT whose main goal is to create a massive transport system to link the northern with the southern corners of Lima. These studies envisage that the use of bicycles and trains will connect neighborhoods with main markets and services.

The Case Study looked for the main actors in the transport system to identify the problems⁴ and the level of concern of civil society about urban chaos. As transport is considered a male domain, we looked for women who engage in activities that transport generates and those at different levels of decision making. The best information came from interviews with women and with the few policymakers at top levels who promote the inclusion of women but also recognize their capacities and values.

³ Appendix 3 refers those studies

⁴ A nationwide strike of public transports paralyzed the country six-days while doing this research. (5-10 of may 2003); and national strike of school teachers, (12- 05 to 11-06).

2. METHODOLOGY

This Case Study uses mainly qualitative methodology, which permits the gathering of information and opinion from groups that had never previously been heard. (Macro policies do not take into account that, in a multicultural and ethnically diverse country like Peru, gender needs and interests are also varied. Two participatory workshops with stakeholders and focus groups with transport operators generated their perceptions on gender and transport.)

For qualitative research, the instrument is the researcher himself/herself (Patton, 1990) so it endangers its standards but also its neutrality. Gender awareness and impartial behavior of researchers are important in seeing in-depth differences and inequalities. The team members are all gender- and local-participation sensitive.)

Qualitative methodologies make possible the discovery of the formal and informal situations in which people live, at single- and multiple-household spaces where gender relations occur and gender inequities are still present. The so-called 'black box' in the domestic domain reveals women's views and actions they have to take to lead their daily life. But there are frustrations they face due to labor: they have to leave their children, either accompanied or alone. Focus groups and interviews to female actors linked to transport system revealed this information.

The policymaking process has to take into account reliable information on gender roles, existing institutions and the constraints against women's participation in male domains, to determine appropriate measures for strengthening women's participation. In-depth interviews and discussions with high level policymakers were helpful in this regard.

There was not any particular gender-specific component within the project or program, so a top-down approach was adopted (TOR 2003).

2.1 ACTORS AND STAKEHOLDERS

The Actors Map⁵ shows diverse actors involved in the Case Study and different data collection methods.

At the policy level, interviews were held with officials and advisers from the National Congress, OSITRAN, a regulatory transports unit and different Transports Ministry offices and special projects. All provided specific information on reform policies, one of the goals and components of the TRP and the creation of those new institutions to improve management and decentralization of maintenance work. It was not possible to interview the representative of the World Bank, but we had a brief contact with the representative of its Civil Society Unit.

The institutional level has in the Traffic Police an interesting model of gender integration. Peru does not have a road security culture. Since control and order constitute the basis for transport safety, women's inclusion in traffic control had a social and cultural impact on the transport sector. Two main in-depth interviews were conducted, one with the General of the VIII Region of Police, who has created a national citizenship surveillance system involving controllers of transport and the other with the head of personnel of the National Traffic Policy in Lima, who had the challenge of

⁵ See Appendix 4

organizing and managing the *feminization* of police in a male-ruled space. A survey of police members was also done separately with men and women.

At the project level, interviews were also held with Metropolitan Municipality of Lima council members: the president of the Women's Commission, member responsible for the Non Motorized Transport Project and the member responsible for PROTRANSPORTE, the special project Lima Bus that is currently at design stage and will constitute an integrated transport system for metropolitan Lima.

The Technical Secretariat of Lima and Callao (ex PROTUM) and the Environment National Fund, FONAM, provided secondary data. A series of studies on transport and environment for the Non Motorized Transport Project and Lima Bus were reviewed; interviews with managers of both institutions contributed to better understanding of the problem.

The manager of ASETUP, the Peruvian Association of Urban Transport Enterprises, revealed one of the best visions about the future of gender and urban transport.

Interviews with formal and informal operators, in both public and private sectors and a focus group in Chanchamayo showed that they are not involved in planning of transport and that deregulation of their operations creates uneven competence. A second round of opinion surveys of transport users, checkers or controllers of frequency, *dateros* (advisers over frequency of units on the route) along different routes, but linking marginal areas or *conos*, confirmed previous information related to this Case Study. Surveys in both rural and urban areas of low and middle income settlements helped identify travel conditions, enterprises with female drivers and collectors and daily practical experiences of women.

Civil society was represented in two workshops which used different participatory tools to get information (brainstorm of ideas, line of time, map of services and opportunities, use of time and transport, map of familial mobility). In Lima, the office of Citizen's Participation of MML acted as a link to representatives of leaders of the six Neighborhood Houses (*Casas vecinales*) and of the north, south and east cones (*conos*⁶).

The main organization concentrating on women is the "Glass of Milk Program" (*Vaso de leche*). It was invited to the workshop in Satipo to find the impact of road rehabilitation on people's daily routines, access to health and education and behavior as passengers. The findings are valid also for urban transport because of the high rate of migration and rural people living and behaving according to their cultural patterns in the city.

Secondary data, mainly from the National HDR⁷, INEI (Statistics and Informatics National Institute), the project document and policy documents, brochures, newspapers, advertisements and procurement documents, were analyzed. These references gave clear understanding of urban and peri-urban transport in general and demands on transport of daily life.

Participatory observations while traveling in public transport units, or walking in markets and low income districts or rural areas, helped to give clear understanding of gender differences. A special

⁶ Marginal zones, where low and middle income families live.

⁷ The Peruvian HDR 2002 has the best quantitative updated references, as the last census was in 1993.

time was dedicated to take pictures and collect information for a video documentary, with observation and audit of the gender-related practice used.

3. THE PROCESS OF AN UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

3.1 UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

While this study was being prepared, Lima faced a series of strikes that not only affected political stability, but created downtown urban chaos through several marches every day by schoolteachers and other civil servants demanding a better distribution of income. While these protests caused chaos and congestion to public and private transport and raised their cost, the demands of the education sub-sector for higher salaries have brought attention on uneven development and distribution of wealth.

This is a situation that not only Peru but also most Latin American countries face. There is a great social and economic gap in Latin America between the haves and have-nots. In Peru, for instance, for 1950-1990 the Gini index was 0.60 and the average for Latin America was 0.50, while that for developed countries was 0.33. The level of inequality is a structural characteristic (UNDP Peru Report, 2002).

The so-called “Lost Decade” and liberal policies contained in the structural adjustment programs that forced debtor countries to accept “profound restructuring of their economies” (Castells, M. 1996 p.120) have contributed to the deepening of poverty generating unemployment, migration, violence and deprivation with high social cost. Globalization has affected Latin American development as its effects can hardly be separated from the relationship among class, ethnicity and gender and the access to information, technology and opportunities.

A study by UNESCO and IDB (Fernandez, Blanca 1997) showed that nearly 73% of the Latin American population lives in cities, while just 27% remains in rural areas. This is true of Peru where, in the last 50 years, population has become “bigger, more urban, less young, better trained and healthier” (UNDP Peru, 2002:20), but poverty has increased. In 1986, some 42% of the people were poor and in 2000, about 54%. The last report of the National Institute of Statistics (INEI 2001) points out that 24.4 % of Peruvian people live in extreme poverty. The poorest are women, children and older people living in rural areas of the Sierra, Selva and some communities of the Coast. Agrarian policies do not reach them and prices do not cover their expenses or expectations, so many of the poorest leave the community and enter services or informal activities in intermediate cities or in the capital (Gutierrez, M.1998).

Thus, in the last 50 years, high migration has shaped the new population in the cities. People moved to where there were public and private services such as housing, education and health. The migrants built new markets, most informal and brought with them rural cultural values and broadened their social capital.

Peru's HDI reflects that levels of access to education and health improved in the last 50 years. Infant mortality decreased from 195/1,000 in 1950 to 45/1,000 in 2000; female illiteracy decreased from 69.3 % in 1940 to 17% in 2000. Access to higher education increased from 0.9% to 19% over the same period, but employment and income have not improved in the same proportion, so it is said that Peru has the most literate fleet of taxis. Migration statistics reveal that 1.9 million Peruvian people – of whom 20-30% was professionals and technicians - have left to work in different labor markets. This international migration supports an important amount of remittances, but has generated high family disintegration and different social problems for youth.

Most Peruvians are between 15 and 65 years old, putting pressure on the labor market. This population characteristic and structural changes have led to gender relations and roles being altered and women becoming more visible and active participants in society⁸.

Thus, the notion that technology and transport are the fields that mostly concern men and women just play a complementary role in them is wrong. This case study will demonstrate that women are present in the transport system as one of its more important and revolutionary actors.

3.2 GENDER AWARENESS

3.2.1 Latin America: a Region of Inequity

Latin America is a region of inequity⁹. In studying gender and transport, a broad view on gender indicators must be taken to direct road infrastructure to isolated areas to supply needed services. Even though women's participation in the labor market in urban and rural areas has increased, it remains low. Women are mostly linked to service sectors, which pay less. Because of their domestic roles, women prefer part-time jobs. Salaries for full time jobs are lower than for men, except in Costa Rica. In rural areas, women's domestic tasks include care of small animals; they also take cattle for grazing and participate in agriculture. They have less participation in the labor market, except when market oriented crops or agro industries are developed near their communities.

The World Bank (WB, 2003) analyzes gender inequities within specific geographic and socioeconomic areas. Mexico and Central America have violence, maternal mortality and teenage pregnancy as their main concerns. Gender gaps are greater for indigenous people than for non-indigenous people. The Caribbean countries have domestic and sexual violence and teenager's pregnancy as their main problems. Andean countries have different problems. In Colombia, domestic violence affects 20% of women. Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia have high rates of maternal mortality due to deficiencies in and absence of maternal health services and domestic violence is also present. Brazil has improved access to education, health and labor participation of women. However, its maternal mortality is increasing and the income gap between men and women is high. Guyana presents a high level of maternal mortality and Venezuelan women face inequity in the labor force. Even though the South Cone has reduced gender gaps, it faces inequities in domestic violence and Argentina teenager's pregnancy. Paraguay has to reduce high rates of fertility, maternal mortality and teenage pregnancy.

3.2.2 Equity: an International Concern

Equity is an international concern. The International Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Pact of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Woman's Political Rights (1952), the International Pact of Civil and Political Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination in all the ways of Discrimination against the Woman (1979) have been adopted and assumed by different governments - among them the Peruvian - and been integrated to legislation and constitutions.

⁸ See picture N° 1

⁹ References for Latin America and the Caribbean come from 2003, The World Bank "Challenges and Opportunities for Gender equity in Latin America and the Caribbean"

The American Convention on Human Rights of 1969 and their additional Protocol of San Salvador of 1988, as well as the Inter-American Convention to prevent, to sanction and to eradicate violence against the woman of 1994 are regional initiatives. In the labor field, the International Labour Organization has been widely active since 1950.

As stated before, women are still behind men and equity cannot be postponed. Inequity is manifested in daily life and in household relations with clear differentiation of roles, but is rarely visible. This occurs with domestic violence, for instance, which is present in all class levels. Peruvian Police offices in 2000 registered more than 15,000 complaints of mistreatment of women and 9,500 violations to sexual freedom; these might be just one third of the real aggressions and most are by their own partners. A national plan against violence to woman was approved for the period 2002-2007¹⁰, as clear political will to improve human development and gender equity.

3.2.3 Equity and Political Will

In 1996, as a result of the UN's Fourth Conference on Women, the Ministry of Women and Human Development (PROMUDEH) was created in Peru, to be the lead ministry in the formulation and development of programs that promote equal opportunities for women and the sectors that require high-priority attention for human development. By means of Supreme Ordinance 001-200, PROMUDEH approved the National Plan for Equality of Opportunities between Men and Women 2000-2005. The Plan's agenda includes goals in health, education, labor and politics to reduce gender gaps.

The main goals for health are to diminish maternal mortality and morbidity rates and to lift to 90% pregnant women receiving pre-birth services and to 50% those receiving vitamins and supplementary food by 2005. Education goals are to reduce illiteracy from 7-8 % in 1999 to 4% in 2005 and to raise the school attendance of 6-9 years-old male and female children to 98% in 2005.

Labor goals relate to assisting women in extreme poverty, with a 20% increase in their access to resources, employment, markets and trade and improved conditions of life.

Goals also relate to providing information on the obstacles and discrimination in the labor world, to labor companies and union organizers to adopt measures to eliminate, by collective negotiation, those clauses that have some type of discrimination. Political main goals are oriented to measures to guarantee women equal access and full participation in structures of power and decision making and to encourage shared responsibilities. Thus, by 2005, 30% of private sector companies and organizations of the civil society are to be sensitized to reject discriminatory practices. Policies should improve women's participation to 25% of Congress members, 40% of Mayors and 50 % of Aldermen¹¹.

In July of 2002, PROMUDEH became the Ministry of Women and Social Development (MIMDES), considering programs of impact but also modifying one of them, the Plan of Equity, which had with some negative implications for women, such as restricting women options to reproductive health and the control of their bodies. Finally, in January the Law "Basis of the Strategy for Overcoming Poverty and Economic Opportunities for the Poor" was approved; this

¹⁰ Supreme Decree N° 017-2001-PROMUDEH

¹¹ See Appendix 5 for a political experience

document provides for no discrimination against women, children, elderly and native and indigenous people. This State policy combines four components to overcome poverty: (i) economic opportunities for disadvantaged poor people; (ii) strengthening of human, social and institutional capacities; (iii) network of social protection; and (iv) citizens' participation and transparency. On urban poverty, this document states that including Metropolitan Lima, 7.28 million people live in poverty, with 1.715 million in extreme poverty. The characteristics of this poverty are linked to the tasks people have to do to get some income; these exclude being an 'employee' but include marginal activities that cannot guarantee enough income for family livelihood. However, this economic exclusion is also linked to rurality, ethnicity, age, female sex, disability and violence. "The more indigenous, older, more rural, female or disabled population, the bigger possibilities to become poor or extreme poor" (El Peruano, 2003:236474).

Table 1. National Population Employed¹²

Year	Men		Women	
	PAE	PAEO	PAE	PAEO
1998	56,6% 6,392,660	57,1% 6,055,248	43,4% 4,901,793	42,9% 4,549,390
1999	55,4% 6,617,655	55,6% 6,261,916	44,6% 5,327,570	44,4% 5,000,523
2000	57,1% 6,790,103	57,0% 6,424,879	43,0% 5,122,358	43,0% 4,846,383

Source: MIMDES www.mimdes.gob.pe

Differences in income are wide. Population active economically (PAE) in 2002 numbered nearly 12 million people, of whom 57% were men and 43% women. The income average for men is PEN 682.4 and PEN 394.1 for women, showing clearly the disadvantage of women. The proportions of the female PAE without training or with incomplete primary schooling are higher and are concentrated among the oldest age groups.

Some references on differences and inequalities on gender and human development come from national statistics (INEI) and the Peruvian HDI. Differences and inequities in access to education have lessened and in some cases women have reached higher grades of education, especially in urban areas; while in rural areas, levels of dropping-out are high. The highest drop-out rates are for women, especially in the last years of primary and early years of secondary school. However, if girls remain in the system, their performance is better than that of men.

Levels of education are still an insufficient explanation to the differences of labor income. The average differences of incomes of men and women are of the order of 70 %; the male presence in the managerial sector is greater and that of women higher in the services and technical sectors. The

¹² PAE: Population active economically.
PAEO: Busy Population active economically

participation of women in small companies - between 10 and 49 workers - is higher but they still constitute a clear minority. Male advantages are at the professional level and labor experience.

Education of those in transport services is not shown explicitly in statistics, however, drivers and collectors, on average, have finished secondary school and men have the highest proportion of labor participation. There is not a legal requirement for minimum qualifications to become a collector or operator in urban transport services. The Municipal Urban Transport Management has a weak training program, attendance at which is compulsory once a year; most entrepreneurs do not invest in training programs.

Women do not have any specific treatment and have to adapt to the main rules or policies if they are in the system. They would like to have more training on mechanics, accountancy and health issues, which implies a slow process of empowerment.

Labor opportunities¹³ for poor women are in the informal sector but linked to transport tasks. Thus, labor activities for women are related to getting a minimum income to satisfy their practical needs: selling sweets in terminals, inside cars, in bus stops or fruit along the way to Satipo. They also provide daily meals for micro entrepreneurs and some women work in gas stations both along the road to Satipo and in Lima's main gas stations. Some women own of vehicles and may become partners of the organization; however, it is difficult for them to reach upper levels of decision making.

¹³ See Picture N°2

4. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

4.1 DONORS, TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE AND GENDER ISSUES

The main problem of the transport sector is the high cost of movement of people and goods that reduces the competitiveness of the economy. There is not an appropriate strategic plan for infrastructure and transport to adopt measures to allow solving the main problem of financing road infrastructure. Several loans have been taken for projects; since donors give their own terms of reference, however, they direct policies that may affect or enhance social development.

Besides the TRP, the MTC and Government of Peru have developed projects to rehabilitate road infrastructure. The IBD-1 loan was used to rehabilitate the Panamericana Highway and 56 km of Central Road. The IBD-II loan went to rehabilitate and pave different departmental tracks and link main intermediate cities over a total of 1,391 km. This loan financed also studies of feasibility and environmental impact of 3,652 km and rehabilitation of 1,473 linear meters of bridges. Loan BID-III covers the construction and maintenance of five roads, all in the Sierra region and totaling 537 km. Finally, the pavement of the road Rioja - Tarapoto, cost USD 60 million under the Andean Camera of Promotion (Camara Andina de Fomento, CAF).

The Program of Inter Regional Integration of South America Region (IIRSA) is committed to rehabilitate and to constitute a multimodal route of transport to link Peru to Bolivia and the South of Brazil and the Pacific and Atlantic basins. Investment cost of USD 80 billion is to be financed by CAF, the Government of Peru and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC).

Four transport projects have developed under the BIRF loan scheme. Gender issues were not clearly explicit in the Transport Rehabilitation Project, which concerns the basis of this case study. However, the Rural Roads Rehabilitation Project (in both its phases) and the Social Assessment of Gender Issues in Bus ways and Bike paths address gender issues more, especially as their social impact is becoming visible and is recognized internationally.

The urban transport project managed by PROTRANSPORTE, a special project of the Metropolitan Municipality, has got the approval of the World Bank and the Interamerican Development Bank, each of which will lend USD 45 million while MML will provide USD 44 million. However, the Ministry of Economics has not endorsed the project. This project looks to implement an integrated public system of articulated buses through a network of main roads crossing and linking Lima and its periphery.

4.2 GENERAL VIEW

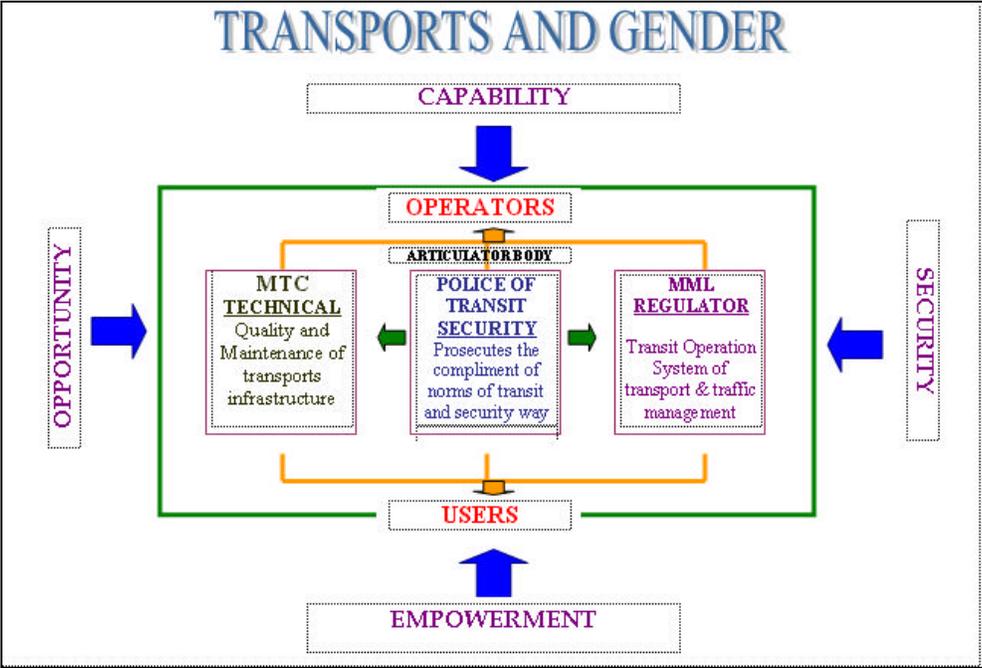
This section shows the current situation of institutions related to transport as case study actors¹⁴. Gender issues are shown as written policies or as perceptions of staff interviewed. Graph 1 shows the perception of the Case Study on the transport system.

The Ministry of Transports and Communications (MTC) is the national technical institution which is concerned most with quality of roads and maintenance and has a regulatory role on paths. MML,

¹⁴ This version puts more emphasis on Metropolitan Municipality of Lima .

through its Municipal Direction of Urban Transport (DMTU), regulates traffic operation and traffic and transport management, to provide safe and efficient traffic movement of users, pedestrians and operators. The National Police of Peru, through its Division of Traffic, ensure compliance with traffic rules and provides security to pedestrians and operators. The Division of Traffic is decentralized, but not necessarily coinciding with political divisions. Civil society did not participate in TRP's design; nor were gendered users and operators considered as direct stakeholders; and there was no coordinated body to address people's gender needs.

Graph 1: Institutional Analysis



4.3 TRANSPORT IN LIMA

It is an enormous task to analyze transport comprehensively in a city such as Lima. The new local government started to rule in January 2003 and its policies are not yet decided. However, a coordinated effort with a sensitized civil society and other institutions linked to transport are needed urgently to reduce urban chaos.

4.3.1 Accessibility and Traffic Jam Conditions

The 1990-1999 government's policies of disregarding regulations and allowing free import of used vehicles and duplicating the size of vehicles for public transport of the city made the problems of transport and urban traffic more severe. The number of trips of public transport vehicles lessened from 89% to 81% in that period, but the number of transport enterprises increased, from 150 up to

411; the vehicles for the public service increased from 10,500 to 58,559; and taxi cabs grew from 10,000 to near 191,000 automobiles and 45,000 motorcycles (moto taxis)¹⁵).

There are daily problems of traffic congestion in the city, caused by different reasons including the integration of different districts of the city, chiefly the north-south connection which is made by crossing downtown. It is estimated that 80% of trips made by public transport vehicles go through the central zone of Lima, but only 9% have their origin or final stopping place in that zone; this produces bottlenecks and decreases the capacity of the roads. The sectors of environment and transport are in similar situations. At present, MML (through DMTU) is doing studies to define its intervention strategy which will lead to an action plan to give options for solution of the identified conflicts and to treat the traffic troubles (by traffic signs or installation of semaphores on intersections, geometrical design, synchronization, rationalization of stopping places) and transport problems (by rationalization of routes, assignment of services). It is proposed basically to work in traffic management and transport management. Among the requirements is specialized software for traffic and transport because at present there is no systematized database.

It is important also to consider actions to enhance the quality of service: wearing of uniforms by collectors and drivers, uniformity of color bodywork of vehicles and reduction of the over supply of public transport. These things will allow the organizational strengthening of the concessionaire enterprises that show pre-conditions of stability and development.

The National Police and the Metropolitan Local Governments are implementing an intensive campaign of citizens' participation and surveillance due to the high levels of delinquency and youth gangs. As result of this campaign, some negative links to *combi* – public transport units - have been reported. Some of these units conditioned as discos promote the consumption and selling of drugs and alcohol in marginal *cones*.

4.3.2 Characteristics of Vehicles for Public Transport

The number of vehicles for public transport in Lima is 58,559 vehicles and includes: 14,644 buses with average capacity for 45 passengers; 2,286 micro buses for an average of 30 passengers; and 9,031 rural vans or *combies* the capacity of which should be 12-15 passengers but have been modified to increase the number of seats up to 20. These last units are prone to accidents as they are driven fast, trying to gain passengers and to cover distances in shorter time. Moreover, since there is not enough space, passengers travel uncomfortably and women are exposed to touching and harassment. But even with these disadvantages, people use them.

The registered fleet for Lima and Callao is 41% of the total vehicles; a further 20% have irregular authorization and 39% move without authorization. The informality of operation, the dispersal of ownership and the excess of obsolete vehicles illustrate the great disorganization of the metropolitan transport system, which is caused specially by regulatory, institutional and organizational variables.

In 1997, the DMTU, then headed by a woman, made a ruling on yellow coloring and other distinctive features to regulate metropolitan taxi services. There were 68,000 taxi drivers registered and 20,000 yellow vehicles authorized to operate.

¹⁵ 2003 DMTU Action Plan

4.3.3 Transport Management

Most of DMTU's actions concern management of transport, based on road prioritization. In 1999, facing severe problems of traffic and transport in the city, MML saw the emergency need for an urban transport system and decided to construct a rapid and integrated system of public urban transport¹⁶, as a hinge for social and economic development of the city. After a series of studies, the Special Project PROTRANSPORTE was created¹⁷. This Project will promote the establishment of rapid mass transport by means of an integrated system of transport, consisting of trains, buses and bicycle paths to improve significantly the traffic conditions for the population of Lima, chiefly taking in mind low income people.

4.3.4 Environmental Management

According to the Ministry of Energy and Mining (*MEM – OTERG 2002*) in 2000 the transport sector emitted approximately 10.1 millions tons of CO₂. This is almost 45% of total emissions for all sectors (residential, commercial and public; industrial and mining, metallurgical); thus the transport sector represent the bigger contributor of CO₂ emission.

Table 2: Operative Routes Classified By Project

Supply Characteristics	Operative Routes	Routes expiring in 2003			Routes expiring after 2003		
		Total Routes	Projects (*)	None	Total Routes	Projects (*)	None
Able to be bidden	185	169	157	12	16	13	3
Not able to be bidden	139	130	85	45	9	5	4
Interconnection	79	61	45	16	18	6	12
Total	403	360	287	73	43	24	19

(*) It includes light train, Lima Bus and sector I

DMTU – Classified Routes 2003

For a better understanding of the proposal see maps in anexes 5 and 6

CONAM (National Report on Environment State GEO PERU 2000), estimates that 70- 80% of atmospheric pollution is produced by automobiles. In Lima and Callao there is a concentration of about 70% of the total vehicles for public transport (1,055,745 units in year 2000); the main

¹⁶ See the map Appendix 6

¹⁷ Mayoralty Order N° 35 dated 18/03/02, also see map of the routes in Appendix 7

characteristics of these units is their old age, insufficient maintenance and low quality of fuel – about 98% of public transport vehicles (bus, micro bus and van) work with diesel engine.

“Among the worst contaminants is diesel fuel used by public transport vehicles in general and taxi cabs. This fuel produces a compound substance known under technical name PM10 which is easily breathed by people, enter human lungs and is the direct cause of severe respiratory infections and produces a lot of asthma cases”¹⁸

According to the Ministry of Health, in 1995, some 400,000 children suffered severe respiratory infections; in 2000 such infections reached 800,000 children.

Therefore it is necessary to implement activities to preserve environment, to reduce the adverse impacts against the population.

¹⁸ (Report – América Noticias June 14th 2003)”

5. PROJECT DESIGN

This chapter analyzes different institutional cases, emphasizing gender-related issues. Findings on gender differences and inequalities are related within the text and in stories of life attached as Appendix.

Gender distribution in the labor market is unequal. Table 3 shows four measures of differing manifestations of gender inequality. The first is that the NDR states that women make up 43% and men 57% of the total economically active economic population.

Table 3: Gender Distribution in Transport Institutions Labor Market¹⁹

Institution	Men (%)	Women (%)	Total (%)
National Development Report NDR ⁴	57	43	100
Ministry of Transports and Communications MTC ¹	86.88	13.11	100
Special Project PROVIAS RURAL SPPR ²	71.60	28.40	100
National Police of Traffic NPT ³	34.8	65.1	100

Source: own elaboration

1 Summary of the high level decision making staff (www.mtc.gob.pe)

2 Total of employees at different level and nation wide

3 Total of police in the Traffic Unit of Lima, Technician

4 PAE, labor market, 2000 PNUD

Examination of the staff of the MTC, which is the national technical institution that makes policy, shows that about 87% of the total, including Minister, Vice Ministers, Directors and managers, are men. The General Manager of Administration and the General Legal Adviser at top level are women. The SPPR was analyzed nationally, revealing almost 72% of its members are men. There is just a female director manager at top level, in charge of the Planning unit, and there is no female head of decentralized offices. Most of the 28% of staff who are women do administrative tasks and are traditionally assigned labor posts; there are just a few technicians and promoters. The NPT national unit is mainly female and constitutes one of the places linked to transport where women are visible.

¹⁹ To see basic charts , see Appendix 8

5.1 THE NATIONAL POLICE OF TRAFFIC OF PERU

5.1.1 Feminization of Police: Opportunity or Need for Moral Change

Due to a critical situation of public discontent, the Division of Traffic Police has been endorsed with female police personnel who have demonstrated ability, keenness and capacity to stimulate and promote citizen's participation²⁰. The Traffic Unit in Lima had 3,000 troops, which included 300 women located in different units. This process began in December 1999, when the first group of female police finished their nine-month training course. The first year, 1,500 sub-official females entered service, specially assigned to traffic control in streets, after finishing training at the School of Police.

Previous to year 2000, this was a male troops unit, which was very corrupt at the national level. A drastic change of attitude was needed in all the personnel. Women were seen as the perfect solution, in the reconstruction of the image of the traffic police of traffic, as was subsequently verified:

“To be of the police of traffic already [meant] the people were enlisting to give him the money, ... was a thing thus,... was terrible, then this arrived at the level of Government, and they analysed this matter ... It was a direct order of the President of the Republic, ... that does not even go to the Internal Ministry. ” The Head of Personnel

The declared objective was to change the image of the police of traffic and to recover credibility and confidence in the police. Settlers changed their opinion of the police and public opinion gave 70% acceptance. Women were fundamental for this change, users feeling more secure and the truckers beginning to respect the traffic regulations. Respect was reaffirmed, the values rescued and women given the security to take part in the different labor fields inside this institution.

This drastic but positive decision had internal effects on institutional relations, because women's presence challenged some male stereotypes related to 'who gives orders', because *machismo* is present at all levels. Behavior of male police in their daily routine had to change: they had to moderate their words and attitudes.

A survey carried out in the city of Huancayo showed that male sub-officials have the conception that females should be only in the offices or work as secretaries. An impressive 68% think women should be assigned to administrative work and DEMUNAS²¹ and 32% consider that women can succeed in any field.

The increase in women traffic police required some change of facilities to accommodate the revised biological composition, such as toilets for females and for males and later on, places for the care of

²⁰ As stated by official version in www.pnp.gob.pe

²¹ Department for women, children and teenagers support, within the police unit.

children. Police personnel can care for their children inside the institution, in the hands of specialized personnel, thus alleviating the load and responsibility toward the children.

“..some do not recognize our work, at times when we take a rest they call us ... viejas (old woman), you are not able, they do not tell kind words or value us. I did a course of training on ecology in 1999, conferences on citizen participation, another for the division of police of Traffic, other in health. As women, when we are married we cannot do courses far away because of our family, we cannot leave our children; we advance to certain courses and the one if we desire is carried out in agreement with the schedule at work”.
Technician Adriana, PNP Huancayo

Regulations and internal standards had to be adjusted to adapt the female police: such as locating the increasing number of pregnant police in offices instead of controlling the traffic in the streets. To tackle this ‘phenomenon’, a series of conferences on family planning, consultation with psychologists and distribution of condoms were made. High level officials were worried because this aspect implied a drop of the productivity of the personnel but they understood this was a normal consequence of the feminization of the police. The internal regulations and procedures for the police were modified: for example, “they normally arrive at 7 o'clock in the morning and the ones that are nursing mothers arrive at eight o'clock”.

5.1.2 Security and Empowerment

The female police entered service in circumstances where corruption was almost institutionalized and it was extremely difficult to try to apply new moral values where all have to comply with the law. A second factor creating difficulties was that conductors are mostly men and did not agree to women assuming command; previously, if they committed an infraction, they had been able to fix it with the leader. The effect was a situation of violence against female police. The female police were attacked, hurt and one of them died due to an outrage. The interviewed head of personnel states that due to their ethnic Andean origin and macho behavior, the drivers and collectors manifested their power over female police by attacking and insulting them; they felt a shock in having to recognize the authority of the women and even more in having to obey their orders. Unfortunately, violence against female police persists and to minimize it, education and sensitization programs addressed to drivers are required.

To improve their performance, the female police are in constant preparation. They first had an academic course for nine months, of which a training course in traffic took up 15 days. The sub-officers also known as technicians study for 3 years, while the officers have a more complete education studying for 5 years.

The education of Police officers goes with a system of promotion. Therefore, besides the 5 years of study at the Police Academy, to be promoted to a higher level, the police officers need to be in a process of continuous training. The Higher Education School (Escuela Superior de Educación) trains police members to be able to become Generals (the highest rank) in a Master course. As of today, there are only 3 women captains who after completing their career as police officers will be promoted up to obtaining the rank of Generals.

Police has assimilated civil women who are professional persons that have finished university studies. They are exclusively for administrative service and are selected competitively. They enter the institution with rank of captain and from there they reach higher levels.

In short, the woman police officers have certain opportunities that the civil people do not have. It has also been an opportunity for the institution to renew its public image. However, more effort has to be made to accept women as real empowered members of the institution, giving them the opportunity to participate in decision making processes. On the other hand, questions on female police moral behavior will last and the question remains whether the corrupt system will recruit them as well?

5.2 NON MOTORIZED TRANSPORT: BICYCLE PATHS

According to projection of the census of 1993, the population of the districts in the area of influence of the bicycle paths built under TRP is about 1.54 million.

Table 4: Population of Districts of the Area of Influence

DISTRICT	POPULATION (Thousands of inhabitants)	
	Census 1993	Year 2002 ^(*)
San Martín de Porres	380,4	452,7
Los Olivos	228,1	277,4
Independencia	183,9	223,7
Carmen de la Legua	38,1	46,3
Bellavista	72,5	88,2
Callao Cercado	374,3	455,3
TOTAL	1297.30	1543.6

FONAM, 2002: 14 Vol.III-3

(*) According to rate of growth

The Metropolitan Project of Non Motorized Transport²² involved territories of the jurisdictions of the municipalities of Lima, San Miguel, San Martín de Porras, Los Olivos, Independencia, Callao, Bellavista and Carmen de la Legua. Unfortunately, none of the mentioned municipalities was involved in the administration and maintenance of the bicycle paths net, except for some tracks of bicycle paths at Callao²³.

²² See the map in Appendix 10.

²³ (Op. Cit. 4 pag 2 - FONAM)

5.2.1 A Postponed Initiative

Bicycle paths are exclusively reserved spaces to the side of streets, for the safe traffic of bicycles. The bicycle is seen as a means of alternative transport, which is a solution to the problems of vehicular congestion and environmental contamination. One of the main advantages that bicycles offered was their low cost that made a means of transport accessible to most of the population. The main disadvantage is the little security that it offers to the user. The cyclist is as vulnerable as the pedestrian and it is too dangerous to share the traffic with motorized vehicles, with the rising risk of accidents.

5.2.2 Opportunities for Adopting a Different Means of Transport

There are certain positive and economically non-quantifiable externalities that relate to the environmental impacts of the construction of the bicycle paths, as well as the saving of time of trip that impacts directly on the health of people in comparison to trips in polluting vehicles. The Program was based on giving employees the power to be mobilized from their house to their work. If their work places are accessible and women adopt this system, they will benefit by saving time and improving their health. However, to adopt bicycles for movement depends on breaking a series of social and cultural barriers.

The use of the bicycle is common for the all socioeconomic levels. Levels A and B use bicycles for recreation and of sports²⁴ and levels C, D and E for a means of transport. It also depends of the geographical environment. Thus, in slums on hills around the capital city, a bicycle is quite complicated to use, because some of the slums are linked just by stairs and there is no paved road, so owners have to carry their bicycles with them up to their house or down to the main road. But, in slums or settlements located in marginal areas, that are inter-connected through a road network, a bicycle is very useful and time-saving means of transport.

The owner of a bicycle has an advantage over the rest of its neighbors, who travel long distances and over unpaved roads, expending time and breathing dust with risk to their health. While men usually leave home using a bike, women and children walk to school, to market, to fetch water and to sell petty commodities. For both low-income and middle class women, it is not usual to use bicycles for transport. There are several constraints related to security along the way because of traffic, thieves and harassment when riding alone or in small groups. In urban residential areas, men and women ride bicycles just for recreation or for exercise; sometimes they relate to poverty status "...if I am *misio*²⁵ I ride a bicycle, if I have money - I have a car or I take a bus to mobilize myself..."²⁶.

5.2.3 Credit for the Poor

A program of credit inside the PMTNM allowed low income residents to have credit relatively fast. Those responsible for the handling of the Plan Bike point out that the requirements specified to be able to apply to the Plan Bike were very restrictive but, in spite of this, a good number of people benefited from this Plan, including people linked to the project. There is not a specific data on

²⁴ A *bicicleteada* was organised and great participation, 06-04-2003, for a graphic presentation, see picture 3

²⁵ A person without any money

²⁶ Jenny Samanez - Commission of Youth MML.

gender of beneficiaries of the credit. However, more than four thousand units were located and gave opportunity to the same number of men and women for a healthy and cheap means of transport.

5.2.4 Changing Mentalities for Preserving the Environment

The local government has reactivated the NMTP²⁷, taking responsibility for this Program to outstanding cyclists²⁸ who are identified with cycling sports. The program addresses basically people in the sectors A, B and C who live near existing bicycle paths and it aims to promote a healthy environment.

This circuit and routes favors the use of bicycles for middle class people. This is a safe network of bicycle paths connecting main labor centers of finance and commerce, as well as public and private institutions. Some women would ride to work, but the bicycle design gives problems for a formally dressed women. However, they are willing to ride for sport and recreation, which is one of the best ways to unite members of the family in a healthy and fun sport²⁹.

“ ... this time we want to make it wider, to limit not only to the male and labour, but giving a bigger opportunity to the whole community, and that it is not only a benefit of using bicycle, but of helping to the environment. The program has changed in that. We also see the possibility of other means, skate, patineta that can mobilize us, to the human being in other form, using our own legs... among planned activities...like the day without car ... and maybe next year, to institutionalize it...”

Mrs. María Traverso, director of the Program

5.2.5 Promotion of the “Culture of Bicycle” and Respect

The DMUT pointed out that 149 routes are formally authorized with itineraries that include avenues with bicycle paths, which represents 20% of the 729 routes authorized in the whole of Lima and Callao. However, a council decree³⁰ restricts the use of minor vehicles for the transfer of passengers on high-speed roads, because their weight and dimensions, as well as high speed and continuous movement could cause serious traffic accidents. It considered the security of cyclists and of drivers of vehicles of non motorized transport (tricycles, wheels seats and other) and the infrastructure for the proposed non motorized transport. However, as part of the action plan of the new NMTP, there have recently been some activities related to promotion of the mass use of bicycles. The second major event was a circuit of bicycle paths that link the north cone of Lima³¹; it was held on a Sunday by closing the main avenues to show the circuit. It is planned to organize another circuit linking archaeological sites in Lima.

²⁷ Mayor's office ordinance 098-03-MML of January 20, 2003

²⁸ Jenny Samanez, current Alderwoman and María Traverso, current Executive Director of the PMTNM.

²⁹ Participant to the Great *Bicicleteada* April, 6 2003

³⁰ Resolution 256-01-MML-DMTU-DGTO of the 4 of September of the 2001

³¹ Universitaria, Colonial, Tomas Valle, Angelica Gamarra and Moral Duarez Avenues

The bicycle paths are not used by cyclists for reasons of security, as the motorized vehicles go at high speed. Observation at different points, for example in the track of the Avenue Colonial, for about 20 minutes found only 6 cyclists, 4 tricycles and 1 moto and in Tomas Valle and Universitaria Avenues, in 15 minutes at 8:00 in the morning, 12 cyclists and 3 motos. None was female ridden.

The area in which the bicycle paths were built lack urban infrastructure services, especially the roads, because of their location. The conditions of life approach deprivation, which is manifested in low civic security and the presence of juvenile gangs and high and growing crime rates.

All these problems can be overcome by an effective promotion campaign, gender sensitivity and education to change perceptions and the actors' habits and by improving the design and signalling of the bicycle paths.

5.2.6 Cultural Stereotypes

Cycling is considered inappropriate for women, in spite of its potential utility for the transport of many products. The use of bicycles is more related with customs and population's prejudices. It is difficult to generalize on the use of bicycles by women and the male perception of it.

Rural or migrant women, because of cultural constraints, are not allowed to use bicycles for transport. Generally, it is allowed for adult women, while younger women can ride around close and safe neighborhoods or carrying children to school. Young girls and boys use them for sports on paved roads, where the bicycles take a natural place in the urban atmosphere.

The obstacles to bicycle use, besides the cultural conceptions, are misconceptions about female provocation to men, due to exposure of the body and inadequate clothes. Women face violence and danger in streets. Even those routes of the project represent a challenge to traditional conceptions and expose women to sexual harassment or assault, threatening the security of those who use bicycles.

Huertas is a rural district in Jauja, where the use of bicycles has become common for women. The positive effect is that they attend different events of training or assemblies and always have a voice. They carry their children on their backs and in the front of their bicycles. It is the population as a group, the direct beneficiaries of these types of initiatives, who should give the impetus for the adoption of policies in favor of their use and implementation. Cultural barriers do not affect them.

6. GENDER OUTCOMES

6.1 URBAN TRANSPORT SYSTEM: A CHALLENGE FOR SECURITY

6.2.1 Transport-related Accidents

The workshop with civil society attendants from Lima *Cercado* (downtown) and cones' representatives debated the public transport system. Security was the main concern - in terms of high level of accidents, assaults and kidnapping and known danger streets and neighborhoods.

Lack of efficient traffic control and the bad behavior of drivers and pedestrians, lead to an average of almost 10 dead people per day for the four years from 1997 to 2000. Over 70% of victims are men. Main causes of accidents are excess of speed and drivers' negligence resulting in collisions. These occur more frequently on Friday and Saturday between 14 and 20 hours. APPENDIX 11 presents an explanatory table of traffic accidents in Lima Metropolitan.

Table 5: Victims of Traffic Accidents : National

Details	1997	1998	1999	2000
Total	41,497	42,441	44,369	33,063
Sex				
Male	31,650	32,115	32,796	25,260
Female	9,847	10,326	11,573	7,803
Age				
Under 18	7,712	7,741	9,240	8,587
18 and over	33,785	34,700	35,129	24,476
Status				
Wounded	27,532	26,417	31,578	29,945
Dead	3,216	3,323	3,214	3,118
Safe	10,749	12,701	9,577	0

Source: Ministry of the Interior – National Police of Peru

6.1.2 Personal Security: Daily Distress and Unsafe Routine

The poorer people are concentrated in Lima *Cercado* (downtown) with 340,422 inhabitants and the cones or marginal areas. Lima *Cercado* has the oldest and most overcrowded buildings and neighborhoods and the main government offices. It is divided into six sectors, called *Casa Vecinal*

(Neighbour House) for better management and lately LMM has organized teams of citizen's participation.

The routine of a woman who lives in Lima *Cercado* reveals daily distress. She takes care of children and is close when they are going to school or playing. Some areas are so dangerous and levels of delinquency so high that children have to take a bus for just a few blocks to school because they are in danger of assault and for females, of sexual harassment. At the same time, traveling is not safe at all, because children can fall off buses or be knocked down. Near schools there are points of drug vending and anytime *pirañas* (gangs) may attack children, but also any person across the streets. Families face this chaos daily. A reason for delinquency is that children and young boys and girls do not have enough sports places, which reinforces social problems like drugs, alcoholism and violence. Finally, when children are sick, taking them to the hospital occupies a whole morning or afternoon.

Representatives of marginal districts (*conos*) exposed their problems of security as well.

“Tariffs are high and ticketing is not controlled. Drivers and collectors do not respect us, they do not take into account they are carrying people, children, elder, disabled ... they push and run... Collectors are dirty, they do not have any culture.” Workshop Lima

Several adjectives qualify the daily routine of traveling on public transport. People feel: mistreated, impotent, angry, panic, uncomfortable, smashed, harassed. Drivers turn the radio on high volume and stop wherever they want. But it is not only drivers at fault: users do not respect traffic rules, do not know traffic signals and ask to stop even at their house door.

6.2 OPPORTUNITY FOR DEVELOPMENT

6.2.1 Access to Employment

There is strong dependence of people on public transport - 80 % of 6.5 millions of trips in Lima are by public transport. Routes are not integrated and trips are too long; some round trips cover 100 km. The average time for a routine trip home–work center–home is 3 hours, going from a North cone to a South cone, where low income people live. In 1999 there was a total of 10.7 million trips, with 8.7 million (81%) on public transport and 2.0 million 19% on private transport.

Routes of public transport are socially differentiated. The main routes connect north to south and east to west sides of the capital, but none reach residential to marginal zones and women and men that work as domestic employees or in services such as gardening and plumbing spend time and money to offer their services.

A significant number of women living in *cones* or shanty towns work as domestic employees in residential zones. They usually work from 7:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Their daily routine starts between four and five o'clock in the morning. They cook for their family and leave home between 5.30 and 6.30 to take public transport. To buy a ticket, they have to walk long distances to the nearest bus stop. Sometimes they have to take intermediate means of transports like *moto taxis* to connect to a public bus that covers a route which can leave them quite close to work. Sometimes they spend 15-20% of their monthly income on bus fares.

Selling petty commodities is a source of income for women. It is usual to see women carrying commodities themselves or pushing wheelbarrows to the nearest selling point; sometimes they take goods to a determined market using intermediate means of transport. However, women prefer to establish their stands near home to avoid waste of time and money.

Some shanty towns are so poorly served by roads that it is impossible for public transport to reach them. Shelters along roads do not have basic services like clean water and women and children have to walk to some places to get or to buy it. There have been some accidents related to vulnerability of these zones like fires and fire engines could not reach them on time.

6.2.2 Education and Training are absent from the Sector

Public transport offers a variety of employment and women are present in most of them. Differences and inequalities are present as well and have direct effect on daily life. The collector is generally a person trusted by the owner – to guarantee fair money collection. The drivers and collectors usually work 16 hours per day. Generally, drivers receive percentage bonus from the total income (after deducting expenses of fuel, lubricants, tire repairs and others) for every effective work day, without any social benefit. The collectors regularly receive a bonus per round and do not have any social benefits³².

The education level of drivers must be high school but for collectors times there is no stipulated education level, with each enterprise setting its own standards. Female collectors would study mechanics or electric s if given the opportunity.

In general, the enterprises do not have direct control of drivers and collectors, who are linked to car owners; this “missing link” is a real obstacle for claims of users. Car owners do not invest in their social capital and the transport capacity does not grow and problems remain.

6.2.3 Income Generation Opportunities in the Transport Sector

The work force of the sector is made up of mainly male operators although, in recent years, women have entered this labor market and had a positive effect on the users of services who say that they have found in female operators better manners and better security in driving. The owners of public service vehicles mention that they obtain better economic benefits because female operators are more honest, punctual and credible in accounting.

A study carried out for FONAM³³ shows low numbers of females in this labor market. Interviews with some female employees explained that it is a heavy and risky task, which lasts up to 16-18 hours per day. It may cause stomach and throat illnesses, because the staff are always shouting and going up and down and are without fixed times for meals. They earn nearly 30 Soles daily which is over the minimum labor income. Most of female collectors are single mothers and due to their heavy work loads have their mothers other persons take care of their children. Male drivers say that female collectors are not able to carry heavy things, but since collectors are personnel of owners,

³² 1998: Results of the Technical Assistance for Evaluation and Inquiry to operators of public transport in Lima and Callao Metropolitan Area – Technical Secretariat of Transport Council of Lima and Callao Pages 31 – 32)

³³ See Appendix 12 for the table of reference.

they do not care at all. However, they recognize that women treat customers better and are more responsible. As women can become drivers, why can they not be entrepreneurs?³⁴.

A second round of interviews on this topic with common people revealed that transport is still considered a male field. Young women are not interested in transport because of traditional stereotypes; girls and women who are already working as collectors, checkers or drivers are doing so because relatives gave them the opportunity.

6.2.4 Affordability of Transport

This section focuses on actors and the transport labor market, to explore the presence of women and their level of participation and empowerment. According to an informant in the Technical Secretariat of Lima and Callao Council Transport and the results of the Technical Assistance for Evaluation and Inquiry to operators of public transport in Lima and Callao Metropolitan Area (for a sample of 412 enterprises), the predominant type of organization of operators is Sociedad Anónima with 96.36% (397 enterprises).

Table 6: Types of Organization of Public Transport Enterprises - 1998

Enterprises by partnership type	Enterprises (number)	Percent
Cooperativa	11	2.67
Sociedad Anónima	397	96.36
S.R.C. Limitada	4	0.97
Total	412	100 .00

Source: PROTUM Results of the Technical Assistance for Evaluation and Inquiry to operators of public transport in Lima and Callao Metropolitan Area Page 13

Drivers and collectors of public transport suffer health consequences, both physical and emotional because long trips trying to gain passengers and traffic congestion provoke stress on them. The control of sphincters for drivers is a cause of sickness and is worse for female collectors.

³⁴ The experience of a lady, illustrated in Appendix 13

Table 7: Education Level of Drivers and Collectors

	Education Level (%)			Total (%)
	Elementary	High School	Superior	
Driver	16	72	12	100
Collector	9	77	16	100

Source: Data of the Results of the Technical Assistance for Evaluation and Inquiry to operators of public transport in Lima and Callao Metropolitan Area – Technical Secretariat of Transport Council of Lima and Callao Pages 33 – 34)

At present, disintegrated statistical information of car owners, drivers, collectors and operators is not available due to most public transport enterprises having different working policies. A set of pictures, in Appendix 14, gives information on the case study Transport and Services Enterprise “El Rápido”³⁵.

³⁵ See Appendix 14

7. CONCLUSIONS

The case study finds that the Transport Rehabilitation Project, executed between 1994 and 2000, did not take into account gender issues in any of the project cycle phases. Its components were addressed mainly to civil works, to support privatization of railways and to promote state reform. Gender issues were integrated slowly, but as result of other interventions like Rural Roads. Each of TRP's five components was explored - two in depth and in relation to the area of study which was the corridor Tarma – Satipo in central region of Peru and Urban Transport in Lima as recommendation of the Consortium. It demanded a disaggregated team to cover both.

7.1 EXTERNALITIES

Latin America is a region of inequity and of contrasting ethnic, gender and social characteristics. Women are still excluded from much of the labor market in urban and rural areas. They are linked mostly to services sectors which pay less: because of their domestic roles, women prefer part time jobs or evening jobs and their salaries are lower than for men. Cultural stereotypes strengthen negative behavior and attitudes that exclude women but also men from access to opportunities, decision making spheres and development.

In Peru, 7.28 million people live in poverty in urban areas, including Metropolitan Lima and 1.715 million of these are in extreme poverty. The poverty is linked to the series of tasks they have to do to get some income which cannot mean 'employment' but marginal activities that cannot guarantee enough income for them and their families' livelihoods. However, this economic exclusion is also linked to rurality, ethnicity, age, female sex, disability and the consequences of violence.

The National Plan of Equality of Opportunities between Men and Women 2000-2005 constitutes the main instrument to guide human development. Its goals are intimately linked to gender urban needs. Among others, the Plan includes: increased coverage of wawa huasi (day nursery) with community participation; reduction of mothers' death rate to 100 per 100,000 live births; increased prenatal coverage, to 90% for urban area pregnant women and the promotion for prevention and protection against AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases. It considers making civil society conscious about home violence, promotion on rights and obligations and the promotion of the access of women, in equality of conditions, to resources, employment, markets and commerce. To accomplish these goals, labor agents, enterprises and union organization must be conscious about the obstacles and discrimination present in labor affairs. By 2005, a minimum of 50% of enterprises and workers will adopt, through in collective negotiation, means to eliminate any clause having any kind of discrimination.

The Plan also states the intention to guarantee women equality for access and participation in power structures and decision making, fomenting shared responsibilities. Targets include 30% of private enterprises and civil society organizations sensitized to adopt practices without discrimination and in 2005, a minimum of 25% of congressmen, 40% of mayors and 50% of councilors to be women.

The law "Basis of the Strategy for Overcoming Poverty and Economic Opportunities for the Poor", states a special issue related to no discrimination against women, children, elderly and native and indigenous people. This State policy combines four components to overcome poverty: (i) economic opportunities for disadvantaged poor people; (ii) strengthening of human, social and institutional capacities; (iii) network of social protection; and (iv) citizens' participation and transparency.

7.2 INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

The issue of transport and gender is a new one and male-sensitive due to traditional conceptions. Transport relates to male identity which is reinforced through a series of behavior and practices that are socially and culturally accepted. Studies on transport culture need to be done to modify negative conceptions and practices that affect familial and institutional relations and to allow women to enter in that sphere as a right.

In Peru, there is no specific policy for gender and transport. However, the Transport and Communication Ministry, as a public entity, has some general policies related to gender issues.

Women participate in different levels of public administration, according to their capacity and rules of labor. There are some rules which are gender-oriented according to women's reproductive roles, intended to cover children's needs (day nursery and crèche). These should match working hours that are longer than regulated time of work.

The National Police of Peru, through its Division of Traffic supervises standards and regulations for traffic and provides security to pedestrians and operators. The police have raised their institutional image, by changing from masculine to feminine personnel to control traffic; however, feminine police are not respected at all - many have been run over by drivers while doing their work and a few have died.

The Metropolitan Municipality of Lima has some policies to include women not only as unskilled laborers (street sweeping, park and garden maintenance) but also as heads of some important offices such as The Metropolitan Program of Non Motorized Transport, which promotes the use of bicycles. The Lima Bus Project promotes an integrated alternative means of transport, through a multimodal system, for the operation of mass transport. It emphasizes time effects, trip conditions, security, job generation and reduction of adverse environmental impacts.

The non-satisfied social demands expressed through marches and protests produce an unstable climate of politics that affects directly the transport sector. These marches block the free urban traffic and create artificial traffic jams, thus putting at risk the physical integrity of users and operators. So transport operation costs go up and the movement of products and persons is delayed, deteriorating relationships among institutions, users and government.

7.3 CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

The number of vehicles for public transport in Lima has about 59,000 vehicles ranging in capacity from 20-45 passengers. It is estimated that 80% of trips by public transport vehicles go through the central zone of Lima, producing bottlenecks and decreasing the capacity of the roads.

Public transport enterprises should reorient their organizational culture to access the mass transport project, by doing strategic alliances or linking to corporations and transport trade-unions to focus competitiveness. Female personnel trained in different jobs will have more opportunities to be included (as operators, drivers, collectors, managers).

'Traditional' transport enterprises are mainly of family groups, where men are mostly owners and drivers with a relative or trustworthy person as fare collector. This is an opportunity for woman

highlighting moral values of honesty, responsibility, equity and cleanness, but they have also to be trained in mechanics and electricians. It is recognized that there are routes that are dangerous for women and physical strength is needed to carry bundles or to call passengers. However, income is higher in transport than in other service activities.

While there are women owners who have access to decision making, there are few in management positions. Institutional differences in the organization and management of transport are in relation to internal statutes (proportion of participation in stocks) and to cultural and social stereotypes which put women out of some positions. When women have to go to unions, they lose opportunities by delegating their representation to men.

An important component of urban transport is intermediate means of transport, called moto taxi, which link markets and distant points to main roads and routes. They constitute a dilemma for local district governments, due to their rising numbers and difficulty of controlling them because of problems related to personal safety and moral issues.

An urgent change of policy in the urban transport system is needed. The social, economic and cultural contexts of urban space of Lima and Callao do not make simple the massive use of non motorized transport because of the presence in some sectors of high delinquency and insecurity, which affect circulation and put under real risk the physical security of women and cyclists. At this stage of the project, the use of bicycles is linked to entertainment and sport, rather than pure transport.

Passengers' perceptions lead to men focusing on transport as a matter of reduction of time and costs and women focusing transport for improving comfort -- such as mechanical issues, cars' maintenance, technical revision of cars, old seats and old units -- and safety, because they feel mistreated, impotent, angry, panic, uncomfortable, smashed and harassed. Drivers and collectors do not respect women and do not take into account that they are carrying people, children, the elderly and the disabled. They push and run. Collectors are dirty and do not have any culture or respect.

Drivers' perceptions about users are that they do not respect traffic rules, do not know traffic signals and do not pay real fares. They have to create different strategies to call passengers, resulting in extreme cases like 'disco vans' where drugs and alcohol are founded.

Finally, cultural stereotypes dictate behavior for men and women under a machismo approach. Public and private spheres are related to a cultural division of work, where women are not related to transport issues, but men are.

7.4 REPLICABILITY

Issues of opportunity for women are related to availability to private transport units for public transport (taxis, moto taxis) as owners and means to access to a source of income, becoming entrepreneurs or micro entrepreneurs, which should lead to better conditions of life and welfare.

Opportunity is also related to education and training in mechanics, electricians and business as means to improve performance within this sector, for both men and women. Since the Lima Bus Project is in the process of implementation, better opportunities will be for those already prepared. Peru has important cities which reproduce Lima's urban problems (such as migration), so people have similar behavior and demands to be solved.

Human capital and quality of life are improving by developing social networks among resettled migrants or displaced men and women living in marginalized zones and linking health, education and training centers to marginalized zones through paved roads, highways, traffic regulation and later on, the multimodal system. However, it is important to sensitize users and operators and authorities at national and district levels. It is a collective task which demands change of attitudes, open minds and solidarity but not assistance or demagoguery.

The experience of female police and demands of women and pedestrians to improve safety conditions for traveling and public mobility reveals the great impact of transport in daily routines. Women, children and disabled people are more exposed to social problems like harassment, accidents and assaults. A national safety police is being implemented in coordination with local governments and civil society.

The planning of transport infrastructure and services satisfies male needs. However, there are women in important professional and political posts who may influence policies or activities to enhance women's practical needs and to facilitate management of their triple roles. These may include alternative means of transport, or low tariffs to link local markets such as monthly or weekly fairs, education and training centers and cultural or sports events. An important post is the Commissioner of Transport, in local government and in the Congress.

7.5 LEARNT LESSONS

The bureaucracy in public institutions linked to transport limits access to information (e.g., by interviews) because this is considered an internal subject and for its own institutional purposes.

With the exception of some professionals related to gender issues, regular people do not have in-depth discussions on topics on gender since they consider it an irrelevant topic, and behave in an evasive and sarcastic way.

Careers in the public sector create barriers to the professional development of men and women which does not allow them to update their knowledge of current topics to accomplish a more gender balanced perception. This is detrimental to the cause of gender because, while they hold high-ranking or decision making positions, socially sensitive aspects such as gender are neither taken into consideration nor included in the design of projects and committees which they are involved in.

The media are effective for gender sensitization of the public. A nationwide radio station has a program and an open telephone line to solicit opinions on citizens' security. Many responses are related to traffic and transport service conditions.

8. SUGGESTIONS

The gender sensitization theme must be applied in participatory workshops at all levels of government - national, regional and local.

Design of projects must take into consideration the voice of local people in terms of incidence, field and geographic location. Civil society should have a voice and higher level of decision making and safety through channels of discussions such as the Round-Table for Poverty Relief (Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza). This type of work must be developed nationally by MTC, by local and regional governments and by citizens, with the police as a linking entity for the three levels. Impacts should also be measured at these different levels.

The theme of transport must be managed in a unified fashion among different stakeholders so that the design, implementation, and execution of transport projects will produce the expected impact..

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