

“This is a pioneering book that contributes to the understanding of power and sexual harassment overall. It visualizes the right to mobility and to safe spaces as crucial for work, education and participation in public life.”

—Anna Wahl, Professor, Gender, organization and management, KTH,
Stockholm, Sweden

“A much-needed source of literature that addresses an overlooked issue systematically on global scale. As indeed, this is not a “women’s issue”, but a fair and standard urban and transport planning issue, an everyday mobility need, an essential service provision issue, a common sense, and simply a basic human right to be able to travel and do his/her activity safely and freely. A good reference for everyone who wishes to provide an inclusive, seamless, door-to-door journey, for everybody.”

—Yusak Susilo, Professor, University of Natural Resources and Life
Sciences (BOKU), Vienna, Austria

“This book comprehensively focuses on the horrendous impact of sexual harassment and assault in public transport on women students worldwide, highlighting an innovative set of parallel studies which reveal how much fear for their personal security affects the lives of these students and how little public officials have done to respond.”

—Sandi Rosenbloom, Professor, Community and Regional Planning,
The University of Texas at Austin, USA

“The book is the product of critical reflection on current transit crime and sexual violence globally in both the Global North and Global South. Each piece seeks to characterize the dynamics of transit crime, in particular, sexual harassment and violence, from the perspective of those who are most targeted by these offences, namely young people and women. Focus is given to the relationship between safety and the types of environments that individuals are exposed to when they travel, which means that the book adopts a whole journey approach to safety.”

—Juma Assiogo, Head, Safer Cities programme, UN-HABITAT



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TRANSIT CRIME AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN CITIES

How cities are planned and designed has a major impact on individuals' mobility and safety. If individuals feel unsafe in public transportation or on the way to it, they may avoid certain routes or particular times of the day. This is problematic, since research has also found that, in some cities, especially those in the Global South, a large percentage of women are "transit captives". Namely, they have relatively less access to non-public forms of transportation and are, therefore, especially reliant on public transport. This issue is important not only because it affects people's safety but also because it influences the long-term sustainability of a city. In a sustainable city, safety guarantees the ability to move freely for everyone and provides a wider sense of place attachment.

Transit Crime and Sexual Violence in Cities examines the evidence of victimization in transit environments in countries around the world, exploring individuals' feelings of perceived safety or lack thereof and the necessary improvements that can make transit safer and, hence, cities more sustainable. The book's contributions are grounded in theories at the crossroads of several disciplines such as environmental criminology, architecture and design, urban planning, geography, psychology, gender and LGBTQI studies, transportation, and law enforcement. International case studies include Los Angeles, Vancouver, Stockholm, London, Paris, São Paulo, Mexico City, Bogotá, Tokyo, Guangzhou, Melbourne, and Lagos, among others.

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International Evidence and
Prevention

*Edited by Vania Ceccato and Anastasia
Loukaitou-Sideris*

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This book is dedicated to all those working to reduce sexual violence in public environments around the world.



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CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xvii</i>
<i>List of Contributors</i>	<i>xx</i>
<i>Foreword</i>	<i>xxvi</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xxviii</i>

PART I

Transit Crime and Sexual Violence: An Introduction	1
1 Sexual Violence in Transit Environments: Aims, Scope, and Context <i>Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Vania Ceccato</i>	3
2 Sexual Harassment on Transit: Evidence from the Literature <i>Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Vania Ceccato</i>	12
3 Why Sexual Crimes and Fear of Crime Happen in Transit Environments: A Review of Theories <i>Vania Ceccato and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris</i>	24
4 Studying Sexual Harassment in Transit Environments: Research Design and Basic Concepts <i>Vania Ceccato and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris</i>	32

PART II

Case Study Cities 43

5	Tokyo, Japan <i>Seiji Shibata</i>	45
6	Guangzhou, China <i>Dengkai Huang and Guoguang Wang</i>	54
7	Manila, Philippines <i>Iderlina B. Mateo-Babiano, Ma. Sheilah Gaabucayan-Napalang, and Anabel Abuza</i>	63
8	Melbourne, Australia <i>Carolyn Whitzman, Jason Thompson, and Rewa Marathe</i>	72
9	Lagos, Nigeria <i>Smart E. Otu and Augustine O. Agugua</i>	80
10	Bogotá, Colombia <i>Monica Pérez-Trujillo</i>	87
11	São Paulo, Brazil <i>Paula Freire Santoro and Marina Kohler Harkot</i>	95
12	Rio Claro, Brazil <i>Farid Nourani, Sérgio Luis Antonello, and José Silvio Govone</i>	105
13	Los Angeles, USA <i>Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Madeline Brozen, Miriam Pinski, and Hao Ding</i>	115
14	San José, USA <i>Asha Weinstein Agrawal, Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Yajing Hu, and Cristina Tortora</i>	128
15	Vancouver, Canada <i>Jordana K. Norgaard</i>	138
16	Mexico City, Mexico <i>Javier Romero-Torres and Javier Garcia-Gutierrez</i>	150

17	Stockholm, Sweden <i>Vania Ceccato, Linda Langefors, and Per Näsman</i>	158
18	Huddinge, Sweden <i>Catherine Sundling</i>	167
19	Lisbon, Portugal <i>Pedro Homem de Gouveia, Maria João Frias, and Rita Jacinto</i>	176
20	London, UK <i>Reka Solymosi and Andrew Newton</i>	185
21	Paris and Île-de-France Region, France <i>Hugo d'Arbois de Jubainville</i>	196
22	Milan, Italy <i>Serena Favarin</i>	205
PART III		
	Understanding Transit Crime and Sexual Violence: Crosscutting Themes	215
23	Intersectionality of Transit Safety <i>Paula Freire Santoro, Marina Kohler Harkot, Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Vania Ceccato, Catherine Sundling, Javier Romero-Torres, and Asha Weinstein Agrawal</i>	217
24	Incidence and Reporting: Making the Invisible Matter <i>Carolyn Whitzman, Jason Thompson, Serena Favarin, Farid Nourani, and Seiji Shibata</i>	237
25	The Importance of the Transit Environment: Does It Affect the Risk of Sexual Victimization? <i>Vania Ceccato, Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Monica Pérez-Trujillo, Iderlina B. Mateo-Babiano, Per Näsman, and Linda Langefors</i>	253
26	Precautions and Responses <i>Andrew Newton, Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Hugo d'Arbois de Jubainville, Dengkai Huang, Jordana K. Norgaard, and Reka Solymosi</i>	276

PART IV	
Conclusions	295
27 Sexual Crime on Transit: A Global, Comparative Look <i>Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Vania Ceccato</i>	297
28 Responding to Sexual Harassment on Transit: Towards an Agenda for Research and Practice <i>Vania Ceccato and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris</i>	305
<i>Appendix – Survey: Women’s Transit Safety</i>	329
<i>Index</i>	341

FIGURES

1.1	Types of sexual violence in public places	7
4.1	Flowchart of activities for the analytical and comparative framework	33
4.2	Location of the 18 case study cities in the six continents	36
5.1	Railway/subway network of the Tokyo and the Kanagawa areas	45
5.2	Commuter train (Odakyu Line) running between Shinjuku, Tokyo and Odawara, Kanagawa	46
5.3	Numbers of crimes and nuisance acts reported in railway facilities in Japan	47
5.4	Tokyo students' safety perceptions for buses and railways	50
6.1	Map of Guangzhou metro (206 stations)	55
6.2	The study area of Guangzhou	56
6.3	Significant problems in public transit settings in Guangzhou	59
7.1	Mass transit system in Metro Manila	64
8.1	Transit access across Melbourne	73
8.2	Types of sexual harassment and assault of Melbourne students, by gender	76
8.3	Melbourne students' concerns on transit, by gender	77
9.1	Formal and informal transportation modes in Oshodi, Lagos Abeokuta Express Way	81
9.2	Traffic congestion in Lagos streets	81
10.1	Map of TransMilenio lines and stations	88
10.2	TransMilenio red bus in Bogotá	89
10.3	Percentage of students experiencing sexual violence in the last three years on Bogotá's public transport	90
11.1	High and medium capacity transit system in São Paulo metro area and the educational institutions that participated in the survey	97

xiv Figures

11.2	São Paulo students' feelings of safety during daytime and night time, by transit mode and transit setting	100
12.1	Bus service network of Rio Claro	106
12.2	Bus stop near Rio Claro downtown	107
12.3	Profile of Rio Claro survey participants	107
12.4	Ranking of transport modalities among Rio Claro students and students' sense of insecurity	110
12.5	Students' sense of safety using the public transport system in Rio Claro	111
12.6	Rio Claro students' main impediments to using bus services more frequently	111
13.1	Public transit network in Los Angeles	116
13.2	Metro station in Los Angeles	117
13.3	Incidence of verbal harassment experienced by Los Angeles students	121
13.4	Incidence of non-verbal harassment experienced by Los Angeles students	121
13.5	Incidence of physical harassment experienced by Los Angeles students	122
13.6	Problems encountered by Los Angeles students on the bus	124
13.7	Problems encountered by Los Angeles students at the bus stop	124
13.8	Problems encountered by Los Angeles students at the train stop	125
13.9	Problems encountered by Los Angeles students on the train	125
14.1	VTA bus in downtown San José	129
14.2	Bus and railway routes near San José State University	130
14.3	Comparison of female vs. male student transit riders experiencing different types of victimization in San José	132
14.4	San José students feeling safe "always" or "often," by gender and activity	134
15.1	Vancouver's transit network	139
15.2	TransLink station in Vancouver	140
15.3	Incidence of different types of harassment victimization of Vancouver students by gender on the bus system	143
15.4	Incidence of different types of harassment victimization of Vancouver students by gender on the train system	143
15.5	Types of harassment behaviors experienced by Vancouver students on the bus system, by gender	144
15.6	Types of harassment behaviors experienced by Vancouver students on the train system, by gender	144
15.7	Perceived problems by Vancouver students on the bus system	147
15.8	Perceived problems by Vancouver students on the train system	147
16.1	Public transportation modes in Mexico City	151
17.1	Public transportation network in Stockholm	159
17.2	A tram in Hammarby Sjöstad in Stockholm	160
17.3	The nature of sexual violence in transit environments experienced by Stockholm students, by type and transportation mode	162

17.4	The most common precautions taken by Stockholm student bus riders and metro riders	164
17.5	Stockholm students' suggestions for improvement of safety on rail/metro and bus	165
18.1	Commuter train at Flemingsberg station, Huddinge	168
18.2	Different types of sexual harassment experienced by Huddinge students on the train and the bus	170
18.3	Huddinge students' perceived safety during day and night for train travel	171
18.4	Huddinge students' perceived safety during day and night for bus travel	171
18.5	Precautions taken by Huddinge student bus riders and train riders	173
18.6	Huddinge students' most wanted safety improvements in train and bus environments	173
19.1	Railway and metro lines in Lisbon	177
19.2	Distribution of respondents per school in Lisbon	178
20.1	Volume of each type of harassment experienced by London students, by mode	189
20.2	London students' feelings of safety on the bus during daytime/nighttime	190
20.3	London students' feelings of safety on the train/tram during daytime/nighttime	191
20.4	Precautions taken by London student transit users	193
20.5	Precautions taken by London student transit users, by gender	194
21.1	Subway station in Paris	197
21.2	Map of the transportation system of Paris and the Île-de-France	198
21.3	Prevalence of sexual harassment and assault in rail transit among students in Paris	200
22.1	Subway station in Milan	206
22.2	Tram in Milan	207
22.3	Map of the urban surface and underground public transport system in Milan	208
22.4	Milan student victims by types of harassment	209
22.5	Type of sexual assault or harassment experienced by female students in Milan	210
22.6	Reasons that prevent Milan students from using public transport more often	213
23.1	Percentage of female and male students in Mexico City, São Paulo, San José, and Huddinge experiencing sexual harassment on the bus system	226
23.2	Percentage of students feeling "always" or "often" safe after dark at the bus stop or walking to/from bus stop in Mexico City, São Paulo, San José, and Huddinge	229
24.1	Incidence of sexual assault and harassment in Milan, Melbourne, Tokyo, and Rio Claro	245

xvi Figures

24.2	Sexual assault by gender in Milan, Melbourne, Tokyo, and Rio Claro	246
24.3	Bystander responses in Milan, Melbourne, Tokyo, and Rio Claro.	247
24.4	Reasons for not reporting sexual harassment and assault to authorities in Milan, Melbourne, Tokyo, and Rio Claro	247
26.1	Types of precautionary behaviors taken by bus users in Guangzhou, London, Los Angeles, Paris, and Vancouver	284
26.2	Types of precautionary behaviors taken by rail users in Guangzhou, London, Los Angeles, Paris, and Vancouver	285
26.3a	Avoidance and risk management behaviors by bus users in Guangzhou, London, Los Angeles, Paris, and Vancouver	285
26.3b	Avoidance and risk management behaviors by rail users in Guangzhou, London, Los Angeles, Paris, and Vancouver	286
27.1	Percentage of female and male students experiencing harassment on the bus system in 18 cities	299
27.2	Percentage of female and male students experiencing harassment on the train system in 16 cities	299
27.3	Percentage of LGBTQI and straight students experiencing sexual harassment on the bus system in 13 cities	300
27.4	Percentage of students reporting being exposed to serious crime in transit settings in 18 cities	300
27.5	Percentage of students feeling “always” or “often” safe after dark on the bus in 18 cities	301
27.6	“Word cloud” showing the most important problems encountered by student riders in the 18 cities	302
27.7	Percentage of students reporting harassment incidents in 17 cities	303
27.8	Percentage of students taking precautions on the train system in 17 cities	304

TABLES

3.1	Modifiers of fear and perceptions of risk	28
4.1	Comparative information of 18 case studies by location, population, and sample	35
5.1	Frequency of transit use per week in Tokyo/Kanagawa area	48
5.2	Reporting to whom, and the reason for not reporting (Tokyo/Kanagawa)	49
5.3	Problems that Tokyo students perceived as significant in bus/railway systems	51
5.4	Suggestions for safety improvements by Tokyo students	52
6.1	Types of sexual harassment experienced by college students in Guangzhou	57
6.2	Perceived safety of Guangzhou college students during daytime and nighttime	58
6.3	Types of significant problems in the bus and subway transit in Guangzhou	60
7.1	Types of harassment experienced by public transit commuters in Manila in the past three years	67
7.2	Top three challenges in transit environments in Manila, by gender	69
10.1	Experiences of victimization of male and female students on buses and TransMilenio in Bogotá in the last three years	91
11.1	São Paulo students' harassment victimization on the bus system, by gender	99
11.2	São Paulo students' feelings of safety on the bus system during daytime and nighttime, by gender	101
11.3	São Paulo students' feelings of safety on the rail system during daytime and nighttime, by gender	102

xviii Tables

11.4	São Paulo students' perception of sexual harassment as a problem on the bus and train systems, differentiating the female sample by sexual identity/orientation, race, and university location	103
12.1	Rio Claro students' victimization rates and reporting of three types of crimes	109
12.2	Intersectionality of Rio Claro students' concerns about public transportation	112
13.1	Socio-demographic profile of UCLA students compared to the survey sample	120
14.1	Percentages of San José student transit riders reporting different types of harassment, by mode and location in the system	133
14.2	Comparison of the conditions perceived by San José students as a problem, by mode	135
14.3	Types of precautions that San José student riders take during bus and train trips	136
15.1	Demographics of survey respondents in Vancouver	141
16.1	Types of sexual victimization by transportation mode in Mexico City	153
16.2	Mexico City student precautions while traveling on public transit	154
16.3	Underreporting of aggressions by Mexico City students	155
16.4	Mexico City students' perceived safety, by transportation mode	155
20.1	Commonly experienced harassment of London students	187
21.1	Demographics of survey sample and Sciences Po population	199
21.2	Paris students' feelings of safety in rail transit during daytime	201
21.3	Paris students' feelings of safety in rail transit after dark	202
21.4	Paris students' suggestions for making rail transit safer	203
22.1	Public transportation system in Milan	206
22.2	Number of Milan student victims of sexual assault or harassment by means of transport and gender	210
22.3	Milan student victims per type of offense and information on reporting	211
23.1	Total samples by city (São Paulo, Mexico City, San José, and Huddinge)	222
23.2	Victimization among LGBTQI groups in Mexico City, São Paulo, and San José	228
23.3	Perception of safety after dark among LGBTQI groups in Mexico City, São Paulo, and San José	230
25.1	Environmental factors affecting transit crime and harassment	256
25.2	Characteristics of the four cities (Bogotá, Los Angeles, Manila, and Stockholm) and their survey samples	260
25.3	Summary of the results of models for total sexual violence – for bus and train (Bogotá, Los Angeles, Manila, and Stockholm)	262
25.4	Bogotá, Colombia: Sexual violence by type in TransMilenio	269
25.5	Bogotá, Colombia: Sexual violence by type in buses	270

25.6	Stockholm, Sweden: Sexual violence by type in trains	271
25.7	Stockholm, Sweden: Sexual violence by type in buses	272
26.1	Classification of precautionary behavior	282
26.2	The number and percentage of respondents who felt it necessary to take precautionary behavior on public transit in Guangzhou, London, Los Angeles, Paris, and Vancouver	284
26.3	Logistic regression: Predictors of bus riders' precautionary behavior	288
26.4	Logistic regression: Predictors of rail riders' precautionary behavior	288
28.1	Suggestions for research and recommendations for practice	306

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FOREWORD

The adoption by UN member states of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the New Urban Agenda have provided a global blueprint towards better connected, mixed-use, and compact cities and human settlements. Additionally, the adoption of UN systemwide Guidelines on Safer Cities and Human Settlements provides further guidance to national and local governments to plan and make cities and human settlements safer, drawing on evidence from practice of what has worked and not worked, as well as the role of local government as a complementary actor to the criminal justice system in promoting safety as an outcome of better urban planning, management, and governance.

UN-Habitat has indeed been providing local governments with technical support to develop plans and strategies to prevent crime and violence in cities. UN-Habitat's approach to urban safety and security is first and foremost premised on the outlook that urbanization is a source of development, and not a bad outcome of development. Urbanization can indeed be an engine for prosperity and human progress, as reflected in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Goal 11.

Second, UN-Habitat's approach to urban security is premised on "prevention" rather than reaction to effectively address the complex challenges of urban insecurity, crime, and violence. The novelty of the New Urban Agenda approach to urban security is that it puts in place integrated actions that can improve the path of urbanization and identifies the key actors to carry out the changes. In so doing, it can immensely increase the efficiency of urbanization in order to decrease insecurity.

Making cities safer places promotes, therefore, the principles of good urbanization towards making our streets more walkable, building a sense of community and social integration through densification and compactness of the urban

form with mixed-use neighborhoods and adequate community appropriation of public space.

Placing public space and public transit availability, use, and access at the center of the urban safety and security debate is a new way of understanding the role of cities and local governments in the prevention of crime and violence. Challenging traditional assumptions about urban crime and violence to make cities places of hope should influence global understanding of how women and men use and access the city in differentiated experiences.

Providing mobility, and hence accessibility, for all social groups in the city regardless of their gender, age, culture, or intersectionality of individual characteristics is therefore a key indicator of improvements towards the realization of safe and sustainable cities and human settlements, using holistic, evidence-based, and multidisciplinary approaches to urban safety and security.

Here we present an important collection of studies of 18 cities, which clarifies the enormity of this challenge. The book is the product of critical reflection on current transit crime and sexual violence globally in both the Global North and Global South. Each piece seeks to characterize the dynamics of transit crime, in particular, sexual harassment and violence, from the perspective of those who are most targeted by these offenses, namely young people and women. Focus is given to the relationship between safety and the types of environments that individuals are exposed to when they travel, which means that the book adopts a *whole journey approach* to safety.

From the very start, these transit characteristics should be a key concern of any safety project in cities. Put another way, the safety of women and young people in public transit cannot be taken to be an *incidental consequence* of the spatial development of cities and human settlements. Rather, it must be considered as an *explicitly planned outcome* of urban planning and design, taking into account the behaviors, lifestyles, and circumstances of the people living in these cities and human settlements. To date, few cities have incorporated a coherent component to prevent crime and mitigate violence in their urban development agendas. Impact on urban safety has occurred somewhat unexpectedly. The main lessons to be drawn from the pages of this book are: the need for urban policy integration taking into account young people's safety from an intersectional lens; the relationship between urban environment and safety and social sustainability of cities; and women's mobility from the perspective of a whole journey approach in Global North-South contexts. In the end, urban development emerges from prosperity, through adequate and sound planning, management and governance; it comes to be fully enjoyed once urban safety is guaranteed.

I wish to acknowledge the efforts of the authors towards the preparation of this publication, which contributes to our quest for safer, inclusive, resilient, equitable, and sustainable cities and human settlements.

Juma Assiago, Head, Safer Cities Programme, UN-Habitat

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book would not have been possible without the contribution and hard work of all collaborators distributed in 18 cities and six continents. We are grateful for their great work, patience and commitment to a research project that, despite being unfunded in many countries, managed to deliver high quality research with clear relevance for practice, in an amazingly short timeframe. The seeds for this study were planted in a pilot project that started back in 2016 in Sweden. At that time, most of us were not yet ready to openly talk about sexual harassment, at least not as we do nowadays. Therefore, it was no surprise that KTH students in Stockholm were fairly reluctant to ask transit riders about their experiences of sexual harassment while using transit. With the appearance of the #MeToo movement, it is now easier to get information about these problematic daily life experiences.

We would like to thank Dr. Reka Solymosy who, back in 2015, made available to the pilot study a questionnaire about transit safety and harassment experiences developed by Transport for London (TfL), and distributed in Stockholm in May 2016. For the present study, we revised this questionnaire and added new questions after discussions over email, and virtual and face-to-face meetings with the other researchers. One such meeting attended by many of the book's collaborators took place in Stockholm in October 2018.

We are also very appreciative of the more than 11,000 students, spread in 18 countries around the world, who participated in the survey. During the process of data acquisition, the support of our university administration and technical personnel was fundamental to access these students via email and to run the survey on university servers. They deserve our thanks!

Finally, we would also like to thank our publisher, Routledge, for believing in this effort. We particularly wish to acknowledge our editor, Kathryn Schell,

for her stewardship of the project, and also Colin Morgan and Sean Speers during the production of the book.

Lastly but importantly, a big “thank you” goes to our families for all their love, support, and patience with us as we were putting together this edited volume.

**Vania and Anastasia
Stockholm and Los Angeles**



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PART I

**Transit Crime and Sexual
Violence**

An Introduction



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1

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN TRANSIT ENVIRONMENTS

Aims, Scope, and Context

Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Vania Ceccato

Mobility and safety are important attributes of sustainable cities. A safe and inclusive environment enabling all to participate in urban life without fear of violence and intimidation is essential for sustainability (UN-Habitat Safe Cities, 2018). Indeed, making cities and human settlements safe is one of the key aspirations reflected in Goal 11 of the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN, 2019). A safe city is one that includes risk-free environments for all and which allows its residents to move around without fear of victimization. Such movement without fear should not only include transportation by private car, but since cities are looking to reduce single-car driving, also safe public transportation, cycling, and walking.

Yet sexual harassment and other forms of sexual violence in public spaces are everyday occurrences for women and girls around the world and a threat to the overall sustainability of the city. This lack of safety affects many women's ability to participate with no worry in school, work, and public life. Although violence in the private domain is now widely recognized as a human rights violation, violence against women and girls in public places still remains a largely neglected issue (UN Women, 2017). Recent international research has found that young women in many cities feel unsafe when using public transport and more than half have to regularly modify their behavior and avoid going into public spaces to reduce their risk of harassment (Goulds et al., 2018).

Whether the risk of victimization is real or not, empirical studies have long shown that lack of perceived safety in public places is more prevalent among women than men (Smith and Cornish, 2006; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2012). Fear may affect the way some women engage in travel, leading them to take precautionary measures and strategies that, in turn, influence their travel patterns and constrain their mobility (Lynch and Atkins, 1988). These strategies range from

the adoption of certain behavioral mechanisms when in public to choosing specific routes, travel modes, and transit environments over others, or to completely avoiding particular settings and activities (for example, walking, bicycling, or taking the bus) deemed as unsafe.

Feminist theories have problematized the triad of gender, mobility, and transport, emphasizing that they intersect and influence one another in deep and complex ways (Cresswell and Uteng, 2008). Feminist interest stems from the recognition that one's ability to move in the city denotes freedom, while contrastingly, hindrance of movement and travel signifies exclusion (Hanson, 2010). On the one hand, mobility/immobility impacts the power relations and dynamics embedded in gender; on the other hand, gender affects mobility and transport, differentiating travel patterns and behavior (Hanson, 2010; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2016). Women's mobility is often more affected than men's because of fear, and this reflects and reinforces patterns of inequality between genders (Massey, 1994).

In the era of the #MeToo movement, researchers, journalists, and policymakers are finding that a particular hindrance on women's mobility is their fear of sexual harassment while traveling, especially when using public transport. Such fear stems from a reality that seems quite universal, as incidents of sexual harassment are being reported on buses and trains in cities around the world, and "transit rapes" in New Delhi, Rio, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia have generated public outrage in the past (Best, 2013; Romero, 2013). As explained in a Washington Post article titled "Why the #MeToo movement is a public transportation issue," many instances of sexual harassment for women commonly happen in public transportation settings. According to the article: "For many, it's a depressing but foregone conclusion: If you're a woman who rides public transportation, you're almost guaranteed to experience the kinds of demeaning or threatening encounters that fit squarely within the bounds of the #MeToo conversation" (Powers, 2017).

If public transportation is not reliable or safe, women's mobility is impaired (Ceccato, 2017a). Although women are most often the target of these types of behaviors, they are not the only victims. Studies have found evidence that gay men and transgender or non-gender conforming individuals are often victims of sexual harassment and violence in the São Paulo metro (Ceccato and Paz, 2017). This calls for a holistic approach to safety that encompasses an understanding of *the intersectionality* of victimization and fear, namely the idea that fear and victimization are not only influenced by gender but are rather a result of the intersection of an individual's characteristics. For instance, being a disabled young student creates synergetic layers of disadvantage that affect how one experiences the world and expresses fear (Ceccato, 2017b). In this book, victimization and fear are examined through an intersectional lens, considering not only gender or age, but also sexual orientation, and for some cities race/ethnicity and age differences (see also Chapter 23).

How cities are planned and designed also has a major impact on an individual's mobility and safety (Ceccato and Newton, 2015). If transportation environments such as train stations and bus stops are poorly designed and ill managed, they too can affect people's willingness to use them. They can also attract a number of crimes, including sexual violence (Ceccato, 2014; Ceccato et al., 2018). This is problematic since research has also found that, in some cities, especially those in the Global South, a large percentage of women are "transit captives," namely, they have relatively less access to non-public forms of transportation and are, therefore, overly reliant on public transport. For those with access to private cars, desolate bus stops or pedestrian paths in poorly designed environments may be just the last drop in their decisions to take a car to work instead. This issue is not only important because it affects people's safety but also because it influences the long-term sustainability of a city.

Aims, Scope, and Context

This book examines the evidence of victimization in transit environments, feelings of perceived safety or lack thereof, and the necessary improvements that can make transit safer and, hence, cities more sustainable. More specifically, the aim of the book is to characterize the dynamics of transit crime, in particular sexual harassment and violence, from the perspective of those who are most targeted by these offenses, namely young people. Focus is given to the relationship between safety and the types of environments that individuals are exposed to when they travel by transit. The book focuses on women but also adopts a more holistic approach by considering the *intersectionality of safety* of young adults as transit passengers; it presents examples from a variety of cities worldwide, giving voices to young people from several countries in the Global North and the Global South.

Studies find that the majority of the victims of sexual harassment on transit are young people. For this reason, the book focuses on university students in 18 cities. Around the world, the vast majority of university students are between 18 and 29, an age group that is affected more than other age groups from sexual harassment and assault (Beller et al., 1980; Tripathi et al., 2017). Additionally, the age group between 18 and 29 is one of the most active segments of the population, having special daily and nocturnal routine activities. Typically, university students also have lower incomes and lower car ownership rates in many cities than the general public and may have to rely on transit more extensively than many other urban residents. At the same time, researchers can reach large numbers of university students more easily than other groups through their universities. Indeed, some of the authors in this book were able to partner with campus transportation service departments or other university authorities and survey transit pass holders, thus increasing the likely yield of survey respondents. Lastly, university students are more similar to each other in age than the general

population, and this allows researchers to control for some factors in the analysis, and also have comparisons in the patterns of transit use and feelings of safety among students globally.

Studies show that the perception of personal security has a significant influence on travel patterns, and concern over lack of safety is an important reason why some individuals choose not to use transit (Hartgen et al., 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; DfT, 2004). It is then possible that concerns about safety constrain the mobility of some student segments, possibly leading them to avoid public transit, or only using it during certain hours. This may create a “gender gap” in mobility and cause transportation inequity as women are typically found to be more reluctant to walk, bike, or use public transit out of safety concerns (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2016). In addition to this social justice concern, cities around the world often wish to encourage the use of transit over the private automobile to avoid traffic congestion and also reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Indeed, some universities and municipal governments commonly provide transit pass subsidies or offer reduced transit fares to students to encourage transit use among them. If fewer students feel comfortable using transit, more students are likely to drive to campus, thus contributing to traffic congestion and lower air quality.

Definitions and Terms

In this section, we define the most common terms used in this edited volume. This set of definitions and terms is expected to support the reading of the chapters that follow.

Victimization and safety perceptions. In this book we adopted the two UN-Habitat dimensions of safety and security: actual and perceived. Actual safety/security refers to the risk of becoming a crime victim, measured by a variety of metrics and crime statistics, while perceived safety/security refers to people’s safety perception through the lens of fear and anxiety. In many cases, urban dynamics and socio-spatial characteristics have an influence on whether a city has high levels of crime and violence. Spatial, social, and economic fragmentation and exclusion feed insecurity and vice versa (UN-Habitat Safe Cities, 2018).

Public transport or public transportation is the term used here to capture what North American readers often call “public transit,” “mass transit,” or “rapid transit” systems (Newton, 2014, 709). These systems, such as trains, buses, and trams compose forms of transport that are available to the public, charge set fares, and run on fixed routes. In this book, the type of transit systems may vary from city to city.

Sexual offenses and crimes can be a vast array of sexual behaviors that range from sexual harassment to sexual assault. The boundaries between these types of acts are blurred (Figure 1.1). As early as in the 1990s, Cohan and Shakeshaft

(1995) distinguished between what they called “non-contact” and “contact” sexual violence. In the non-contact category, they included non-verbal sexual abuse and verbal sexual abuse, while in the contact category, they included sexual abuse such as touching, kissing, and rape.

In this study, we have used the following definitions:

Non-verbal sexual violence/abuse. It includes exhibitionism, showing sexually explicit pictures, or making sexual gestures.

Verbal sexual violence/abuse. It includes sexual comments, jeering or taunting, and asking questions about sexual activity.

Physical sexual violence/abuse. It may involve behaviors such as touching, kissing, and rape. Figure 1.1 illustrates a list of acts, which include a big array of sexual behaviors under the term “sexual violence/abuse.”

Whole journey approach to safety. A journey on public transportation does not only involve the bus ride or the trip by train; it also includes the journey from the point of origin to the transit stop/station and from this transit setting to the point of destination. Therefore, a whole journey perspective considers safety throughout the whole trip, from door to door, namely along all the environments an individual is exposed to when walking to the bus stop, waiting for

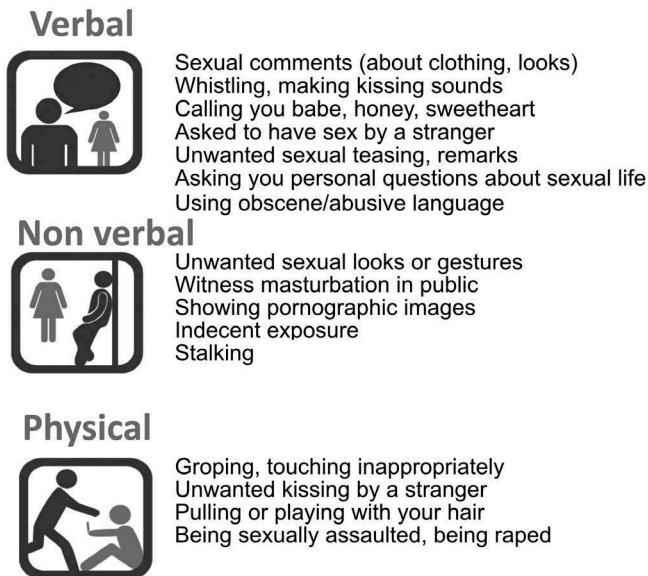


FIGURE 1.1 Types of sexual violence in public places

Source: Adapted from RedDot Foundation SafeCity initiative by Ceccato (2019).

the bus to come, inside the transit vehicle, changing transportation modes, arriving at a destination, and returning back home (Ceccato, 2019).

University students – also called *college students*. These are students in post-secondary education that attend a college or a university. The vast majority of them are between 18 and 29, with the exception of Stockholm, where the sample also included a fair amount of slightly older students. Young adults are affected more than other age groups by sexual harassment and assault (Beller et al., 1980).

Transportation nodes. We define them as places where people come together to (dis)embark on a trip in order to reach a destination. Transportation nodes can be bus stops, subway stations, or larger structures where several transportation modes come together, such as a central station or a transportation hub (Ceccato and Newton, 2015).

Transit environments/settings. These are settings where people carry out their goal of traveling using public transport. This definition captures the dynamics of daily life and includes the multiplicity of places transit riders may encounter during the trip. Transit environments include public access vehicles, bus stops, transit stations, transit routes, and their vicinities, including their parking lots and feeder areas.

Transit crime. Any crime that occurs in a transit environment can be considered a transit crime since most police recording systems do not identify transit crime as a unique classification in its own right. Smith and Clarke (2000) identify five typical crime categories in transit settings: (1) against persons, such as theft and assault; (2) crimes against employees; (3) vandalism and graffiti; (4) antisocial behavior; and (5) line route crimes (e.g. metal theft of track). Sexual violence has not been traditionally included in transit crime databases compiled by transit operators or special police forces. In Stockholm, for instance, these events are not collected as part of crime victimization in the metro system. In some transit systems around the world, sexual violence can be registered through hotlines or through reporting to transit staff at stations.

Chapter Synopsis

The book that follows is composed of four parts and 28 chapters. Part I consists of four chapters: Following this introductory chapter which presents the subject area, definitions, and scope, Chapter 2 presents a literature review, Chapter 3 discusses a number of criminological theories that provide the theoretical background for this study, while Chapter 4 describes the research design and common methodology shared by the contributors in the 18 cities.

Part II presents findings from the 18 case study cities – Tokyo, Guangzhou, and Manila in Asia; Melbourne in Australia; Lagos in Africa; Bogotá, São Paulo, and Rio Claro in South America; Los Angeles, San José, Vancouver,

and Mexico City in North America; and Stockholm, Huddinge, Lisbon, London, Paris, and Milan in Europe. Each case study chapter reports on eight common themes: (1) incidence of transit crime; (2) extent of harassment; (3) influence of gender (and in some cities sexual orientation) on harassment; (4) perceptions of safety in different transit environments; (5) influence of temporal characteristics of the setting on transit crime; (6) influence of spatial characteristics of the setting on transit crime; (7) respondents' suggestions for safer transit environments; and (8) recommendations for responding to sexual harassment on transit.

Part III is devoted to certain crosscutting themes, namely the influence of socio-demographic and environmental characteristics of the setting on transit crime and sexual violence, the incidence of reporting, and precautions taken by transit riders to avoid harassment. These topics have been chosen because they are theoretically relevant to the understanding of transit crime and sexual violence and have implications for practice. More specifically, Chapter 23 discusses how characteristics other than gender – such as race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and age – affect travel patterns and fear of transportation environments. The chapter draws empirical data from surveys with college students in São Paulo, San José, Huddinge, and Mexico City to examine how some of these factors play out among university students. Criminologists find that sexual crimes are vastly underreported. Chapter 24 draws from surveys with college students in Melbourne, Milan, Tokyo, and Rio Claro to examine the extent of crime reporting and how it differs among different gender groups in these cities. A number of studies have shown that different crimes take place under different environmental conditions. Chapter 25 draws from the literature as well as the empirical findings from surveys with college students in Bogotá, Los Angeles, Manila, and Stockholm to review how physical characteristics of transportation settings in these cities may influence the incidence of harassment. Chapter 26 looks at London, Paris, Guangzhou, Los Angeles, and Vancouver to examine how college students respond to sexual violence and in particular sexual harassment. Do they take precautionary measures? Do they adjust their behavior and activities? How do these responses differ from one city to the next?

Part IV offers an overview of the major comparative findings in Chapter 27 to assess the extent of transit crime and sexual violence in different cities of the world, and the similarities and differences that the empirical research encountered among cities. Lastly, the concluding Chapter 28 draws from the literature and the empirical findings to respond to three important questions: What can cities do to reduce fear and transit crime through research, design, and policy? How should we approach transit safety, taking into account different country contexts and Global South-North perspectives? How do we make transit safer for all groups, in particular for women and vulnerable groups? The chapter offers recommendations for policy and suggests a future research agenda.

Concluding Remarks

The aim of the book is to characterize the dynamics of transit crime, in particular sexual harassment and violence, from the perspective of those who are most targeted by these offenses, namely young people. The book focuses on women but also adopts a more holistic approach by considering the intersectionality of safety of young adults as transit passengers. Emphasis is given to the relationship between safety and the types of environments that individuals are exposed to when they travel but also the impact of lack of safety on women's mobility. The book constitutes perhaps the first edited volume devoted entirely to sexual violence in transit environments from a truly international and interdisciplinary perspective.

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NOTES

Chapter 4

- 1 https://maillist.sys.kth.se/mailman/listinfo/abe.kth.se_tcr-network
- 2 Survey: Women's Transit Safety is available on page 329.

Chapter 5

- 1 The definition of 'moral offenses' given by the police includes gambling, along with forcible indecency and public indecency. However, gambling in railway facilities is very rare, so the vast majority of these immoral offenses were for forcible indecency and public indecency.

Chapter 11

- 1 Data collection was facilitated by partners from UFABC-Santo André, UNICID-Tatuapé, Faculty São Judas Tadeu, Mackenzie, SENAC, EACH-USP, Anhanguera-Santo André, USP Law School, POLI-USP, and FFLCH-USP.
- 2 The choice for this racial categorization (white and/or Asian; black, mixed-race, and/or indigenous) was due to the size of the sample and the similarities these groups have in terms of socio-economic status and extent of discrimination suffered. Being Asian in Brazil is closer to being white than black, mixed-race, or indigenous. It is though important to recognize the discussion in Brazil concerning Asiatic feminists, and we do not intend to "erase" such identities and discussions.
- 3 The authors opted for joining some categories, in order to make the analysis easier. So, the answers of "always" and "often" were combined in one category, as well as "rarely" and "never," which were combined in another category.

Chapter 13

- 1 UCLA students can purchase quarterly transit passes from the University that allow them to ride buses and trains in the city at a significantly discounted price.

Chapter 18

- 1 In reality, this percentage is likely larger. A weakness of our survey as administered to students in Huddinge was that respondents could only choose one of three choices: male, female, or LGBTQI. Thus, some LGBTQI students may have only marked “male” or “female.”

Chapter 19

- 1 The gender violence survey was conducted in 2016 by a university with whom the City of Lisbon had contracted survey development, field work, and results analysis. However, the report has not been published yet.
- 2 Please note that the percentage of respondents who reported they had experienced sexual harassment was smaller than those who reported at least one type of particular harassment behavior – something that was consistent across respondents in many other cities presented in this book.
- 3 Lisbon’s Smart City Program involves the creation of an Intelligent Management Center and the implementation of data-based methods to ensure cooperation among several entities and effective, fast, and proactive responses to everyday problems.

Chapter 23

- 1 This small percentage is likely inaccurate. In the survey as administered to students in Huddinge respondents could only choose one of three choices: male, female, or LGBTQI. Thus, some LGBTQI students may have only marked “male” or “female.”
- 2 The higher percentage of LGBTQI reported in the São Paulo sample may represent a larger acceptance of the various sexual preferences among students within the São Paulo campus environment – even though discrimination still persists towards these individuals.

Chapter 26

- 1 A variable labelled “other” was also included in the survey as a possible response but this received only a few responses, and it was not included in the analysis presented here.
- 2 An important factor is that users were able to report multiple precautionary behaviors, thus one person could potentially have even ticked all 11 behaviors listed in the survey. The N is the number of respondents who reported taking at least one precaution.

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