Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict: the case of Santiago, Chile

Alfredo Rodríguez, Marisol Saborido and Olga Segovia

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Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict:
violence, cities and poverty reduction in the developing world

Alfredo Rodríguez is a city planner and Executive Director of SUR, Corporación de Estudios Sociales y Educación, Chile.

Marisol Saborido is an architect, international consultant, researcher and member of SUR Corporación de Estudios Sociales y Educación, Chile.

Olga Segovia is an architect and a researcher at SUR Corporación de Estudios Sociales y Educación, Chile.

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Abstract

This working paper presents the results of the research project on *Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict: violence, cities and poverty reduction in the developing world*, undertaken in Santiago, Chile. The paper consists of two sections: the *city profile* and the *sub-city study*.

The city profile uses secondary sources and is structured in two chapters. Chapter 1 presents changes in the city's structure that have developed over the last 40 years, identifying the tipping points that have marked the process of neoliberal urban development. Chapter 2 establishes what is understood by 'violence' and offers an analysis of the types and categories of urban violence in Santiago.

The sub-city study, Chapter 3, is presented in the second section of this working paper. This chapter describes results of the Participatory Violence Appraisal methodology applied in three urban areas of Santiago. The sub-city study identifies violence-related problems that affect women and men both in public places and in the home, tipping points and violence chains at the sub-city level, as well as institutions linked to violence in the three areas.

The sub-city study highlighted the fact that all three city areas evidence manifestations of *direct violence* that are economic, socio-economic and social in nature. Participants reported the existence of *violence against people* as well as *violence against property*. However, when asked about the causes of these violence-related problems, all of them ventured explanations revealing the existence of a much deeper and widespread problem rooted in *structural violence* and legitimated by *cultural violence*. This reality is clearly demonstrated by the three case studies.

Keywords: tipping point, violence chains, urban violence, structural violence, cultural violence, neoliberal urban development, Participatory Violence Appraisal, public spaces, private spaces.

Presentation

The changes that have occurred in Santiago over the course of the past 40 years are tied to the consolidation of a neoliberal political model in Chile that has increased economic and social inequalities. These inequalities are symptoms of an underlying conflict that is structural in nature (more visible in recent years) between winners and losers in relation to the distribution of benefits within the system. These winners and losers inhabit areas that are connected by chains of production and exploitation, which coordinate aspects of a city that is socially and physically fragmented. In such an unequal city there are conflicts, violence and a lack of safety differentiated according to place, class and gender.

Many indicators measuring the quality of life of the city's inhabitants have shown marked improvement, for example, in poverty levels. Nonetheless, the defining feature of life for inhabitants of Santiago is the existence of a structural inequality that persists and also becomes more severe. The resulting physical, social, economic and political changes are expressed in an unequal and heterogeneous fashion in urban spaces. These expressions of violence differ according to which neighbourhood people live in, the daily routes they travel, where they work, their income level, and whether they are women or men.

There are two important *tipping points* that can be identified in relation to this progressive change from a Social Welfare State to a Subsidiary State:

- The first, and more important crux, was the military coup in 1973 and the subsequent formation of a neoliberal state model in the country by the mid-70s.

- The second tipping point, which took place around 1990, was the beginning of the transition to democracy — which ended a sustained period of political violence. This second tipping point initiated a period lasting 20 years that was characterised by the implementation of diverse social and democratising policies. However, the neoliberal ideology instituted in the previous period went virtually unchanged.

The result of these opposing processes has been the maintenance of conflicts and inequalities that have created a city that is home to different forms of violence.

The conflicts are manifestations of violence that permeate social relations. They are just the tip of the iceberg of an indirect *structural violence* associated with the effects of economic and social policies that have restricted and, in some cases, obliterated the basic demands of the population. This is a violence directly connected to the quest for profit and increasing economic and social inequality.

This violence is also linked to forms of *cultural violence*, a violence that has legitimised the concentration of wealth, segregation and discrimination. It is precisely this type of violence that is subject to widespread public scrutiny today. Inhabitants of the city are challenging the commodification of education, the destruction of the environment, gender-based discrimination, etc.

According to the framework developed by Galtung and Moser, which forms the basis of our analysis, even though it is not necessarily obvious or easily observable, all of these different types of violence are inter-linked.

Increased inequality in terms of distribution of resources (e.g. incomes), as well as unequal access to education, health care and social security, are manifestations of a structural violence inextricably tied to the existence of acute social and spatial segregation in the city. In turn, this segregation translates into *cultural violence* — discrimination, classism and the fear of the 'other'. According to the data of the past 10 years, these forms of *cultural violence* are manifested in high levels of fear regarding

forms of *direct violence*, i.e. homicides, personal injury, robbery/theft, etc., as well as extremely low levels of trust in interpersonal relationships.

To avoid becoming victims of *direct violence*, women (especially those from low-income areas) refrain from carrying out certain activities and using/circulating in public places at night. Furthermore, the burden of family obligations coupled with the inordinate amount of women's time dedicated to domestic work (practically half the work day in the poorest areas) impede women's chances to improve their economic conditions and their possibilities for personal development. As such, there is a generalised inequality that is socially legitimised, constituting both *structural* and *cultural violence*. In sum, the use of space and time in the city is characterised by inequality based on class and gender.

The Participatory Violence Appraisal (PVA) methodology carried out in three areas of Santiago (El Castillo, low-income; Contraloría, middle-income; La Dehesa, high-income) demonstrates that the violence that occurs in Santiago has different manifestations depending on class, gender and place. All the problems identified in these areas are related to the neoliberal model and its consequences — a set of severe economic and social inequalities that unleash diverse forms of violence and violence chains. This means exclusion and a lack of opportunities for some (El Castillo); accumulation of wealth and 'a fear of the have-nots' for others (La Dehesa); and an intermediate sector that struggles ceaselessly to improve its lot, dedicating a great amount of time to work and suffering high levels of stress and family breakdown as a result (Contraloría).

These differences became evident throughout the PVA, as participants identified violence-related problems associated with *direct violence* against property and people. However, when asked about the causes of these violence-related problems, participants in all three areas ventured explanations that revealed the existence of *structural* and *cultural violence*.

* * *

This working paper, which presents the results of the research *Understanding the tipping point of urban violence* as carried out in Santiago, consists of two main sections: *Part I, City Profile* which includes Chapter 1, Santiago as a neoliberal city; and Chapter 2, An analysis of the types and categories of urban violence in Santiago; and *Part II: Sub-City Study* with Chapter 3, a study of violence in three areas of Santiago — El Castillo, Contraloría and La Dehesa — that presents the results of the Participatory Violence Appraisal conducted in these neighbourhoods.

Part I
City Profile

Chapter 1

Santiago, a Neoliberal City[1]

The 1973 military coup d'état was a tipping point for Chilean history. The civil violence[2] (crimes against humanity) perpetrated by the Armed Forces and the right wing had no precedents in the history of the country or of the city of Santiago. Examples of this are the bombing of the Presidential Palace, with the suicide of the President of the Republic; the declaration of a state of war against an internal enemy that was concentrated in cities which were under military occupation; the mass arrests of political authorities and social leaders, many of whom were detained and disappeared, or assassinated; the intervention in municipal administration, and the suppression of social movements and political parties[3].

The discourses and practices of state violence and terror displayed after the coup were partially, but strongly, criticised both in the country and internationally. However, there was not a similar criticism of the discourses and practices of control and discipline in the cities nor of the military government's preference for the principles promoted by the University of Chicago School of Economics.

Civil violence gave way to violence against the social body. As Harvey (2007:7-9) notes, Chile was the first country to implement a neoliberal platform, and this was instigated by force, during a military dictatorship, which took place long before the Washington Consensus. In Chile, from 1975, a model was imposed based on policy changes such as: i) the opening of the economy, which until 1973 had been closed and labelled a mono-exporter; ii) the liberalisation of prices and markets; iii) the privatisation of public enterprises; iv) the deregulation and flexibilisation of labour, together with the expansion of the markets; v) fiscal adjustment, and the ending of industrial policies; and vi) market deregulation (Martínez & Díaz 1995: 46-66). These drastic transformations, that converted the social state into a subsidiary state in the context of a military regime, were expressed in a violent way in the city's social structure as well as in its inhabited space.

Martínez and Díaz (1995) note that, between 1973 and 1990, there were two key instances in the destructive phase of the neoliberal restructuring:

A first foundational period (1973-1983), in which a radical program of free market policies was applied, under the influence of the University of Chicago School of Economics, was well known for its anti-Keynesianism. This phase, marked by two large recessions (1974-1975 and 1982-1983), involved free trade, the elimination of state control, and the privatisation of public services, among other measures. In 1979, the military government implemented a wave of privatisations referred to as "social modernisation". In this way the regulation of access to social goods and services (housing, health, education) was passed from the state to the market, in the context of the principle of the subsidiary state (Tironi, Vergara & Baño 1988).

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[1] Section prepared by Alfredo Rodríguez and Paula Rodríguez. Translated by Silvia Arana, with the collaboration of William J. Gills.

[2] In this section we use the term 'civil' violence to refer to the kinds of violence defined as 'delitos' (crimes) by the Civil Code, and 'social' violence to name structural or cultural violence (Galtung 2004). See Chapter 2, Section 2.1.

[3] According to the data of the Registro de la Vicaría de la Solidaridad, recorded between 1973 and 1988, the State was responsible for 81,051 detentions, 1,008 disappearances, and 2,100 deaths for political reasons.

A second instance, between 1983 and 1990, began with the economic crisis of 1982-1983. The intensification and consolidation of the neoliberal model took place during this period. With that goal in mind, adjustments were made, which were necessary to advance towards an export economy, with the objective of consolidating the market system and the subsidiary state — a process based on a huge external debt. In the context of agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, public enterprises, including those managing pension funds and health care, were subject to a second wave of privatisations.

The 1988 plebiscite and the 1989 presidential elections marked further tipping points for the country as well as for the city of Santiago. Faced with the alternative either to turn back the neoliberal process introduced by the dictatorship or to continue it, the political response was to continue — "with a human face". At that time the roll-back phase mentioned by Theodore, Peck and Brenner (2009) had ended. Since the late 1980s — and decidedly during the 1990s — the city has been subject to the neoliberal creation phase, the roll-out as well as the later phase of "inclusive neo-liberalism" (human face neo-liberalism) or the subsidiary system (Ruckert 2009). During this period one observes the dominant presence of a deregulated capitalism, with unequal outcomes, in different sectors of the national and urban economies, especially in the capital city, Santiago.

Table 1.1 shows some general values of the changes that have taken place in the city over the last 40 years. The population has doubled, the city has expanded, the country's economic activity is still concentrated, poverty has been significantly reduced, the economic base of the city has undergone a radical change, the industrial work force has decreased, and the number of those working in the service sector has increased.

Table 1.1 Santiago 1970 to 2010: population, area, poverty, work force

Santiago		1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
City's population, approximate		3 million	4 million	5 million	5.4 million	6.1 million
Total country population %						38.8%
Total country urban population %						44.8%
Area covered by the city (hectares)		31,800 ha			64,000 ha	80,000 ha
National GDP %		47.6%	44.9%	44.8%	48.1%	42.5% (2006)
Poverty % of the total population			38.7%	33.0	15.1%	11.5%
Homicide rate – country – (PAHO)				2.9	5.2	3.3
Homicide rate Santiago (PDI)						4.1
Economic structure: Urban work force %	Industry	30.8%		21.8%		15.7%
	Transport and Communication	5.1%		6.9%		11.9%
	Services	30.7%		37.5%		43.1%

Source: Prepared by the authors.

In the following section, we review critically neoliberal urban policies and the shifts that have taken place, and we try to assess both the gains and losses experienced by the city's inhabitants as a consequence of this process.

1. Neoliberal urban policies

1.1 The struggle for the city: the project of a social state

In Chile, since the mid-1930s, the project of a social state had been the sum and substance of the country's economic development. This meant the expansion of economic, social and political rights and freedoms.

In this context, the decade from the 1960s up to 1973 — the year of the military coup — was a period of robust social transformations during which, through different state policies, two important sectors of society, industrial workers and the inner city poor *(pobladores)* (that until that time had been marginalised) were incorporated into social and political spheres.

Santiago, as the political and administrative seat of the government, where industrial activity had been concentrated, grew, attracting a large population which, since the 1940s, had been migrating from the country to the city, strengthening a unionised urban working class associated with political parties. With the rapid and massive growth of the urban population, public housing policies and programmes were overwhelmed: they were not able to cover the housing needs of the migrants and poor city inhabitants who, as a result, built precarious structures, that failed to comply with regulations, in marginal lands. Thus, the *pobladores* burst upon the city scene with a claim to their right to the city: the informal occupation of land, and the construction of organised, but *campamentos* (precarious settlements), which were massive by the end of the 1960s.

The city, during this period, was a disputed territory for those who were excluded. They occupied the city space, its geography, and they presented themselves as social actors before the state and the private sector. This occupation of the city space revealed old conflicts, like those created by social exclusion, by limited housing policies, and by what by H. Lefebvre (1978) at that time called "the right to the city".

The 1972 map of the camp locations in Santiago, which appears below, shows the magnitude of this phenomenon in the city. The *pobladores* transformed the visible face of Santiago, and put pressure on a state ideologically porous to their demands.

Figure 1.1 Location of 310 camps in Santiago, 1972
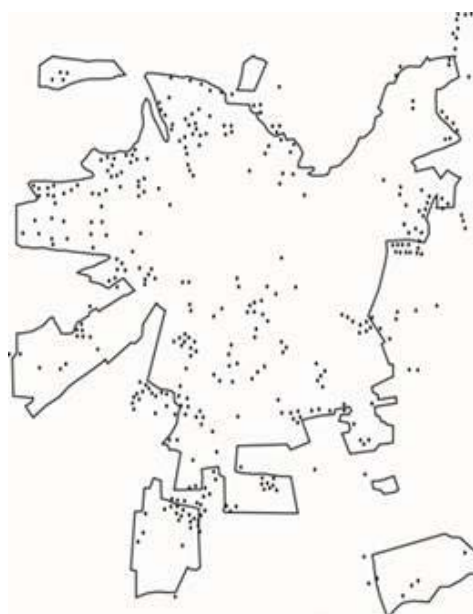
Source: Castells (1987): 91.

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This process of land occupation intensified in 1973. According to data from the Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo (Minvu) [Ministry of Housing and Urbanism], when the coup d'état happened, there were 390 camps in Santiago, with an estimated population of between 500,000 and 630,000 people. On the other hand, approximately 400 industries had been expropriated or transferred to their workers (Morales & Rojas 2009).

1.2   Dismantling the social state

According to Hackworth (2007: 8), the neoliberal model, understood as a *process,* is based on: i) a negative reaction to social equality and to the Keynesian Welfare State, ii) the primacy of the individual and the market over community interests; and iii) a state that apparently does not intervene, but in practice really does.

In Chile, following the dictums of the Chicago School, the social state was criticised as 'inefficient'. In order to correct such a diagnostic, its direction was changed from social orientation with redistribution of wealth and social welfare to a state focused on economic growth and support of the private sector, with its corollary of private gain. With this change of direction, the state lost many of the attributes that it had possessed until then, but not its central role in the national economy.

Following the same line of thought, in 1979 the military government promulgated a National Policy for Urban Development (PNDU) to connect a sectorial urban policy with a neoliberal market economy (Trivelli 2009). At the core of this policy was the creation of a rent gap that fixed the value of land in accordance with its most lucrative use. It began when Arnold Harberger, Director of the School of Economics, University of Chicago, was hired in 1978 as consultant by the Minvu. Harberger promoted a *rational* model of planning that assumed, among other things, that: i) urban land is not a scarce resource; ii) flexible systems of planning should be applied with minimum state intervention; iii) restrictions should be eliminated in order to increase the growth of urban areas, following market trends. He argued that urban constraints distort the land market; that horizontal growth should be given priority over vertical growth; and that cities grow in a *natural* way, a process that ought to be understood from market signals, and form the base for Minvu's action (Harberger 1978).

All of the above was expressed in the PNDU of 1979. Among its written principles were: i) a flexible system of planning with a minimum of state intervention, based on technical norms and generic procedures, will be applied; ii) projects that promote the renovation of deteriorated areas (gentrification) will be supported by legislation; and iii) the state will promote and support the creation of an open housing market, under the aegis of the private sector.

1.3   The bases of the new urban order (1973-1985)

The bases of the new urban order were established during the first years of the dictatorship, and their results can be observed today. These bases promoted a city with clear territorial limits, with no blurred boundaries; a city — its infrastructure, its services — transformed into a business opportunity; and a new source of resources for real-estate investment, i.e., the now privatised pension funds. During this period, the civic organisations were repressed and dismantled; the municipal territories were subdivided; the property rights over urban land were regularised, creating the basis for the land market; and the privatisation of enterprises relating to urban infrastructure was initiated.

a)   Social organisations were taken apart and repressed

During the military dictatorship, the existing social, economic and political organisations of the city were taken over. Neighbourhood associations, sport clubs, and centres for mothers were allowed to exist, but their apolitical nature was highlighted. Union organisation was initially banned, and then later put under constraint by restrictive laws as well as by a deindustrialisation model that diminished the political weight of the

working class. Thus, any potential reaction or opposition to the new regime was kept under control. The brutality of the initial repression generated fear among the population in lower-class neighbourhoods, and for a long time this inhibited any kind of reaction against the military regime. It is worth remembering that in Santiago a curfew was applied, with restricted movement at night time, which lasted for 13 years.

b)   Reordering the political-administrative functions of the municipalities

One of the first measures of the military regime was the suppression of municipality operations. The local authorities were suspended and replaced with military personnel. From a geopolitical perspective, the dictatorship reorganised the municipal territories of Santiago. The legal instrument for this was Decree N° 575, Regionalisation of the Country (07/13/1974), that created 13 regions nationally, 51 provinces and 335 communes (Hardy 2009: 144); the previous structure of 25 provinces and 96 departments was modified via this decree[4].

The old province of Santiago was replaced by the Metropolitan Region of Santiago (RMS), or the XIII Region. Since 1974, the RMS has been made up of 6 provinces (Chacabuco, Cordillera, Maipo, Melipilla, Santiago and Talagante), and 52 municipalities.

While the 1974 Decree of Regionalisation was formulated with the objective of decentralisation, which was based on the military government's criticism about the "inadequacy of the relation between state, society, and economy" (Hardy 2009: 144), the new administrative structure was made up of decentralised institutions in the territories, with autonomous budgets, that were — and still are — dependent on the authorities named by the Executive, i.e. by the central government. Such is the case of the *Intendentes* (the higher authority in the regions), and of the governors (the higher authority in the provinces). As Rodríguez (2009) points out, the criterion for this operation was social homogeneity; and the strategic objective was to put the city 'in order'.

The territories of the 14 municipalities in the Santiago Metropolitan Area were restructured in 1973 (in some cases they were subdivided; in other cases, areas of some were incorporated into the areas of others), creating 32 municipalities[5]. The reason given for this was that the social work attributed to the municipalities would be better served in territories that were socially and economically homogeneous, as each of the newly created municipalities would be. Candidly stated: the established political-administrative structure matched the socio-economic structure: a few municipalities for the rich, some others for the middle class, and still others for the poor.

c)   The reorganisation of the urban land market

Between 1979 and 1985 the question of the ownership of the 390 *campamentos*[6] that existed in Santiago was resolved. In contrast to other Latin American countries, where the processes of land ownership regulation referred to its possession by the current occupant, in Santiago it involved the return of the land to its former owner. This criterion, in addition to the premise that the *campamentos* had been politically organised, was the foundation for a large geo-political operation: in a period of three to five years more

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[4] Today, the country is divided into 15 regions numbered from North to South: Arica y Parinacota (XV), Tarapacá (I), Antofagasta (II), Atacama (III), Coquimbo (IV), Valparaíso (V), O'Higgins (VI), Maule (VII), Biobío (VIII), Araucanía (IX), Los Ríos (XIV), Los Lagos (X), Aysén (XI), Magallanes (XII), and Región Metropolitana (XIII).

[5] The creation of the new municipal territories took place before 1982. However, several of these new municipalities were established only after the municipal elections of 1992, which confirms the structural continuity of the reforms initiated during the dictatorship, and which were consolidated during the democratic transition.

[6] At the time, the "campamentos" were poor urban settlements born from informal occupations of land carried out by organised groups of families. Initially, those groups were related to political organisations.

than 179,000 people were displaced, their former settlements destroyed, and relocated to new sites, without preserving their neighbourhoods or their previous organisations. As shown in Figure 1.2, the inhabitants of the *campamentos* were not only moved, but also dispersed, i.e., distributed from their provisional homes to social housing projects on the outskirts of Santiago. In this manner, the basis of the future real-estate market in the city was established: the more expensive areas were cleaned — freed of precarious low-income settlements, and the low-income population was concentrated in the southern and western zones of the city. This dispersion dislocated the social and urban basis of the political parties that had supported President Allende's government.

Thus, the social space shared by the community was eliminated, and the city periphery was created or enlarged, as indicated by Morales y Rojas ([1987] 2009):

> *The relocation of the urban poor to specific communes in the city meant not only the elimination of clusters of poverty, settled in campamentos in areas near the administrative centre and the high and middle class residential communes, but also the rupture of the social consensus that, from this particular angle, implied to a certain degree, the sharing of the communal space, or the acceptance in fact of a cohabitation between different social sectors. (p. 138)*

Figure 1.2 Eradication of pobladores from campamentos in the Santiago Metropolitan Area by commune; from origin to destination, 1979-1985
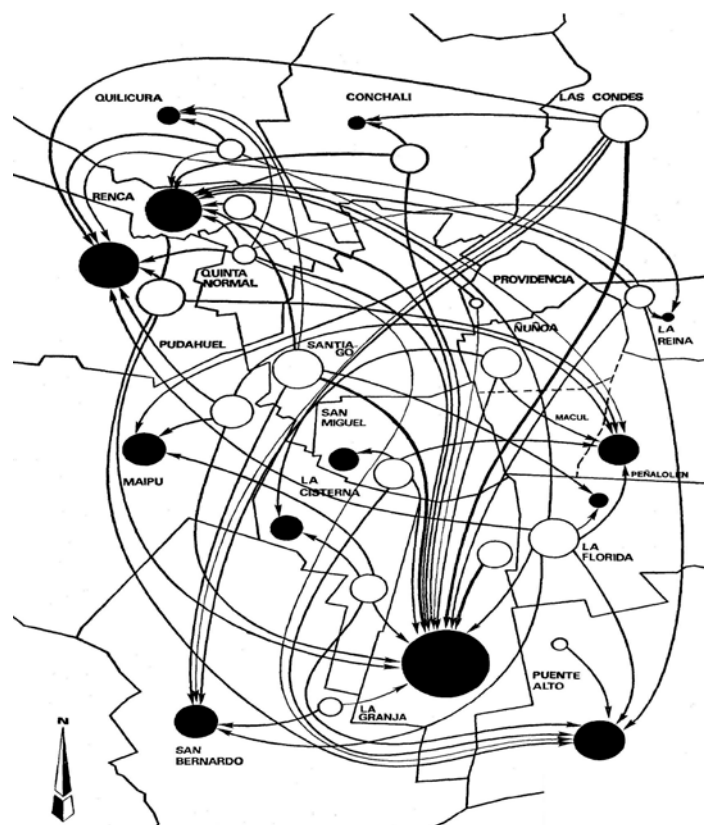
Source: Morales y Rojas (2009): 139

d)   Privatisation of public urban services

Education: Under the guise of decentralisation, the public education system was dismantled and its operation was transferred to the municipalities and the private sector. A system based on the notion that education was a right guaranteed by the state through a free public education system from pre-school through to college, was shifted to the current system, which puts the responsibility for the education of sons and daughters in the hands of their families. Families, depending on their resources, could "opt" — "have the freedom", in the language of the time — to send their children to municipal, subsidised-private or private educational institutions, with large differences in quality between them.

Health: A similar approach to the public health system, which was privatised, created a dual system with public and private funding. Public health insurance for low-income workers and indigents was offered through the National Health Fund (Fonasa). Private insurance for mid- and high-income sectors was offered through Isapres (health care institutions). At the same time, primary health care was transferred to the municipalities, which had to cover part of the costs.

Garbage collection, drinking water, electricity, gas: During this period, services such as garbage collection were privatised. Until then they had been dependent on the municipalities or the Ministry of Public Works. Thus the basis for the later privatisation of other urban infrastructure services was established. The former state enterprises for electricity, drinking water and gas were transformed first into autonomous public enterprises, and then, at the end of the 1980s, into private companies[7]. As to water resources, it is worth pointing out that they were ceded free of charge and in perpetuity to the private sector, through the Water Code of 1981 (Larraín 2006).

e)   Privatisation of pension funds

Until 1980, the social security system in Chile was public and pensions for retirees were based on the contributions of the economically active population and those from the State. At that time, the current system of individual capitalisation of pensions was established and made mandatory for all salaried workers. This system is managed by private financial enterprises called Pension Fund Management Companies (AFP) that at the beginning totalled 12 organisations. Today, due to mergers and concentrations, there are only six AFP that manage more than 150 billion dollars in financial instruments. The investment funds linked to the AFP have, since the mid-1990s, enabled the creation of a strong real-estate sector, as well as a financial sector to support housing policies.

1.4   The expansion of the model (1985-2000)

The above-mentioned territorial arrangements and economic transformations — eradication of *campamentos*, a new municipal structure, privatisation of public services and infrastructure, the creation of investment funds — allow us to explain the current city order, its socio-economic and symbolic fractures, and the new forms of violence. The return to governments elected by democratic vote, beginning in 2000, did not reverse the direction formed by these arrangements: just the opposite; in some cases the new structures have been reinforced. Examples of this will be detailed below.

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[7] Graciela Moguillansky (1997), referring to the privatisation of the electric companies writes, "The CEPAL study (1994a) based on diverse data, shows that 'the authorities linked to the decision and the operations concerning the privatisations (including army officers and executives of the public enterprises) were legally able to take advantages of stock offerings at preferential prices and conditions, and use their access to special information about the enterprises to make the decision to acquire additional stock using commercial credit'."

a)   The municipalities: The fragmentation of social policies

The subdivision of municipal territories in the Metropolitan Region established during the dictatorship was maintained; and with the approaching municipal elections of 1992, the entire political administrative design proposed by the regime was established: today's 35 communes of Santiago[8]. The transfer of health and education services was preserved without noticeable change, despite their budget deficits. The role assigned to the municipalities as simply administrative entities of the communes — instead of local government — was not questioned; and above all their role as unique instruments in the application of public social policies (subsidies, bonds, etc.) was kept, and this has limited the universal nature of these policies reinforcing the image of the mayor as local political boss.

b)   Housing policy: housing finance policy

The greatest success of the dictatorship's policies and that of the subsequent governments has been the housing subsidy system ("*sistema de subsidio habitacional*")[9].

However, time has shown that the system has been successful as a way to finance the construction of small, low quality, and poorly-located homes. It was not a housing policy. It was a good deal for the construction companies, and eventually, a bad deal for the "beneficiaries". A number of recent studies have demonstrated that a large part of the 486 housing groups built during those years in Santiago are now practically ghettos (Poduje 2010; Rodríguez & Sugranyes 2005; Ducci 2000). Thus, large areas of degraded housing were created in the northern and western peripheries of the city, repeating the same spatial pattern that had been initiated by the eradications of *campamentos*.

c)   Privatisation of public works, express toll highway: real-estate boom

In the 1990s the privatisation of businesses relating to urban infrastructure, a process initiated during the dictatorship, became widespread. Thus, all the enterprises that generated and distributed electricity, the companies that produced drinking water, and the sewage treatment companies, were transferred to the private sector.

Additionally, a concession system was designed for the construction of an urban freeway network in Santiago — connecting the city with national highways (also supported by construction concessions).

During those years, real-estate activity was established as the main engine of the city's growth and expansion. Until then, building contractors and developers walked different paths, and were even competitors. But the freeway concessions together with financial capital (the private pension funds) launched a new mode of city development: *freeways plus urbanisation plus big projects*. Thus, the compact city of the past was permanently broken, and today's fragmented city was born.

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[8] One must remember that Santiago, in political-administrative terms, is not a city, but a set of 32 autonomous communes in the province of Santiago, plus the communes of San Bernardo (Maipo province), Puente Alto (Cordillera province), and Colina (Chacabuco province). The Regional Intendente is the political authority of the Metropolitan Region, but not of the communes. In this sense, the application of social policies through the figure of the mayor maintains and consolidates the fragmentation of the city.

[9] The housing subsidy is a financing system for the purchase of homes, which is granted to each family individually, and consists of three elements: family savings, a monetary subsidy, and a bank loan. This system has been in operation since 1978. Thanks to this system more than 500,000 social housing units have been built in the country, with more than 230,000 units in Santiago alone between 1980 and 2002.

2. Changes in Santiago between 1970 and 2010

2.1 Changes in the urban structure of the city

The urban structure of the city has changed. If in 1970 Santiago was a compact city, by 2010 it had become a scattered city that spreads out through a network of freeways managed by concessionaires. The downtown area has lost its importance, and a large part of commercial activity and many central services have moved to new sub-centres and shopping centres, first towards the high-income areas, and later to the rest of the city, following the new road networks and the subway lines.

Table 1.2 Changes in Santiago's urban structure 1970-2010

	Santiago 1970 / compact city	Santiago 2010 / scattered city
Centre(s)	A single centre, planned sub-centres	A weakened centre, new sub-centres (shopping centres, malls, business city)
Road network	Centripetal radial network Beginning of Metro (subway) construction	Network of urban freeways supported by concessions Centrifugal network generating the expansion of the real-estate market Metro network, 5 lines
Social housing	Land occupations: *campamentos* *Campamentos* located in the city, seen as a threat	*Campamentos* eradicated, and scattered in the outskirts of the city. Clusters of deteriorated social housing: ghettos, hidden in the city, forgotten
Public transport	Empresa de Transportes Colectivos del Estado: subsidised public transport system	Transantiago: private system with public subsidy
Urban structure	Planned compact city	Market oriented Scattered, fragmented, segregated city
Education, health services	State, public, free	Privatised, run by municipalities

Source: Prepared by the authors.

In this process of changes in the city structure, two features stand out:

First, the deregulation of urban guidelines and reduction to a minimum of urban planning. Beginning in the 90s, and with greater intensity since 2000, in order to favour construction activity, a large portion of the guidelines for construction and urbanisation became more flexible, with the initiative left to the real-estate agencies. Thus, a great push to expand the city was created, responding to the additional profits that the companies would reap by converting agricultural lands into urban lands. As a result, during the 90s the city expanded towards the north, through the Chacabuco Plan[10], and in the 2000s towards the west and south.

Second, the construction of urban concession highways began in the mid-90s. The design of the toll freeways has partially followed the city's transit and transport guidelines, but mostly obeyed the proposals of the concessionaires. As pointed out by Poduje & Yáñez (2009), the outline of the freeways in the city's periphery was linked to the residential mega-projects. The new network of freeways in concession has been the

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[10] The Chacabuco Plan incorporated into the urban area of Santiago a semi-rural zone of "second home" plots (5,000 square meters) shifting from a density of 10 to 150 people per hectare. See Poduje and Yáñez (2009).

basis for the expansion of new housing development and real-estate investment in the city's periphery.

2.2 Changes in the productive structure of the city

The city's productive structure has also significantly changed. At the end of the 1960s, Santiago was a city with an industrial base, and a labour force with a strong worker presence. The unionised workers and working class parties were important political actors in the city's public life. This situation has changed. Table 1.3 shows the loss of the relative importance of the industrial sector in the city. Today Santiago is a city of services.

Table 1.3 Changes in the productive structure of the Metropolitan Region 1967, 1995, 2005 (percentages of GDP)

Sectors	1967		1994		2005	
Agriculture, hunting and fishing	6.5	6.9	4.2	4.5	1.2	2.2
Mining	0.4		0.3		1.0	
Industry	30.8	36.9	21.8	29.5	17.9	27.0
Construction	5.2		6.9		7.3	
Electricity, gas, and water	0.9		0.8		1.8	
Commerce	20.4	56.2	21.6	66.0	15.7	70.8
Transport and communications	5.1		6.9		11.9	
Services	30.7		37.5		43.1	
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1967 and 1994: De Mattos (1999: 3); 2005: Banco Central:
http://www.bcentral.cl/publicaciones/estadisticas/actividad-economica-gasto/aeg07.htm
(Consulted April 4 2011).

This change in the productive structure of the Santiago Region has had important political and social repercussions. The former industrial working class organised in unions has lost importance. The quality of employment is different: most of the new jobs in the service sector are deregulated, without control or contracts. This situation has led to a reduction in the rate of unionisation, and to a fragmentation of the labour force, all of this reinforced by legislation that does not allow employees to engage in collective bargaining.

2.3 Changes in the distribution of income in the city, 1970-2010

The 60s and early 70s represented a period not only of democratisation, but also of greater social and economic equality. The military coup ended that trend, and from then on the concentration of income increased.

Graph 1.1, showing the evolution of the Gini coefficient for income distribution in Santiago, summarises the political-social history of the city. During the 60s, the distribution of income became increasingly more equitable. The coup d'état, and the beginning of the military regime, evince the tipping point at which the trend towards equality was annulled. From then on, a higher concentration of income — with highs and lows — would become stabilised.

Graph 1.1   Santiago, evolution of the Gini coefficient from 1960 to 2010
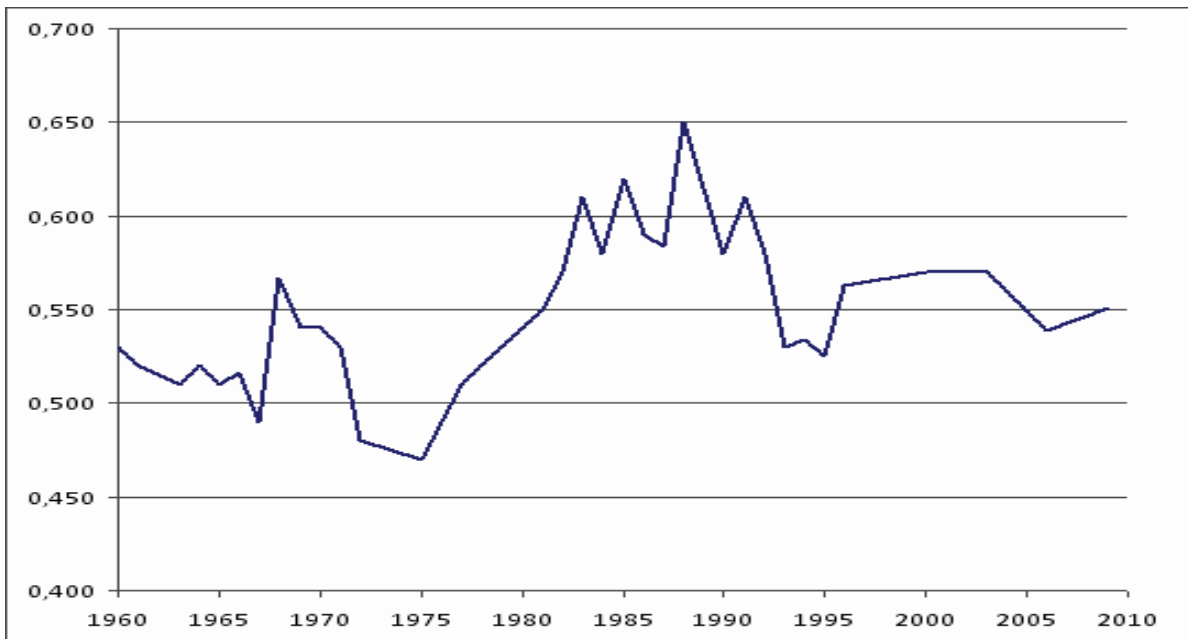
It is important to bear in mind that income inequality is a structural feature of Santiago. If the average values in relation to the city's economic activity, employment and poverty were reviewed, the understandable conclusion that things are going well would be erroneous. For example, the annual growth rate of Santiago nears 5.8 percent (2007), which is above the national rate (4.6 percent). In addition to this, macro-indices of poverty have decreased since the 1980s for the Metropolitan Region of Santiago (RMS): from 38.7 percent in 1987 to 11.5 percent in 2009. In 2003, 10.2 percent of the total RMS population was located below the poverty line; this figure decreased to 8.2 percent in 2006; and increased slightly to 8.8 percent in 2009. But, in fact, the Gini coefficient for income distribution in Santiago shown in the graph above — among other facts — reveals something different.

3.   A balance: gains and losses

Today, 40 years after the military coup, for some people things are going well in Santiago, but not for others. It is true that there have been significant positive changes over recent decades; however, such progress has not happened in equal measure for everyone. And for some, the changes have not been positive at all.

From the point of view of what interests this study, that of violence, Santiago — as we mentioned before — is a civilly safe city.[11] We are referring to the fact that, even though it is almost impossible to know the actual indices of transgressions committed in the city (a common situation in many cities of the region), the figures for acts considered crimes are considerably lower than those for other Latin American cities. In spite of this reality, Santiago is a *socially* insecure city, because many people living in the city have seen their social status diminished in recent decades — with all the losses that this implies — as a consequence of the dismantling of the social state (Castel 2004).

Table 1.4 Indicators of gains and losses

Gains	Losses
Reduction of poverty	Concentration of income, greater inequality
Physical improvements in the city: better equipped infrastructure: drinking water, sewerage system, electricity	The city is for those that deserve (can afford) it. Cost of tariffs for public services
Reduction of housing deficit	New housing projects converted into ghettos
Greater education coverage: less illiteracy, more years of compulsory education	Education differentiated according to income Poor quality of municipal education
Greater health coverage: extension of services	Differences between private health care (Isapres) and public health care (Fonasa)
Greater life expectancy	Differences between pension fund systems
Increase in rate of salaried employment	Labour flexibility as a precarious form of work
	Small-scale drug trafficking in vulnerable neighbourhoods

Source: Prepared by the authors.

The political and social changes have been reflected in the city's inhabited space. Santiago is a socially and spatially segregated city. Since the late 70s of the last century, the city has been progressively segregated through the implementation of different policies. To the first form of segregation (high-income municipalities *vs.* low-income municipalities) has been added another kind of segregation: in recent years, municipal zones have been created where both low-income housing and high-income housing can be found, but this latter as enclosed, gated neighbourhoods.

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[11] The homicide rate in Santiago is 4.1 per 100,000 inhabitants (Policía de Investigaciones de Chile, 2011).

Chapter 2

Violence and Insecurity in Santiago[12]

Based on a description of the process of political, economic and social transformations that have taken place in the city of Santiago de Chile over the last 40 years provided in chapter one, the contents of this chapter consider: i) a conceptual framework that defines and identifies different kinds of urban violence in Santiago, incorporating the concepts of *tipping points* and *chains of violence*; and ii) analysis of secondary information about violence at a city level, disaggregated at a district level and corresponding to the socio-economic sectors selected for fieldwork.

1.   Conceptual framework

Table 2.1 Conceptual framework for flow of violence from inequalities and conflict

Current violence and insecurity in Santiago is related to a neoliberal political, social and economic structure that has exacerbated inequalities.

Structural conflict: inequality between winners and losers (gains and losses).

Social, economic and political-institutional violence…

… which is expressed in direct, structural and cultural violence.

Santiago is presently a fragmented social and physical space in which **violence and insecurity, differentiated by location, class and gender,** are made manifest.

1.1   Types of violence

According to Moser (2004), most definitions of violence say it is "the use of physical force that causes damage to others" in order to impose the will of the person inflicting it. However, she indicates that there are "more extensive definitions that go beyond physical violence and consider actions that cause psychological damage, material deprivation and symbolic disadvantages to be violence". This takes us to Galtung (2004), who indicates that the phenomenon of violence can be compared to an iceberg, in that the visible part is much smaller than the unseen portion. He proposes the existence of three forms of violence — direct, cultural, and structural — and suggests the concept of a 'triangle of violence' to represent the relations existing between them:

Figure 2.1 Visible and invisible levels of violence
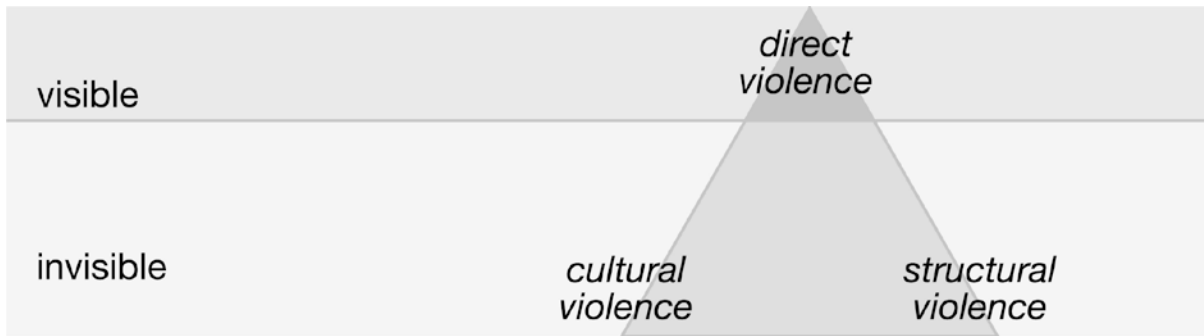
Direct violence, which is visible, is embodied in behaviour and occurs when one or more persons inflict physical or psychological acts of violence on other people. It can be physical, verbal and/or psychological, is inflicted by an aggressor or intentional agent (a person) and is suffered by a living being that is physically hurt or injured. This refers to an abuse of authority, an action that generally takes place in asymmetrical relationships. According to Galtung, this is the *manifestation* of something, not the *origin*.

In a circumscribed sense, the notion of direct violence refers to that which harms people or their goods (property), called *civil violence* by Robert Castel (2004). This corresponds to types of violence against people and goods that society recognises as offences; an example of this would be those offences considered in Chile as having great social repercussions.[13]

Structural violence, which is invisible, is not enacted by individuals but is hidden to a greater or lesser extent in structures that do not facilitate or hamper the satisfaction of needs, and specifically becomes manifest in the negation of these needs. This is a type of indirect violence associated to economic or social policies that restrict or prevent the satisfaction of one or any of the aforementioned basic human needs and the causes behind this violence are consequently not patently visible. This violence refers to an existing conflict between social groups (normally described in terms of gender, ethnicity, class, nationality, age or others), in which the sharing or access to resources is systematically settled in favour of one of the parties and at the expense of all others.

The importance of the term 'structural violence' is that it recognises the existence of conflict in the use of material and social resources. Actions or situations which can be classified as structural violence are not necessarily directly designed or executed in order to deny the satisfaction of basic needs, but are rather indirect derivations of an inequitable economic policy and the unfair distribution of wealth. From this perspective and always in accordance with Galtung (2004), the main forms of structural violence, based on politics and economics, are repression and exploitation.

From another perspective, manifestations of structural violence can be grouped into two categories (Galtung 2004), metaphorically known as *vertical structural violence* and *horizontal structural violence*. The first one is "political repression, economic exploitation or cultural alienation, which respectively violate the need for freedom, welfare and identity". The second one "separates people who want to live together, or brings together people who want to live separately. It violates the need for identity".

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[13] From the eight categories of "offenses of great social repercussion" established in Chile, two (pickpocketing and theft) refer to crime against property, while the other six (aggravated robbery, theft with forcible entry, aggravated assault, murder, rape and intra-family violence) refer to crimes against the person.

These forms of violence have a territorial reference that can readily be associated with the transformation process that took place in Santiago, which has exacerbated social fragmentation. The eradication of *campamentos* and the scattering of their inhabitants, and low-income housing programmes that do not consider the identity of people benefiting from these programmes are examples of this, among others.

Cultural violence, which creates a legitimising framework for structural and direct violence, shows itself in attitudes. According to Galtung (2004), *cultural violence* refers to violence that is "expressed through countless means (symbolism, religion, ideology, language, art, science, laws, the media, education, etc.), and (…) serves to legitimate direct and structural violence, and also to inhibit or repress any response by victims of this violence". Similarly, for Bourdieu (1999), symbolic violence conceals true force relationships, which is to say domination by those who force their discourse on others. Cultural or symbolic violence, therefore, exists as a web of values that are reinforced by society's legal standards, relations with nature, gender relations and labour relations.

1.2   Categories of violence

After accepting the types of violence described by Galtung (2004), we return to the proposal by Moser (2004: 5), who indicates that different types of violence often intertwine and become superimposed and that a set of categories to cover different types of violence is needed. We therefore believe that incorporation of the four categories of violence (political, institutional, economic and social) is appropriate according to the motives of those inflicting them: i) *political violence:* refers to violence inflicted in order to gain or hold onto political power; ii*) institutional violence:* that inflicted by state institutions, not just by police forces, some of this violence is inflicted by public officials in the application of public policies that affect citizen or civil rights; iii) *economic violence:* that inflicted in order to secure economic gain and/or material goods. This covers a wide spectrum ranging from direct violence, such as theft, to structural violence such as the regressive distribution of income; iv) *social violence:* that which takes place on a daily basis in cities, in barrios, in families and in homes.

Table 2.2, using the conceptual framework as reference, describes the main types and categories of violence, according to reports and expressions of violence detected in Santiago.

Table 2.2 Types, categories and expression of violence in Santiago, Chile

Type of violence (Galtung 2004)	Category (Moser 2004)	Manifestation	Expression
Direct	Social (violence against people) Economic (violence against property) Political-institutional	Direct violence: (classified as offences) figures are low compared to other cities in Latin America. Increasing reports of intra-family violence.	High perception of insecurity People living in fear
Structural	Social Economic Political-institutional	Unequal income distribution in terms of access to public services and social security, among others.	Social inequality expressed in the territory. Loss of social state. Socially insecure, indebted and consumption-oriented people. Young people excluded from employment.
Cultural	Social Economic Political-institutional	Widespread individualism / private ownership. Legitimisation and valuation of profiteering. Male chauvinism, sexism. Questionable political electoral system.	Social and spatial segregation. Individualist, classist and distrustful people. Violence against women based on unequal power relationships. People distrustful of politicians.

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Today's manifestations of violence and insecurity express violence of a structural and cultural nature — an underlying form of violence, that is, one that lies at the root of social relations (Galtung). These are the visible manifestations of an indirect *structural violence*, which is associated with the effects of economic or social policies that have restricted or annulled the population's basic demands. They are forms of violence associated with widespread profiteering and rising economic and social inequality, also associated with a *cultural violence* that has legitimised the processes of wealth concentration, segregation and discrimination, which are currently being both publicly questioned and challenged. Commodification of the educational system, environmental destruction and sex discrimination are issues currently being taken to court, among others.

From the analytical perspective we have adopted (Galtung + Moser), these forms of violence are interconnected.

Rising inequality in terms of income distribution, access to education, healthcare, social security — structural violence — is related to substantial social and spatial segregation in the city, which leads to discrimination, classism and the fear of others: *cultural violence*. One indication is high indices of fear with regard to reports of *direct violence* (homicide, injury and robbery, among others) and extremely low interpersonal confidence levels, according to measurements made over the last ten years.

In order to avoid becoming victims of a crime — direct violence — women, specifically those from low-income sectors, avoid several activities, including walking in public places

at night. Furthermore, the burden of family duties and the substantial time-demands made by women's domestic work (practically a half-day's work in the lowest-income sectors), hamper improvement of their economic conditions, curb their development possibilities and establish socially legitimised inequality: *structural and cultural violence.* This is to say that there is gender and class inequality when it comes to the use of space and time in the city.

Santiago is home to a micro-economy of drug trafficking or micro-trafficking, which is unequally expressed in urban space: *direct economic violence*. The most vulnerable population with the highest risk of consumption and addiction is the population made up of poor and unemployed young people and school dropouts. This leads to increasing gang activity in certain barrios: *structural social violence*. Furthermore, an increasing number of women involved in the business have been reported in certain poor sectors of the city (there is talk of "the feminisation of drug trafficking").

1.3   Gender-based violence

From our perspective, old ways of limiting urban living still remain and new ways are emerging. These are not only related to structural violence associated with economic, cultural and political inequalities, but are related to persistent asymmetry between men and women, which goes beyond physical violence and includes both material deprivation and symbolic disadvantages (Falú & Segovia 2007).

Likewise, as suggested by Moser (2009), incorporating a gender perspective in the analysis of categories, types and manifestations of urban violence "is a strategy destined to make the concerns and experiences of women a constituent element of the formulation, application, supervision and evaluation of policies and programmes in all the political, economic and social spheres, so that women and men stand to benefit equally and the spread of inequality can be halted. The final objective is to achieve gender equality." (p. 78)

The Convention of Belem do Pará[14] indicates that "violence against women shall be understood as any act or conduct, based on gender, which causes death or physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, whether in the public or in the private sphere". The convention goes on to establish that violence against women includes physical, sexual and psychological violence that occurs within the family or domestic unit; that is found in the community and is perpetrated or tolerated by the state or its agents regardless of where it occurs. The Convention therefore identifies violence against women as all aggressive acts based "on their gender", which is to say, domination exerted by a man against a woman because she is a woman, assuming that women are inferior and supported by a culture of inequality and discrimination (Amorós, 1991).

The Convention also establishes that violence against women can occur in both public and private spheres; aggressors may be people who live with women or may be complete strangers. This consequently includes different types of violence that are generally undifferentiated, although these have different meanings.

Intra-family violence, which is generally considered a crime under the law of most countries, includes all members of the family as possible victims of violence. This is a broad definition of violence, which consequently "blurs the fact that the main victims of violence are women" (Provoste, 2007), since it is mainly inflicted by men in a context of social and cultural discrimination.

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[14] Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women. Adopted at Belem do Pará, Brazil on June 9, 1994, at the twenty fourth regular session of the General Assembly of the Organisation of American States, OAS.

A tipping point regarding intra-family violence in Chile was the creation of the National Women's Service (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer, Sernam) in 1991, following the country's return to democracy. One of the first legal initiatives taken by Sernam was to pass Law 19325 (1994), establishing standards for processing and punishment of intra-family acts of violence. This was recently complemented by Law 20066 on Intra-family Violence in 2005. Furthermore, there is a Law that Classifies and Punishes Sexual Harassment (2005) and a Law that Classifies Femicide (2010).[15]

1.4 Gender violence in public and private spaces: in the street and in the home

From a gender perspective, it is interesting to highlight — no matter how obvious this may be — that violence occurs in a space, which leads us to the multiple uses and meanings of public space and private space.

Generally speaking, the concept of urban violence in Chile, and in recent decades the concept of *citizen security*, have mainly been associated with public space. This perspective reaffirms the idea that this is where violence and insecurity are to be found, and that the home is a welcoming place, a place of refuge that is free of violence. Women restrict their use of public places when they feel afraid, using different spaces in the city less frequently. This is to say that women redefine and restrict the space and their time for interchange. For example, in low-income barrios on the outskirts of Santiago the exclusive appropriation of an area by groups of young people makes this public space an area that is socially stigmatised or restricted. This is shown by the reported use of public space by different groups in low-income housing complexes (Segovia 2005): small boys and girls — up to the age of three — are not to be found in public places; adolescents, specifically male adolescents, are the most prevalent group; senior citizens do not make use of public places; and there are significantly more men than women found in these spaces. The corollary of fear is therefore to remain behind closed doors, suffering the loss of liberty and restricted recreational activities.

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[15] At an international institutional level, the treatment framework for gender violence is provided by conventions and legal instruments that approach different forms of violence against women. In the case of Chile, the CEDAW Convention was signed in 1980 and ratified in 1989; the Facultative Protocol to CEDAW was signed in 1999 and has not been ratified; and the Ratification of the Convention of Belém do Pará was signed in 1994 and 1996.

2.   Violence in Santiago: differentiated by location, class and gender

Although the statistics of victimised homes in Chile in 2010 is fairly homogeneous on national, regional, and district levels, an analysis introducing other dimensions, such as gender and social-economic status, reveals various nuances. This becomes clear on examining the different types of violence in the three districts of Greater Santiago where the fieldwork took place: La Pintana, the district with the highest poverty rate in Greater Santiago (30 percent) (Casen 2009); La Florida, in the middle (9.8 percent poverty); and Lo Barnechea, of a high socio-economic status with just 4.3 percent poverty).

2.1   Direct violence

One of Santiago's characteristics is the lack of correspondence between its levels of insecurity and public fear of direct violence, which is primarily shown by crime rate reports. According to 2010 data, at least one inhabitant of 29.5 percent of urban homes has been a victim of some type of crime. Of these, the majority were young men of a low socio-economic level (ENUSC 2010; and Urban Peace Foundation Index 2010). Nevertheless, a higher percentage of the population reported feeling unsafe — 40 percent and 60 percent, respectively, in La Florida and La Pintana — the majority of whom were women, elderly, and of low or middle socio-economic levels (Varela and Schwader 2010).

The victimisation rate in Santiago demonstrates a downward trend since mid-decade, according to this same study. In the Metropolitan Region, the victimisation rate dropped from 38.7 percent in 2005 to 29.5 percent in 2010. Nevertheless, recent surveys show that the percentage of victimised households has grown in the communities of the Northwest Areas (7.1 points); Southeast (6 points), and Northeast (4.4 points).[16]

a)   Direct social violence

This type of violence is specifically directed at people, in crimes such as homicides, injuries, rapes, and intra-family violence. Although incidence rates are low on a national level, distribution by district indicates clear socio-economic segmentation. Accordingly, in La Pintana and in La Florida the attacks have been within the neighbourhood or in another part of the district, whereas in Lo Barnechea, the majority of crimes[17] took place outside the district. From this perspective, despite having reported similar victimisation rates, the level of violence varies between neighbourhoods or districts. Thus, in 2005 and 2010, the homicide rate for every 100,000 habitants grew substantially more in La Pintana, the lowest-income district (5.5. to 7.9)[18] but varied little in La Florida (2.5 to 2.8) and Lo Barnechea (from 3.3 to 3.8). With respect to injuries, there is evidence of difference based on district and socio-economic level: in the lowest income sectors, violence takes place within the neighbourhood (77 for every 100,000 habitants in La Pintana, in contrast to 48.8 in La Florida; no data available for Lo Barnechea). (Appendix, Table A.1)

According to the Victims of Intra-family Violence and Sexual Crime National Survey of the Ministry of the Interior (2008), 35.7 percent of Chilean women between the ages of 15 and 59 have been the victims of a violent situation inflicted by their partners at least once in their lives. In the case of women who have been the victims of physical violence,

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[16] Adimark-GfK Paz Ciudadana, December 2011.

[17] To define violence within the conceptual framework of this publication, certain crimes have been selected that imply direct violence: homicide, violent and aggravated robbery, and surprise home robbery and injury. For rape and intra-family violence (IFV), police records are used; and in IFV, the 2008 National Survey of Victimisation for Intra-family Violence and Sexual Crimes, conducted by the Ministry of the Interior.

[18] Data provided by Carabineros de Chile, 2010. A 2011 survey (Adimark, Paz Ciudadana) confirms this regional trend.

a third of them have been victimised more than twice, evidencing the repetitive nature of this type of violence. According to records of the Ministry of the Interior, 80 percent of cases of intra-family violence were reported by female victims between the ages of 18 and 64. On the other hand, despite studies having shown that incidents of intra-family violence transcend social classes, registered cases indicates segmentation by district, and, consequently, by socio-economic sector.

In addition to feeling insecure, women fear falling victim to sexual crimes in their neighbourhoods. In the case of sectors of low economic status, the reality has justified the fear: the registered violence rate is 25.1 for every 10,000 habitants; meanwhile it is 13.1 for those with a higher economic status. Nevertheless, despite higher reporting of violence in higher income sectors, in cases considered "private" — such as intra-family violence, rapes, and other types of sexual crime — levels decrease a considerable amount. (Appendix, Table A.2).

b)   Direct economic violence

Direct violence of the economic kind includes crimes that affect property (surprise robberies, violent or aggravated robberies, theft with forcible entry), which, in Santiago, do not have a clear location pattern.

In the last 15 years, violence and crime relating to drug consumption and trafficking have become more publicly relevant. Chile is not a producer but rather a corridor where drugs produced in other countries circulate. It is a case of micro-trafficking that consists of the sale of small quantities of drugs by individuals or families on a low income, living under the poverty line and forming part of the lowest echelons of drug trafficking rings. In these sectors, there has been a verified increase of women taking part in the drug business, which would bear out the feminisation of poverty, the increase in the domestic leadership of women and the focus on families (as a primary institution) as where to localise the resolution to social problems and civil rights. Additionally, the most vulnerable to, and at risk from, consumption and addiction are poor and unemployed young people who have dropped out of school. (Appendix, Table A.3)

c)   Direct violence: security in barrios

One dimension of insecurity is the sensation of people's vulnerability in different situations. One way of measuring this is to ask how safe people feel walking around in the barrio after dark: 40 percent of the population in La Florida feels unsafe or very unsafe, a percentage that climbs to nearly 60 percent in La Pintana. This is to say that people from the lowest socio-economic sectors add new vulnerability to their situation. Women from all socio-economic levels feel more vulnerable than men, and the vulnerability perception gap between men and women is the highest in low socio-economic strata.

Table 2.3 Perception of vulnerability to crime (percentages)

Walking down the streets of the barrio	Lo Barnechea		La Florida		La Pintana	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
Unsafe	34.2	48.8	33.3	48.1	49.0	66.6
Safe	65.8	51.2	66.7	51.9	51.0	33.4

Source: Ministry of the Interior and Public Security, National Urban Citizen Security Survey, 2010. The answers Do Not Know, Does Not Apply and No Reply were not considered.

Perception of security in the barrio is related to quality of life and the way people use the city.

Direct violence and quality of life: The impact of violence on people is influenced by their socio-economic status and by their sex. In all districts, violence affects the quality of life of women more than of men. However, this gap is widest in the poorest district, La Pintana, with the difference between men and women amounting to 23 percentage points, compared to 7.2 points in the medium sector (La Florida) and 7.9 in the district with the highest socio-economic level (Lo Barnechea) (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 How much does direct violence affect quality of life? (selected districts)

	Lo Barnechea		La Florida		La Pintana	
	M	M	M	M	M	W
Affects quality of life (a lot / substantially)	55.6	59.9	57.8	65.0	51.6	74.6
Does not affect quality of life (little / not at all)	44.4	40.1	42.2	32.7	47.6	25.4

Source: Ministry of the Interior and Public Security, National Urban Citizen Security Survey, 2010.

Direct violence and use of the city: In almost all activities studied in which people discontinue doing something in order to avoid becoming victims of a crime, it is women who are most affected. This is especially the case with activities such as going out at night. In terms of socio-economic level, it is women from the lowest sector who have the greatest fear of becoming a victim of crime. A high percentage of women in La Pintana have stopped engaging in all of the activities considered, far more women than men. Consequently for this sector, reluctance to engage in activities such as going out at night can often affect economic conditions in households, since the members of the household cannot accept jobs with late working hours or study and work at the same time in order to improve their employability. Therefore, for people from low socio-economic strata, violence experienced in their barrios can have more serious consequences than in other sectors, since this affects each individual's and each family's chance to move out of poverty (Appendices, Table A.4).

In the medium sector, fear of becoming a victim of a crime also stops people from engaging in recreational, work-related or social activities at night.

Women from the highest sector discontinue activities the least in order to avoid becoming victims of a crime. Their decisions are probably influenced by factors such as

the availability of a vehicle to get around, security equipment installed in their homes, the hiring of private guards and municipal citizen security services, and increased police surveillance.

d)   Direct violence and perception of insecurity

The inhabitants of La Pintana evidence the highest insecurity. Among them, women feel the most insecure: more than half believe they will be victims of a crime, in contrast to the 39.2 percent of men in the same district. The inverse is true in Lo Barnechea where more men see themselves as being vulnerable to crime (43.3 percent) (ENUSC 2010).

Among those who blame crime on the gangs and dangerous groups who live in the neighbourhood, women account for twice the amount of men in La Pintana; however, in La Florida, two percent more of men place such blame (ENUSC 2010).

In Lo Barnechea, the existence of a poverty enclave in the district contributes to the fear of becoming victims of a crime, an apprehension shared most intensively by young people in the district (46.7 percent of young people between the ages of 15 and 19).

This shows how use of public spaces is segregated by sex and by socio-economic strata: people in the poorest communities use the streets more intensively, even though these are recognised as unsafe places, especially bus stops. In addition, having smaller houses forces the inhabitants of La Pintana and districts with a similar socio-economic level to go out into the streets for recreational activities and social life.

2.2   Structural violence

a)   Social structural violence

Unequal quality of life: In the case of the three districts included in this study, the behaviour of the Human Development Index (HDI) is described as follows: in the lowest income district the HDI increased slightly but its position in the ranking decreased substantially: an expression of inequality which is exacerbated in the city territory[17]; the medium income district's HDI dipped slightly and its position in the ranking also went down; and the highest income district's HDI increased throughout the period, together with its position in the general ranking of districts in Chile.

Table 2.5 Human Development Index (HDI) (selected districts)

District		Ranking	HDI value	Healthcare value	Education value	Income value
La Pintana	1994	133	0.623	0.703	0.591	0.623
	2003	166	0.679	0.787	0.673	0.575
La Florida	1994	21	0.720	0.778	0.731	0.652
	2003	25	0.773	0.833	0.766	0.700
Lo Barnechea	1994	6	0.779	0.876	0.768	0.753
	2003	3	0.912	0.914	0.865	0.958

Note: Ranking: District HDI classification with regard to the Chilean district total.

Source: UNDP-Mideplan, Las trayectorias del desarrollo humano en las comunas de Chile (1994-2003). Sustainable Human Development Issues Series 11 (Santiago, 2006).

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[17] In 2006, the United Nations Programme for Development (UNPD), in conjunction with the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation (Mideplan), developed a Human Development Index (HDI) with the objective of evaluating and describing the trajectories on a communal scale between 1994 and 2003.

Unequal access to education and healthcare: Despite Chile having a high education participation rate, the gap between public or subsidised education and privately-paid education is of an insurmountable magnitude. Residents of the poorest districts are not only differentiated in terms of years of schooling completed, but also in terms of the quality of the education received (Education Quality Measurement System, Simce). [18] Educational results at a district level show education quality to also be unequal at socio-economic and territorial levels, and inequalities increase as education levels get higher. For example: in the area of mathematics, the difference between Lo Barnechea (300) and La Pintana (260) is 40 points (Appendix, Table A.5).

With respect to healthcare, access to a flawed system that discriminates according to socio-economic level is a form of violence that people from the lowest income groups experience on a daily basis. As already stated, the privatisation of the healthcare system resulted in the co-existence of a private system, of a higher quality that meets the sanitary needs of its members; and a public one that in the majority of cases is unable to meet the urgent demands of the population it serves (Appendix, Table A.6).

b)   Economic structural violence

Unequal income: Unequal income distribution in Chile is territorially reproduced at a district level throughout the country. Inequality rises, as indicated by the Ministry of Planning Socio-economic Classification Surveys (CASEN).

In 1990, 3.8 percent of the population in La Pintana corresponded to the two highest income deciles (9 and 10), while this figure came to 17 percent in La Florida. Nearly two decades later (2009), this figure held practically steady in La Pintana, though slightly lower (3.4 percent) while the figure amounted to 25 percent in La Florida. In Lo Barnechea, the population corresponding to the richest two deciles came to 46.6 percent in 2009. The inverse comparison shows that in 1990, people in the poorest two deciles came to 28.3 percent in La Pintana and 17.8 percent in La Florida. In 2009, the poorest population increased to 34 percent in La Pintana but decreased in La Florida to 10.7 percent.

Unequal employment: Job market share also evidences socio-economic, territorial and gender biases. Territorial discrimination and inequality is clearly expressed in the factors that, according to the residents of La Pintana, determine who will be rejected by the jobs they applied for. They believe that rejection for the jobs they applied for was due to age and to low education levels (18.5 percent); scarce work experience (20.4 percent); and 35.2 percent believed that they were discriminated against because of the district they lived in.[19] In 2010, La Pintana residents believed that the most determinant factors for being rejected for jobs were: age and low educational level (18.5 percent of responses), scarce work experience (20.4 percent), and the district of residency (35.2 percent of responses).[20]

Consumption and indebtedness: In Chile, there are low levels of family savings and strong cultural demands associated with consumption, which creates a pressure towards using credit as a strategy to obtain goods. This occurs chiefly in a cultural and material context particular to the middle classes, and in the framework of a free-market economy (Cerda 1998). According to figures from the Household Financial Survey of 2007,[21] 61

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[18] The Simce tests evaluate the success of the current Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Obligatory Contents of the Curricular Framework in the different subsections of learning, through evaluations applied on the national level, once a year, for students of a determined educational level.

[19] Employment and Unemployment Survey of the La Pintana District, conducted by the Microdata Center of the University of Chile, December 2010.

[20] Employment and Unemployment Survey of the La Pintana District, given by the Microdata Center of the University of Chile, December 2010.

[21] Given by the Microdata Center of the University of Chile, requested by the Central Bank.

percent of all households in the country have at least one debt; 57 percent have exclusively consumer debt (that is to say, no mortgage debt); and 46 percent have consumer debt from department stores. As a result, households have more goods and better housing infrastructure, but indebtedness generates a substantial amount of anxiety and distress in families, which is worsened by job insecurity in many of them. Families' debts are increasing in absolute terms, meaning an increasingly more important percentage of their incomes (Hidalgo 2011).[22] This situation is particularly evident in the district of La Florida, which is made up of the middle sectors.

c)   Structural violence: a gender perspective

We can identify differences between men and women after reviewing certain indicators:

Own income: This is a good indicator of the lack of economic autonomy in the population: in Latin America, the average number of women without their own income reaches 31.6 percent, while the figure for men is only 10.6 percent. In Chile, the average number of women without their own income amounts to 35 percent. In Uruguay, this figure is only 16.8 percent.[23]

Job participation: Upon comparing the job participation rate in the three districts, the employment rate is lowest for both men and women in La Pintana compared to the other two districts. This is particularly the case for women who face the difficult task of delegating domestic responsibilities to an insufficient public supply of care. The unemployment rate is also higher in La Pintana, affecting men and women almost equally (Appendix, Table A.7).

Adolescent pregnancy: This worsens gender inequalities, increasing social vulnerability of women, particularly those in poverty. In Santiago (2003) a young female living in La Pintana district has a 35 percent higher chance of being pregnant than someone living in a district with more resources (Díaz et al. 2007; Sernam 2010). Meanwhile, the subject of abortion remains taboo in Chile. More than half the population (52 percent) says that under no circumstances should women be permitted to abort. In the lower income sector, the figure reaches 70 percent.

Unequal time use: Time use measurements indicate how the unavailability of domestic services in the market affects the poorest women, hampering their job participation. The differences between the first and the fifth quintile demonstrate the great gap between women themselves (Graph 1.2).

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[22] Currently, the debt of Chilean homes has increased by 140 percent from the first trimester of 2005, in accordance with the latest figures of the Central Bank. In this way, while six years ago, the average household required five monthly incomes to pay its debts, today that is 7.35 months. On the other hand, national banks obtained net benefits for more than 2.005 million dollars between January and June of this year, 2011. This is 7.03 percent more than during the same period in 2010 (notes in Radio Cooperativa, July 29 and 30, 2011).

[23] Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Gender Equality Observatory of Latin America and the Caribbean, based on special data from surveys of households in the respective countries (http://www.eclac.cl/oig/).

Graph 1.2   Participation rate of women in unpaid domestic work, according to quintiles, Greater Santiago
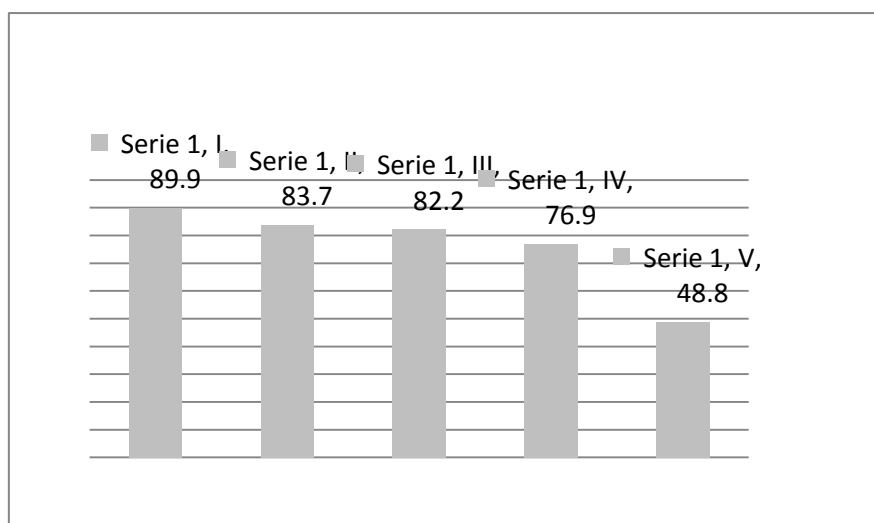
Experimental survey regarding time use in Greater Santiago.
National Institute of Statistics, 2008.

Time dedicated to unpaid domestic work shows the enormous obstacle this kind of work poses for the poorest women: almost a half-day in the quintiles II to IV, reaching 5.7 hours in the first quintile. The figures show that nearly half of the women from the poorest decile (47.3 percent) spend an average 3.5 hours per day doing this kind of work. (Appendices, Table A.8).

Socio-economic segregation also produces segregation between women from the different socio-economic levels. Class adscription exacerbates gender segregation factors for the poorest women, given that women from the high socio-economic strata can pay for care and domestic services in the market, even though these women are not exempt from the reproductive roles they have been assigned.

In the end, another element is added to the poverty of poor women, the poverty of time.

2.3   Cultural violence: market violence

In Chile, citizens have an extremely low level of intrapersonal confidence, according to the statistics from the last 10 years (CERC 2007). In Latin America in general, this tendency refers to an "unregulated individuation whose consequence is the generalisation of a mood based on fear, anxiety and uncertainty". Consequently, in contrast to developed countries where the process is experienced as "do whatever you want with your life", the message is rather "try to cope as best as you can" (Robles 2000: 71).

According to data from the study *Rights and Citizenship in Today's Chile*, published by the organisation Genera in December of 2006, in answer to the question "Are Chileans, discriminators?", 92 percent of Chileans assume that they are. Likewise, according to the figures, 37 percent of those surveyed stated that the main form of discrimination is for "being poor". Together with this, physical appearance and skin colour, and the lack of education, are also reasons for which people suffer some degree of grievance. This was reaffirmed in a study by Yañez (2010), where 62.3 percent of the poor persons consulted feel "Unsafe" or "Very unsafe" while currently circulating in Santiago. Only 15.3 percent feel "Very safe or safe".

On the other hand, a current study by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2011) shows that Chile, along with being the country with the greatest inequality out of all the organisation's member countries, with a Gini coefficient of 0.5 in comparison to the average 0.31, is also the country with the greatest social segregation in schools; in other words, education is not only classist, but also an instrument for the reproduction and amplification of inequality. The Duncan index, which measures the degree of social segregation in schools, is 0.68 for Chile, while the OCDE average is 0.46, and as low as 0.35 for the Nordic countries, with 1 being the index of the highest degree of segregation. In other words, Chilean children and young people from different socio-economic levels do not meet, coexist, or know one another because they are radically separated according to their families' income levels.

Concurrently, since barrios and districts are configured according to social strata, it turns out that in Vitacura, Las Condes and Providencia, where those with the highest incomes live, one finds the best education levels, measured by Simce (Education Quality Measurement System, a national evaluation system) and PSU (University Entrance Test) evaluations (*El Mercurio*, 04-17-11). Subsequently, the best and most plentiful educational resources, including teachers, are concentrated in these districts. Consequently, social and territorial segregation reveals — and rather highlights — classist division within schools.

The educational system, instead of "helping to integrate children of different social origins, encouraging people to live together in communities, stimulating social activity, favouring the same language and values; has become an instrument of exclusion and amplification of inequalities" (Pizarro 2011). This discrimination is at the root of public discontent expressed over recent months.

On the other hand, according to a 2008 survey, 83.4 percent of those interviewed agree that Chileans should be preferred to foreign immigrants in the event of rising unemployment, and 31.4 percent strongly disagree with the notion that foreign immigrants have generally been good for the Chilean economy. This opinion increases inversely with the socio-economic level of the population. Among the low-income groups 89 percent believe that priority should be given to Chileans in the event of rising unemployment, a figure that falls to 77 percent in the highest socio-economic sectors.[24]

In summary
Some analysts believe that Chile has become "the main neoliberal society in Latin America" (Gómez 2007: 54). The country has started to identify with an advanced modernity akin to the United States, with an order designed to protect property that exacerbates individual rights — and not duties to the community — in which personal achievements are displayed by material goods. Setting out to prove that *success is equal to money* (Moulian 1997), Chileans seem to pursue their security by disconnecting from other people. In this context, co-existence is thus increasingly egotist, individualist, and aggressive; in sum, antisocial, in the sense of merely utilitarian (UNDP 2002).

Arnold-Cathalifaud, Thumala and Urquiza (2008) maintain that, parallel to this individualist process, insecurity has become the central issue on the public agenda, symbolised in criminality and the absence of ties and moral standards — a reality whose media exposure empowers the image of other people as probable aggressors, which in turn reinforces withdrawal from sociability to private space. A *market imaginary* unrelated to collective motivations (PNUD 2002) seems to have been established in the face of these insecurities, weakening ties such as affection and friendship but embedded in disciplined salary earners and consumers (Moulian 1997).

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[24] The gap between values and practice. National Bicentennial Survey UC/Adimark 2008.

Part II
Fieldwork Report
Participatory Violence Appraisal (PVA) methodology

Chapter 3

The Sub-City Study: Violence in Three Areas of Santiago - El Castillo, Contraloría and La Dehesa[25]

1.   Methodology: Participatory Violence Appraisal — PVA

1.1   General background

The Participatory Violence Appraisal (PVA) is a qualitative research methodology whose main objective is to give voice to communities as a means of capturing their own *vision of the world.* PVA is intended to provide insights into the experience of violence among community groups in a way that macro-level analysis cannot. It not only allows focus groups to identify the extent to which violence-related problems affect their communities, but also encourages them to assess the causes and consequences of violence, as well as perceptions of the role that local institutions can play in developing strategies and solutions to 'cut' chains of violence. Based on recognition of the importance of hearing local people's voices and priorities, PVA aims to *transfer power from the researcher to the researched.* It is undertaken using a variety of research tools and techniques. Participants are invited to write and/or draw their opinions on large sheets of paper put up on the wall and visible to all. As such, everyone has an equal opportunity to actively participate, including those with difficulties in writing. [26] The PVA was conducted in Santiago with a wide range of focus groups, differentiated by age, gender and income[27] (see Appendices, Tables B.2a, and B2b).

Triangulation was also used, as it enables the comparison or cross-checking of information and the incorporation of opinions belonging to distinct interest groups. The *sharing of results* with participants is another fundamental component of the PVA methodology. This allowed participants to provide feedback on the information gathered, as well as making it accessible to them for their own use. For this purpose, three meetings were held in El Castillo and the Contraloría area, after the fieldwork process was finished. (Appendices, Table B.3).

1.2   Implementation of PVA in three areas of Santiago

PVA studies a small number of communities or territories based on a selection of participants and representative groups in order to conduct and in-depth examination of specific realities. In this case, interest is focused on the problems of urban violence and gender-based violence affecting women and men in the territories where they live. The research design was structured around the following question: *What are the violence-*

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[25] Section prepared by Marisol Saborido, with the collaboration of Ximena Salas and Loreto Rojas. Translated by Georgia Marman and Helen Conway.

[26] For a detailed description of the PVA see Moser, Caroline, February 2012, *Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict: participatory methodology for gender-based and political violence*, Working Paper #2, Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict: violence, cities and poverty reduction in the developing world.

[27] The term *focus group* is distinct from a *focus group discussion (FGD),* the latter term normally used in Chile to refer to a group interview technique used to collect data or information through a discussion about what users think about a certain product existing in the market or about to be launched, or to gain insight into people's perception regarding a specific issue. In contrast, focus groups, as part of the PVA methodology use specific participatory tools and techniques to identify participants' perception 'from the bottom up', stressing direct participation by using more visual resources than verbal resources.

related problems that affect women and men in their homes and in public places? This question has a twofold purpose: from a gender perspective, in the interest of getting to know and to analyse violence problems that affect both women and men; from an urban perspective, in the interest of exploring violence made manifest in both public and private space. Both perspectives are under the assumption of a continuum between types of violence that happens in private and public space, as well as connections between the manifestations of gender-based violence and urban violence, which are often not associated or analysed.

As mentioned in previous sections, PVA was implemented in three urban areas of Santiago representative of distinct socio-economic sectors, the assumption being that the manifestations and impacts of urban and gender-based violence are not uniform across these sectors due to the specific characteristics of each area. The areas chosen were: El Castillo in the municipality of La Pintana, which is low on the socio-economic scale; Contraloría in the municipality of La Florida, which occupies the middle ground on the socio-economic scale; and La Dehesa in the municipality of Lo Barnechea, which is high on the socio-economic scale. The three areas are relatively new and correspond to settlements dating from after 1973.

The implementation of PVA in areas of low, medium and high socio-economic status simultaneously constitutes an innovation and a challenge. It is an innovation, because this methodology has been used most often in poor communities. The challenge is associated with the practice of immersion advocated by PVA; in fact, it was difficult for the research team to establish a continued presence in middle- and high-income areas, whose members were considerably more reluctant than those in low-income areas to invite outsiders into their homes and share experiences and opinions regarding their private lives.

In each of the three areas, contact was made with community members, leaders of organisations, principals and school teachers, and other local institutions prior to embarking upon the fieldwork as such. In these meetings, the researchers outlined the objectives of the study and requested the support of the community members in setting up the focus groups. In both El Castillo and Contraloría, the focus groups were carried out *in situ* over the course of one uninterrupted week spent by the researchers in both places. They did not stay in La Dehesa for a continuous period of time, but rather, the groups were conducted in different locations in the area.

2.   The conceptual approach: tipping points and violence chains

The UTP project introduces two concepts of particular importance in the sub-city studies, namely *tipping points* and *violence chains,* neither of which have been robustly theorised in violence studies to date. The underlying assumption is that these two concepts provide added value and introduce new perspectives on an already much debated and contested issue, violence in cities of the South.

As discussed in detail in the concept paper[28], the research focuses less on documenting a static phenomenon, be it conflict or violence, and more on examining the shift from one state to another, in this case from conflict to violence — the so-called tipping point — and from one type of violence to another, identified as a violence chain.

The notion of the tipping point refers to small shifts in human behaviour that result in radically altered circumstances within a short period. As Gladwell and others have put it, "Small events and actions can induce big changes" (Gladwell 2000, Walby 2009). The

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[28] Moser, Caroline, Horn, Philipp, December 2011, *Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict: conceptual framework paper*, Working Paper #1, Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict: violence, cities and poverty reduction in the developing world.

project seeks to understand the nature of both quantitative and qualitative tipping points, identifying the way in which these can be measured and the processes that generate them.

The UTP project also explores how different forms of violence generated by tipping point processes interact with each other, such that they form a 'violence chain' or, in other words, have a knock-on effect. The notion of a 'violence chain' is inspired by the concept of a commodity chain, and is used to highlight the way that violence operates systemically and involves a range of interconnected processes — that may not necessarily be immediately obvious. The term chain is a metaphor for connectedness.

3. Sketch of the areas

3.1 General background

The three areas under study belong to the Metropolitan Area of Santiago. The municipality of Santiago corresponds with the city's downtown. (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Map showing the location of the three areas under study, Metropolitan Area of Santiago
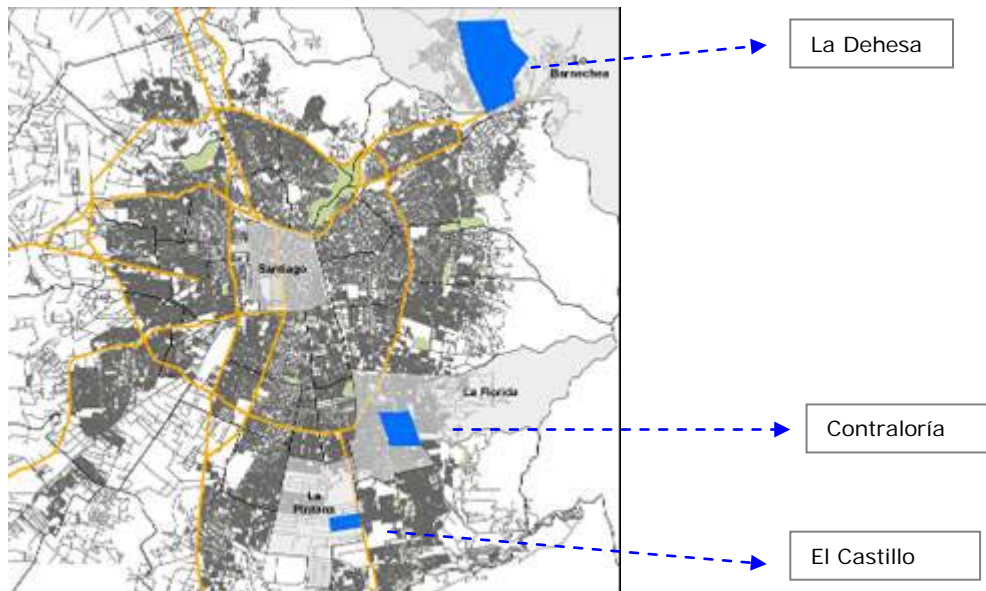
Source: Produced by the SUR team.

Among the three locations considered, La Dehesa has the greatest surface area (1.747 ha) and lowest population density (25.6 inhabitants/ha), while El Castillo has the smallest surface area (75 ha) and the greatest density (472 inhabitants/ha). Contraloría falls in the middle, with a surface area of 295 ha and a density of 77.9 inhabitants/ha).

In relation to accessibility and connectivity, the city of Santiago has good infrastructure — a system of toll highways and extensive subway lines —. Nonetheless, these features do not translate into equal mobility and use of the city for inhabitants of distinct municipalities. Using downtown Santiago as a reference point, the time required to commute from the southern zone (El Castillo) is more than an hour, while from the southeastern zone (Contraloría) it is 45 minutes, and from La Dehesa, 30 minutes.

Socio-economic indicators of the three municipalities in question are summarised in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Socio-economic description: The municipalities of La Pintana, La Florida, and Lo Barnechea

Municipality	Population	Density (People/Ha) *	Households	% of population that is poor	% of households	Average autonomous income per household (monthly)	% of population with healthcare	Female-headed households	Unemployment rate	Average years of schooling (18 years and older) *
La Pintana	208,527	54.1	48,590	23.60	24.00	420,102	94.50	41.50	14.90	11.8
La Florida	384,662	67.26	106,703	8.20	8.90	818,791	64.40	35.20	8.50	8.4
Lo Barnechea	88,366	0.86	20,444	4.30	3.50	3,243,914	56.4	56.4	8.60	12.2
MAS	6,004,988	-	1,687,131	9.0	10.32	996,639	71.0	35.85	10.28	11.3

MAS = Metropolitan Area of Santiago; FONASA = National Health Fund.

Source: Produced by the SUR research team based on the National Socio-Economic Characterisation Survey (CASEN), 2009.

a)   El Castillo, Municipality of La Pintana

The area of El Castillo constitutes an important sector of this municipality. It was formed in the mid-1980s as a result of the relocation of people living in *campamentos* in various municipalities of Santiago during the processes of displacement prevalent in those years.

Figure 3.2 Housing in El Castillo

Source: http://www.kirstensehnbruch.com

Upon arrival to El Castillo, some families obtained small plots without any services, while others were granted bigger ones, with a basic sanitary unit, a minimal kitchen and a bathroom (*caseta sanitaria*); housing was subsequently built by the inhabitants themselves. Families that arrived several years later received finished social housing units. The majority of the sites measure 7x14 metres. Despite the fact that most families have been consistently improving their homes over time, the small size of the plots make overcrowding unavoidable.

According to many participants, violence both in public places and in the home increased in the area from 2000 onwards. Conversely, other participants claimed that violence had

decreased, given that part of the population had emigrated to other municipalities. Furthermore, there are now more people in jail, as well as charges filed, both of which would serve as deterrents to violence. As the timeline of violence shows (Figure 3.2) there has been a shift in violence in public space, from common delinquency to crime involving drugs and weapons.

Figure 3.3 Timeline of the history of violence in El Castillo in Santiago, Chile
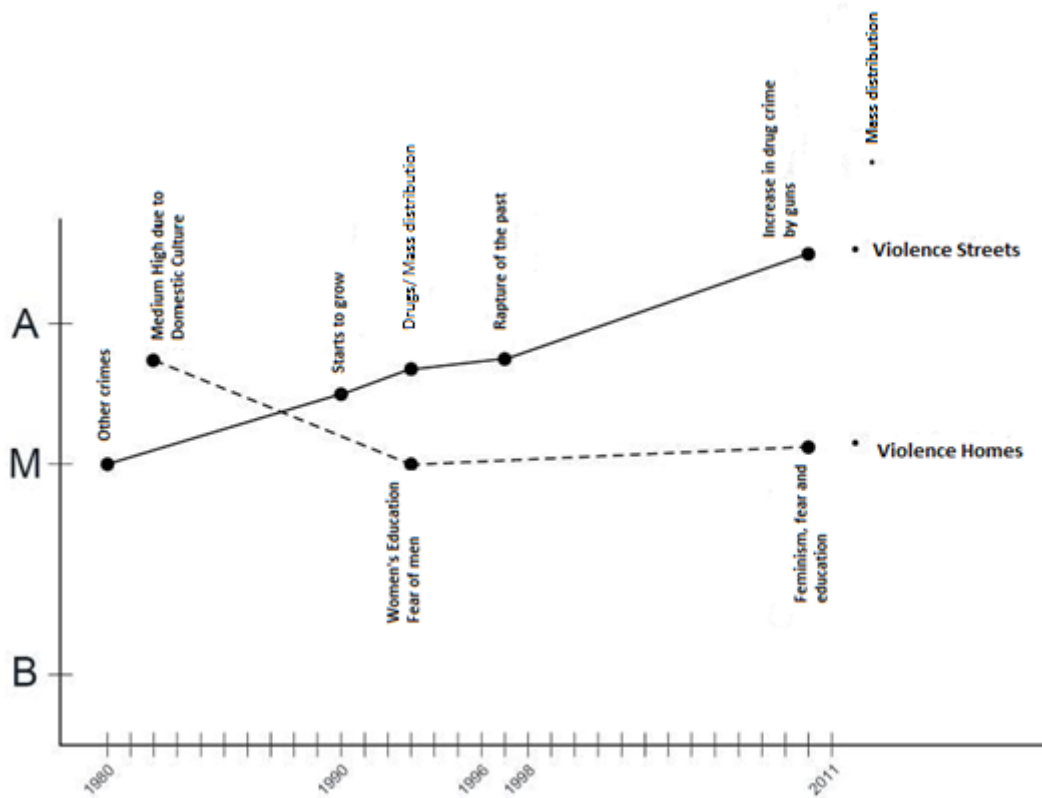
Source: Group of adult women, aged 35 to 56, El Castillo.

Violence in the home shows a decrease, from a higher level to a middle level of violence due to the influence of feminism, less fear of men and a higher level of education of the women. Figure 3.4 shows the change over time in women's attitudes towards gender-based violence: do not press charges (1980s), press charges (2000s), do not tolerate violence (2010s).

Figure 3.4 Time line of the history of gender violence in El Castillo in Santiago, Chile
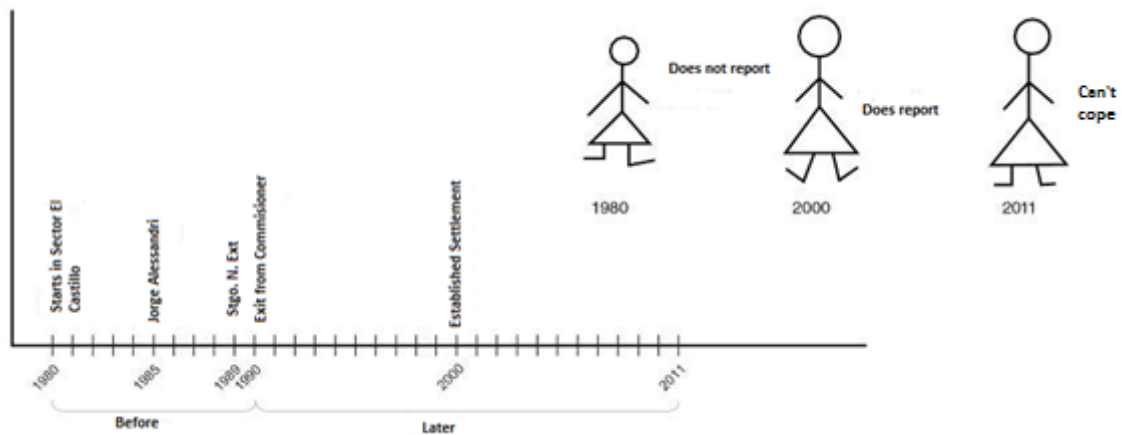
Source: Group of adult women, aged 35 to 56, El Castillo.

During the military dictatorship in the 1980s, protests and barricades were a regular occurrence in Santa Rosa, one of the main arterial roads in El Castillo. When asked about tendencies in the 1990s, the groups emphasised improvements to the urban environment, such as paved roads. Participants also discussed the prevalence of fights and confrontations throughout the 1990s due to the formation of '*barras bravas*' — gangs of hooligans loyal to different football teams.

b)   Contraloría, Municipality of La Florida

The municipality of La Florida, where Contraloría is located, is one of the largest and most populated of Santiago. The origins of Contraloría date back to the 1950s and 1960s, when there were barely any houses, the surrounding areas were farmland and there was a greater sense of peacefulness.

In the 1970s, the municipality began to be populated through '*tomas*' (land invasions) and the establishment of workers' settlements (the latter being the case in Contraloría). According to female participants, at this point the area began to deteriorate. As families arrived to occupied sites, fights ensued and, as a result, levels of violence increased. Male community leaders stressed the political violence that surfaced beginning in 1973, which was a period of major uprisings:

> *There is a social problem on a nationwide level; violence related to the dictatorship is high (…) one of the things that constitutes a tipping-point is the military coup (…) If before 73, in 71, there were industrial belts, in which people organised (…) suddenly no one wanted to get involved in anything, all forms of identity were lost (…) people stayed at home because they were afraid, there was a great deal of fear.* (Group of male community leaders, aged 19-33)

Making reference to this decade, some talked about the period 'during the curfew' as a time of violence, although they had not lived through it (group of young males, aged 15-16). Others claimed that levels of violence were low in the 1970s, because there were few houses and because, with the arrival of the military, "they [outsiders] didn't come to raid houses or loot" (group of mixed young people, aged 17-20). The different groups (young and adult men) identified a shift from political violence (1970 to 1980) to a type of violence increasingly associated with crime, such as robberies and assault (the 1990s).

Beginning in the 1990s, the make-up of the neighbourhood became more diverse. There was an influx of people to the area, the 'wrong' kind of people, i.e. those of a lower socio-economic stratum. At the same time, there was an economic upturn, as well as an increase in the number of houses burgled resulting from the arrival of wealthier people. Participants also commented on the greater visibility of abuse impacting women and children in the home.

Other developments in recent history discussed by the participants relate to new forms of infrastructure (such as a large mall) and an increasing population. "The subway appeared, the stadium (*Estadio de La Florida*) was constructed, and more houses were built" (group of elderly women).

Figure 3.5 illustrates the increase of violence in relation to population increase over time in Contraloría.

Figure 3.5 Timeline of the history of violence in Contraloría in Santiago, Chile
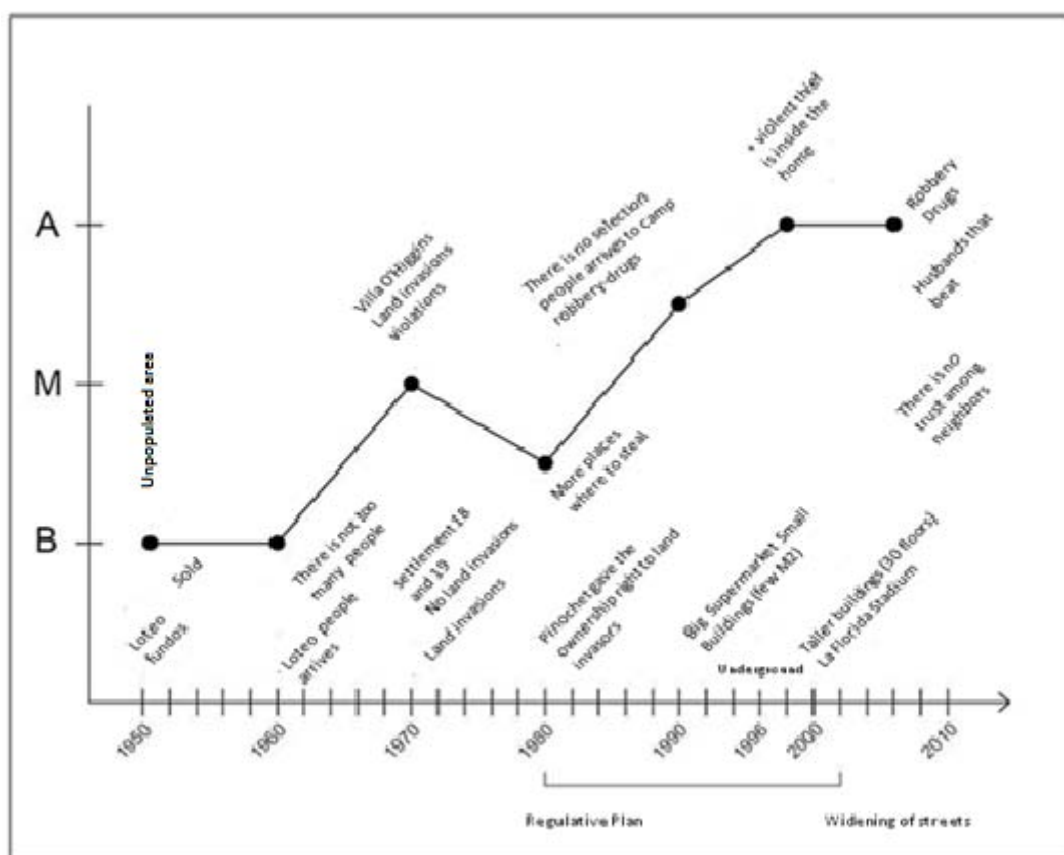
Source: Group of elderly women, Contraloría.

c)   La Dehesa, Municipality of Lo Barnechea

The families who participated in the focus groups arrived at La Dehesa at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, drawn to it by the semi-rural nature of the area. This character changed from 2000 onwards due to a major population growth and intensive urban development, which meant new highways, shopping centres, and services such as schools, banks, health care facilities, etc. — all of which have contributed to traffic congestion.

La Dehesa is currently a mature neighbourhood made up of large houses and condominium complexes that have modern security systems. In sharp contrast, however,

there are also some low-income settlements in the area, such as Cerro 18,[29] that are considered to be 'violence hot-spots'. Figure 3.6 depicts dangerous places (marked with a cross within a circle), highlighting Cerro 18 and other places of conflict, such as the supermarket, light stops and a bridge, where assaults and robbery to the pedestrians and vehicles occur.

A milestone in the history of the La Dehesa in Lo Barnechea is having ceased to be an almost exclusively rural area with a small population, to becoming a mature, high-income neighbourhood totally connected to the city as a whole.

Figure 3.6 Map of dangerous places in La Dehesa
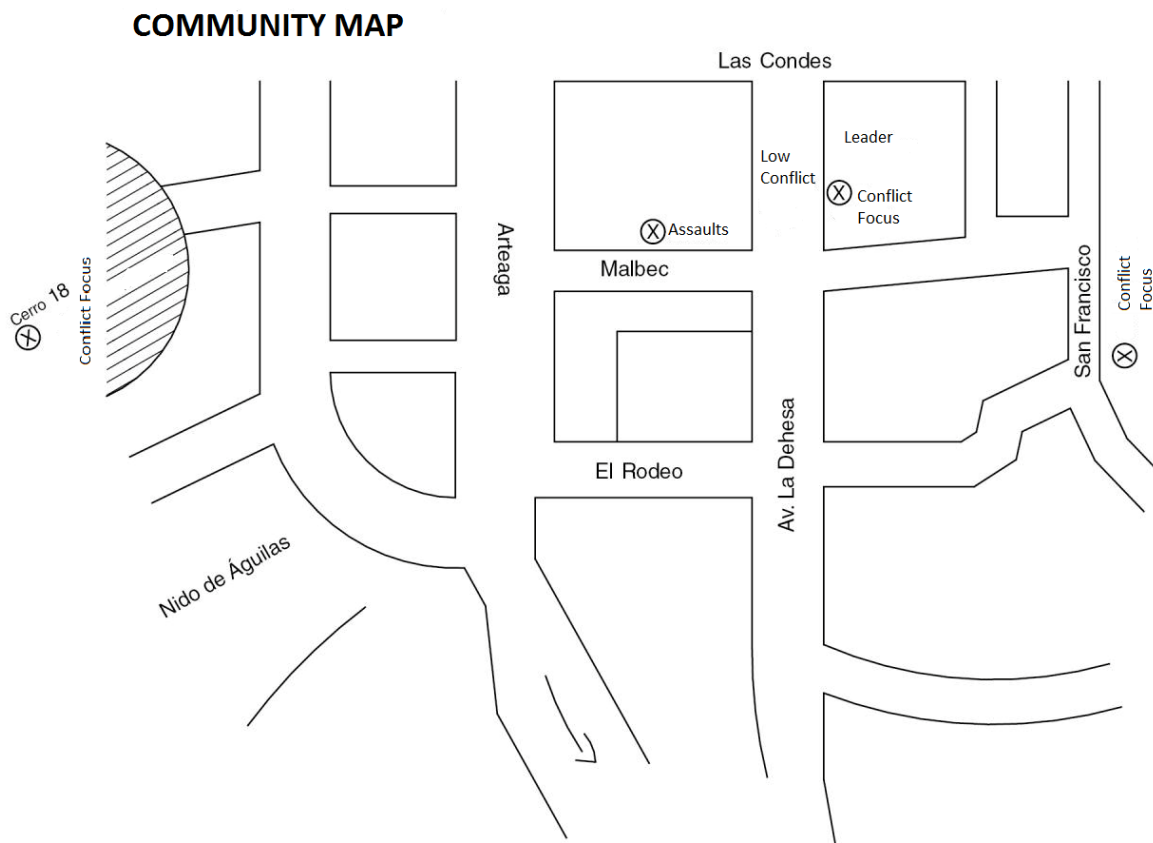
Source: Group of adult men, aged 49-51. La Dehesa.

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[29] A social-housing complex built on a hill for people who were displaced following floods of the Mapocho River in 1987. There is only one street – Cerro 18 – accessing the complex. "Vivir y morir en el Cerro 18: la historia de la guerra de pandillas en Lo Barnechea" (To Live and Die on Cerro 18: The history of gang wars in Lo Barnechea), *La Tercera*, 13/02/2010.

See http://latercera.com/contenido/680_225754_9.shtml.

3.2   Socio-economic characteristics of the three areas

Table 3.2 Socio-economic descriptions of the three areas according to participants' perceptions

	AREAS			
VARIABLES	**EL CASTILLO**	**CONTRALORÍA**	**LA DEHESA**	**OBSERVATIONS**
Income-generating activities of men (M) and women (W)	**M** – Construction workers, carpenters/jack-of-all-trades, cleaners and market vendors. **W** – domestic workers, employees in cleaning companies, childcare, seamstresses, temporary workers. Theft and prostitution (M and W)	**M** – Teachers, engineers, contractors, office workers, small-scale entrepreneurs, street vendors, construction workers, gardeners, plumbers. **W** – Hairdressers, small-scale entrepreneurs, domestic workers, shopkeepers, office workers.	**M** – Professionals (engineers and doctors), businessmen, shopkeepers, students (young people) working as product promoters, waiters, deliverymen. **W** – Professionals (designers, dentists, teachers, psychologists, nurses), caterers, family stores or businesses, salesperson (clothes), sales via the internet, private classes, product promoters.	El Castillo: formal, informal and illegal activities.
Percentage of men and women who generate income	**M** – 40 a 80% **W** – 60 a 80%	**M** – 50 al 80% **W** – 20 a 50%	**M** – 65 a 100% **W** – 35 a 80%	El Castillo: greatest percentage of women who generate income
Activities that do not generate income	**M** – Drinking, playing and watching football in the plaza, playing pool, cards and cruising around. **W** – Caring for children, participating in diverse workshops (hairdressing, personal development) and studying in the evenings.	**M** – Drinking; playing football or watching it on TV; going out to discos, pubs and restaurants; attending family gatherings; gardening; exercising; reading; going to church, doing odd jobs; dating. **W** – Looking after house, caring for children, participating in seniors' clubs, doing community work, playing cards, drinking, getting together with friends, exercising, playing women's football, attending workshops at the church, visiting with family. Some also stressed that they have no leisure time.	**M** – Playing sports (football, golf, horseback riding), reading, going to movies, fixing things, playing music, travelling. **W** – Exercising, going to the hairdresser, going for coffee, going to church, travelling, participating in workshops, attending a diverse range of courses.	Men: in general, more time dedicated to leisure activities than women. Exception: women in La Dehesa.
Gender of household head	5 a 20% male-headed households 80 a 95% female-headed households	40 a 80% male-headed households 20 a 60% female-headed households	90% male-headed households 10% female-headed households According to young people: 50% y 50% male-headed households and female-headed households.	El Castillo: female-headed households predominant. La Dehesa, male-headed households predominant, distinct in the case of young people.
# of children per household	3 a 10	2 a 4	3 a 5 Catholics: 6 a 7	Contraloría: fewest children
# of elderly people per household	1 a 2	2	0 a 1	Low # of elderly people in general
Infrastructure and services	Basic services – two primary health care centres, one traditional Mapuche medicine health care centre, one addiction rehabilitation centre, educational institutions, churches, multipurpose courts and social centres. Lacking telephone and internet services (due to the theft of cables from the lines)	Residential area, well supplied with small businesses and services, plazas and parks, neighbourhood centres, churches.	Completely equipped residential area, high standards, and extensive commercial development.	
Social Organisations	Neighbourhood committees responsible for residential streets, leaders of free markets (vendors are not required to pay rent or fees), health committees. The deterioration of social organisations from 1990 onwards coincides with the appearance of drugs in the area.	Social and cultural organisations, among others.	Neighbourhood committees, churches. Scant organisation or community participation.	Fewer community organisations in La Dehesa.

M — Men   W — Women

Source: Data from 46 groups in three research communities.

4.   Violence-related problems that affect women and men in public places and in the home[30]

4.1   El Castillo, Municipality of La Pintana

El Castillo is perceived as an extremely violent area according to all of the groups that participated in the PVA. Violence permeates people's everyday existence and impacts everyone — women and men, adults, young people and children. However, the types of violence described by different groups do vary significantly.

Table 3.3 Violence-related problems cited, and the frequency with which they were mentioned, El Castillo

PROBLEMS MENTIONED	FREQUENCY *
Drugs	25
Shootings	8
Intra-family violence	8
Hitting	7
Fights	7
Alcohol	6
Verbal arguments	6

* Frequency refers to the number of times that a problem was mentioned by the groups when they used the 'Listing and ranking problems' tool.

Source: Twenty-one groups in El Castillo.

a)   Violence-related problems that affect WOMEN

Violence-related problems that affect women in PUBLIC places:

Drugs and shootings were the main topic linked to violence that affect women in public places, sexual aggressions (rape), child abuse and fights between women were also highlighted as important issues.

Women are impacted by drugs in a range of areas. They witness their children becoming involved in that world while the mothers cannot do anything to stop it: "Women [mothers] may do anything and everything (…) and their children still get involved with drugs; the outside influences are stronger than one's best efforts" (group of adult women, aged 30-50). There are also some women who are drug users and who then abandon their children. In other cases, adult and elderly women especially feel intimidated in public spaces where drugs and alcohol are consumed, places like public squares they would otherwise like to frequent with their children.

Some women stressed that it is micro drug-trafficking that predominates in the area, rather than the more large-scale sale of drugs that exists in other places. Other participants asserted that El Castillo is no different from other places where drug dealing is a reality, as the root of the problem is the same — a lack of opportunities combined

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[30] The problems explored in this section are those given a high ranking by the participants in the focus groups. Also included are problems that were repeatedly mentioned or highlighted as relevant, even though they were not labelled as the most important by the groups. This account is fundamentally based on the implementation of the following PVA tools: Listings and Ranking of Problems, Flow Diagrams of Causes and Consequence, and Time Lines.

with the need to generate income for the family economy. It was emphasised that drug use is only one outcome from a lack of opportunities, but not the entire problem (results-sharing meeting). As for their response to the problem, the participants stated that they usually do not raise complaints against mothers that are consumers, for the sake of their children and the effect taking action might have. Community members by themselves attempt to control drug use: "At night, I get up over and over again because people come to smoke drugs outside my house. (…) There are lots of young kids here, and we tell them to leave (…) without insulting them or using bad language." Additionally, the presence of 'soldiers' — individuals who are responsible for guarding a territory — is another factor that contributes to generating violence (results-sharing meeting, adult woman).

Shootings, which are inexorably linked to drugs, constitute a particularly serious problem for women — especially at night. The main worry of mothers is that their children will be victims of a stray bullet. This situation is further aggravated by the intervention of the police who, according to the participants, escalate violence given that they use submachine guns and close off residential streets during their operations.

As for sexual violence, the fear and risk of being raped were emphasised particularly by young women, who feel more vulnerable than young men regarding the possibility of being raped in a public place. It was asserted that "men are horny (…), if you don't use all five senses, men will take advantage of you, they take advantage of you when you're high" (group of young women, aged 16-17). Adult women claimed that, in addition, young women are often harassed on the bus, that this happened to the 'pretty girls' and when this happens, they say an emphatic "Quit it!" (group of adult women, aged 30-57).

Although child abuse impacts on girls and boys mostly in the home, it was stressed that it takes place in the public space too, under the form of put-downs or hitting, in many cases perpetrated by their mothers. This issue was addressed again in the results-sharing meeting, where participants explained that there is a lack of affection in relationships between parents and children, which is noticeable when parents take their kids to school. One teacher said: "parents drop off their kids and tell us we're in charge of the 'little thing'… Or else they don't set any boundaries; they let their kids do whatever they want."

Another form of violence is fighting between women in public places, mostly over men: "… the girls get jealous because their guys are dancing with other girls." "The 'perverts' want to turn everybody on" (group of young males, aged 15-17). The issue of bullying was also brought up, mainly based on aspects related to looks, which lead to gossiping and discrimination. Among adult women, fights — incorporating verbal and physical violence — were said to be related also to jealousy, infidelity (of men), and differences between neighbours in terms of material resources.

Violence-related problems that affect women in the HOME:

Some of the problems mentioned here — the presence of drugs and child abuse — recall the ones ascribed to the public space, but with different innuendos; problems that are specifically linked to family life, such as conjugal violence, were also related to machismo and jealousy and overcrowding in the home.

Drugs affect women in the home when they are consumed by family members — children, partners, mothers, etc. Conflicts over addictions often lead to violence (physical or psychological), to the abandonment of children, and they have a negative impact on family finances since money is funnelled into buying drugs. There is also a risk that "if your neighbour is dealing drugs," when the police conduct raids, they don't "knock politely on your door" (they burst in violently) and women or members of their family may be affected by the possibility of police getting the wrong house or just for being close by (mixed group of adults, aged 30-50). On the other hand, women live in

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constant fear of the dealers' aggressive attitudes, of possible shootings as a result of fights and because of their inability to rebel against this situation.

Drug addiction and trafficking appears as a clear tipping point affecting women and children, leading from family conflict to violence.

Some women get beaten by their partners for not selling drugs (group of young women, aged 16-17). Others are heavily involved in drugs and other vices, such as gambling, because they are depressed and/or abused; they abandon their children and spend the family's money on their 'bad habits', with the added consequence of fights and abuse within their relationships. These starting points initiate violence chains that can end in death, in the form of murder or suicide, and with women being the main victims. However, it is noteworthy to mention that the participants put the blame on women as the sole cause of the problem, as seen in Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7 Causal flow diagram and chains of violence based on women involved in drug consumption and trafficking, El Castillo

Source: Group of adult women, aged 45-55. El Castillo.

Conjugal violence against women was emphasised as a key problem that impacts on women in the home. It was stated that "intra-family violence against women, both physical and psychological, happens frequently in adult relationships as well as between '*pololos*', i.e. young men and women who are dating." The reasons for this violence were attributed to jealousy, infidelity and *machismo*. In the opinion of adult women, (aged 30-60), young men want to be 'cool' (brave, daring), they are *machista* and they act violently so no one will disrespect them. In many instances, abuse of women is a violence chain that starts with insults, escalates to beating them up, and culminates in femicide — most of the time, it is men who utilise violence against women in the home (group of mixed adults, aged 30-50).

Another important trigger of violence against women in the home is money. Men feel that because they are the providers they have a right to mistreat and abuse women, yet at the same time the men feel pressured to bring money home, and when failing to do so, they become frustrated and violent. Nonetheless, female participants told how women now defend themselves against aggression: "My grandpa beat my grandma until she was black and blue and she was never ever able to raise a hand to him. (…) But nowadays, women are more liberated and they don't stay quiet, and if a man gives a woman a push, she tries to push him back even harder" (results-sharing meeting, a female community leader).

Abuse of girls and boys within the family was another one of the problems pinpointed. This form of violence, participants claimed, is directly related to stress, financial troubles and conflict between the couple. A lack of money due to low salaries of their male partners leads women to work outside the home and, as a result, children are not looked after. To make matters worse, fathers living in this situation are often bad-tempered and '"aggravated by everything" (group of adult women, aged 54-65). On the other hand, many women who are heads of households must work outside the home and have no one to look after their children. This abandonment leads to kids being on the street, where they run the risk of sexual abuse, drugs, etc. According to school staff, this abandonment subsequently turns into detachment on the part of the children.

Frustrations that fester as a result of conflicts in the conjugal relationship and unwanted pregnancies make part of a violence chain that culminates in physical and verbal violence against children: "Parents don't say to their kids, 'Hey, son, could you bring me such and such', but instead, 'Hey you, get me the bloody thing" (group of mixed adults, aged 33-50). According to a group of young women (aged 21-25), as adults take their frustrations out on their children, kids learn to relate to other people in a violent way. Violence is thus perpetuated and becomes standard practice — it flows between the home and public spaces in a continuous feedback loop.

One group speculated that child abuse had decreased somewhat as a function of children's greater awareness that they can make complaints regarding violence and get protection: "If you hit me, they say, I'll call the cops" (group of adult women, aged 30-60).

Stressful family relations are often intensified because of overcrowding within the home, especially when numbers in a household grow but continue to share the same housing space. This was raised as another tipping point in the focus groups, since it makes privacy practically non-existent: "I live with 10 other people in my house; when you share housing with many household members, you get used to it, but after a while it starts to be a pain, the frustration builds and builds until one day it's too much and you explode" (group of adult women, aged 35-56). The stress that increases over time often leads to drug and alcohol consumption, which can cause outbursts of violence in the family.

Overcrowding resurfaced in subsequent conversations, with participants focusing on a new aspect of it — difficulties related to language and a lack of concentration that affect young girls and boys. "Children are constantly subjected to a very noisy home environment, and as a result, from the time they are very little, their ability to concentrate starts to decrease" (results-sharing meeting, a female community leader).

b)   Violence-related problems that affect MEN

Violence-related problems that affect MEN in PUBLIC places:

Problems of violence that affect men in public places relate mainly to power and territorial struggles, where drug trafficking and money carry great weight. Fights related to drugs were attributed to the lack of stable employment opportunities, jealousy regarding a clientele for drug sales, and the need to "earn more money and live more comfortably." The relationship between the power of money and selling drugs is a cause of violence, as it "generates competition, envy and fights" (mixed group of elderly people, aged 65-80). In later discussions, some participants added that this is not a recent problem, but rather, "the product of many years (…) these are families that have been doing the same thing for ages" (results-sharing meeting, adult woman).

Alongside turf wars and drugs, one important trigger for fights among men is football (when there are games in the area), especially when rival gangs go to a dealer's house to steal weapons and drugs. "They punch each other out in the street, they smack each other and yell," (group of young women, aged 16-17).

Shootings were also ranked as a problem that affects men in public places, resulting from fights between rival gangs and constituting a mechanism of defence: "We have one or two boys who die every week as a result of fights between gangs" (group of mixed adults). The use of weapons has become mainstream in El Castillo: "Everyone now knows how to make homemade weapons, even six-year-old boys" (group of adult women, aged 35-60). In a later conversation, the issue of weapons was brought up again: "One segment of society started to express its frustration, the lack of opportunities, so young boys stayed out on the street and didn't go to school… There is an idleness stemming from inactivity. Then, since many couldn't study, gangs and groups of troublemakers have been hanging out on the street" (results sharing, female community leader).

Fights and shootings were tied to power struggles between men concerning 'who was cooler', as illustrated in Figure 3.8 showing a guy pulling a gun on another. This was explained as the need to 'prove your street cred', a standard attitude among men in El Castillo, but one that extends to others in the community as well.

Figure 3.8 Listing and ranking of violence-related problems that affect women and men in public places and in the home in El Castillo

Men		Women	
Street	Home	Street	Home
Who is more fearless 1+2+3=7	Alcohol 3+2=5	Intimidates by drug addiction and alcoholism 1+2+1=4	Depression 2+1+2+1=6
Crime	Drugs because it brings violence to household 3+1+1=5	Fear in street 3+3=6	Femicide 3
Drug 2+2=4			Fear in the house 3+2=5

Source: Group of adult men, aged 21-35. El Castillo.

Violence-related problems that affect MEN in the HOME:
The consumption of drugs also affects men in the home. In terms of causes, participants pinpointed family problems and conflict, a high level of drug use in the broader environment, a lack of work (especially stable work) and opportunities, and a deficiency of education. Drugs constituted a form of escapism and a way of making easy money, causing corruption and destroying families. In some cases, entire families "have never worked, they've always been delinquents, they come from that sort of family…and they won't ever work" (mixed group of adults, aged 30-50).

Sexual abuse, of girls and boys, was also mentioned as a common problem, stemming from an absence of values within families, a paucity of education at an early age, the need for parents to work outside the home without having child care, and drug use, which "in general provokes the abandonment of children, as well as a lack of concern for their well-being" (mixed group of adults, aged 33-50).

c) Tipping points in El Castillo

Drug trafficking as a survival strategy — In and of itself, the presence of drugs is not something new, because "drugs have always been there" (results-sharing meeting, adult woman). However, there have been fundamental changes in terms of how widespread drugs have become and how important they are to the family economy. In many cases, trafficking represents the only means of subsistence and real opportunity for living better and making money. It is not just one person who introduces drugs to a household via his or her personal consumption; but instead, often whole families or many members are involved. Some turn into consumers, other into dealers, with the overall result that the cycle of violence connected to drugs is reproduced within the home.

This tipping point has diverse consequences related to violence. First, children are involved from a young age and thus grow up thinking such a family dynamic is normal. Second, violence against women — some of whom are beaten for not participating in trafficking — is pervasive. Finally, there is a generalised climate of violence and fear in the immediate environs that also impacts on neighbours, even though they are not necessarily involved in drugs. It was described how *illicit businesses* in the area have been run by certain families for many years. Drugs, then, are currently the predominant business in the area.

Massive use of firearms — In relation to the use of weapons, it was revealed that knife fights came first, and since then there have been successive increases in the severity of

violence, with the use of firearms now being commonplace — many people make their own 'homemade' weapons. Participants also indicated that a *lack of justice and the corruption of the police* are factors that have contributed to the worsening of violence in the area. Reference was made to the *backward steps of social organisations* (neighbourhood committees, housing committees, and others) that were highly active against the dictatorship in the 1980s, yet are practically non-existent, or at least much weaker, now. Some participants said that this tendency makes community life more fragile, and also fosters violence as groups of troublemakers and gangs have appropriated spaces formerly occupied by social organisations.

d)   Violence chains in El Castillo

Of all the chains of violence identified in El Castillo, *drugs* and *intra-family violence* were discussed most frequently: 19 times for drugs, and eight times for intra-family violence.[31]

Men's consumption of drugs in public places was identified as the most important starting point in violence chains. These chains generated the greatest diversity of distinct types of violence (16 distinct types) that eventually end in death. The longest chains involve three types of violence that are repeated: robbery and/or murder, then prison and then more drugs.

Concerning intra-family violence, *domestic violence related to drug trafficking in the home* was labelled as another starting point for the longest violence chains (14 distinct types of violence). As shown in Figure 3.9, it can end in death, be it attempted murder, suicide or femicide.

Physical and psychological violence against women in the home was identified as the second most important factor in generating chains of violence. "The abuse of women is a chain that begins with insults and put-downs, degenerates into hitting and ends in femicide" (group of adult women). Jealousy, infidelity and *machismo* were identified as the main causes of this violence chain, together with money. Men feel that because they are the providers, they have a right to abuse women or either, when failing to bring money home, they become frustrated and violent.

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[31] Numbers were obtained from analysis of all violence chains identified by the groups and an increased number of mentions.

Figure 3.9 Flow diagram and chains of violence based on domestic violence because of drug trafficking
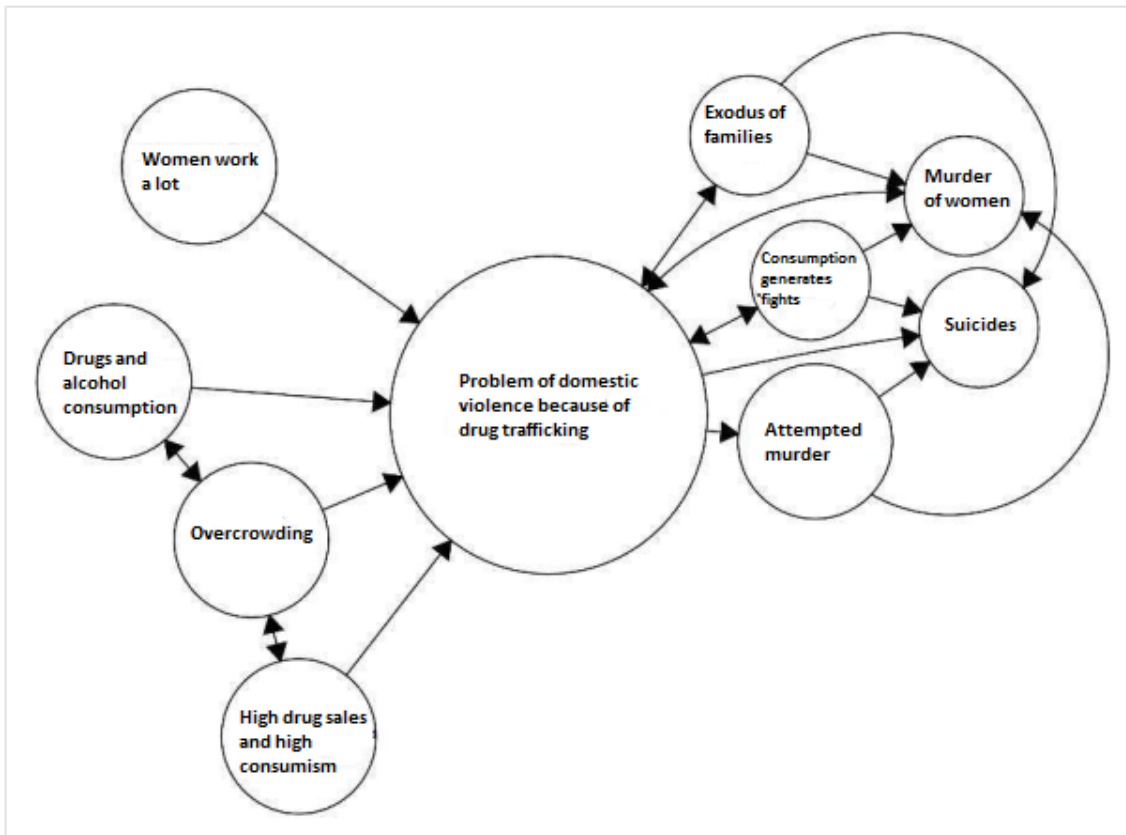
Source: Group of adult women, aged 35-56, El Castillo.

Stressful family relations are often intensified because of *overcrowding within the home*, since it makes privacy practically non-existent. The stress that increases over time often leads to drug and alcohol consumption, which can cause outbursts of violence in the family. It also causes difficulties related to language that affect young girls and boys; they are constantly subjected to a very noisy home environment, and as a result, their ability to concentrate decreases.

e)   Institutions

A large number of formal and informal institutions, organisations and groups linked to the issue of violence were identified, with organised gangs and groups of troublemakers being the most frequently mentioned, as shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Institutions identified in El Castillo

Type of institution	Details of the institution	Frequency*
Organised gangs and groups of troublemakers	Drug dealers, drug dealing groups, gangs, hooligans.	18
Community organisations and centres	Hogar de Cristo Community Centre (*Fundación Paréntesis*) and San Pablo; Mental Health Community Centre (Centro Comunitario de Salud Mental *COSAM*); Youth Centre; Cultural Centre (Casa de la Cultura); Neighbourhood Groups; Sra. Gladys (Historical Leader).	17
Police institutions	Carabineros and Investigations Police of Chile (*Policías de Investigaciones*, *PDI*).	14
Health institutions	Family Health Centre (*Centro Salud Familiar*, *CESFAM*); Health Centre; Hospital; Psychologist; Emergency Primary Care Services (*Servicios de Atención Primaria de Urgencias*, *SAPU*) .	10
Programmes and services provided by the municipality	Children's Rights Protection Offices (Oficina de Protección de Derechos de la Infancia y Adolescencia, OPD); Social Work Department (Dpto. Social); Centre of Stimulation for Childhood Development (Centro de Estimulación para el Desarrollo de la Infancia, CEDIN); Community Development Office (Dirección de Desarrollo Comunitario, DIDECO); Municipal Employment Information Office (Oficina Municipal de Información Laboral, OMIL).	10
Other institutions mentioned	Shelters; Women's centre; Rehabilitation Centre, Technical Training Organisations (*Organismos Técnicos de Capacitación*, *OTEC*); *Asociación Revivir*; Sports clubs; Society for the Protection of Children (*Sociedad Protectora de la Infancia*).	8
Programmes and services provided by the state	National Service for Minors (Servicio Nacional de Menores, SENAME); National Women's Service (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer, SERNAM); Foundation for the Promotion and Development of Women (Fundación para la Promoción y Desarrollo de la Mujer, PRODEMU).	7
Others mentioned which are not institutions	Sports (football); bullying; prison; school informers; vendors from the free markets.	5
Schools	Schools, Fundación Nocedal.	4
Religious institutions	Evangelical church, Christian group.	4

*<u>Frequency</u> refers to the number of times that an institution was mentioned by the groups when they used the 'Institutional mapping, causal flow diagrams of strategies and solutions and matrices of strategies and solution tools.

Source: Institutions named by 19 groups out of a total universe of 21 groups in El Castillo.

Figure 3.10 illustrates the preodminance of groups of troublemakers inside and outside the area, and the negative assesment of the police ('rats' and 'cops').

Figure 3.10 Institutional mapping. El Castillo
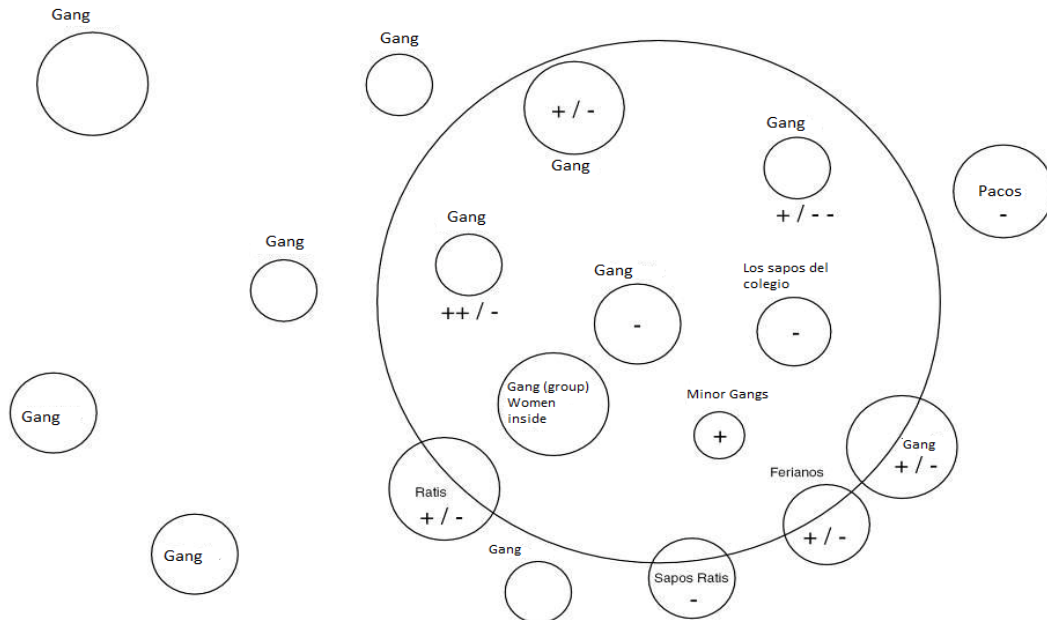
Source: Group of young males, aged 15-17. El Castillo.

The people of El Castillo do not perceive institutions as being efficient in preventing or dealing with violence in the area: "Since the 1990s, there hasn't been an institution to fight back against violence, which continues to grow" (group of adult women, aged 35-56).

The police are viewed critically because of their absence from the area: "We're in no-man's-land here. Carabineros are of no use; PDI arrive late or not at all" (group of adult women, aged 30-57). The law enforcement police's — Carabineros' — search and pursuit of criminals is viewed positively. Although participants agree that Carabineros' lack of the necessary staff is often the cause for their failure to attend when called, they are viewed negatively because they are identified as an institution which *generates violence*: "Young people see them as an entity of repression" (group of mixed adults); and also as an *inefficient* organisation: "I called at 3 a.m. because a girl was being raped behind the house (...) and the 'carabineros' didn't come..." (group of adult women, aged 30-57). Participants also mentioned *corruption* linked to drug dealing and consumption among the police: "Sometimes the dealers make a deal with the 'cops', they give them drugs or money on the quiet" (group of young males, aged 15-17).

Carabineros' response to complaints was also subject to criticism: "You make a complaint and the police tell the scoundrels who the informer is..." They also highlighted negative treatment for women who are victims of violence when they go to the police: "My mum wanted to go to report that she had been beaten, so we took her and the treatment was appalling, really appalling. (...) the police don't know how to behave in different situations (...) they scold people or ignore them or send them to the wrong place" (results-sharing meeting, a female community leader).

Corruption is widespread in the investigative police (*PDI*): "They go to pick up or deliver stuff" — this was in reference to drugs (group of young men, aged 21-35). They also "spy [monitor so as to inform] on those who complain" (group of adult women, aged 30-55). The PDI was, however, seen in a more positive light with regard to their stringent requirements and efficacy and the fact that they are the first institution to arrive when anybody dies.

With regard to community organisations, neighbourhood committees (*Juntas de Vecinos*) were mentioned with some *nostalgia*, with some people viewing them positively and others negatively: "Before there were objectives in common regarding the community, but now people have begun to distance themselves. They added that "today people in El Castillo don't have dreams, there is no hope left" (results-sharing meeting, adult male). Added to this is the disenchantment and "isolation of community leaders," who said that, despite this situation, "we [still] generate change" (results-sharing meeting, a female community leader).

The need to have more state support was highlighted, as institutions are perceived as unable to cope with all the work.

The work of the Health Centre was most positively rated and it was identified as a place that is welcoming and gives guidance. The Hospital was seen as the place that "saves people", and the ambulance service as responsible for curing and saving lives. The Family Health Centre was negatively viewed and the Municipal Health system was criticised because of its lack of staff. Doctors were also criticised with regard to women who have been assaulted. It was said that doctors do not want to get involved in this type of situation (results-sharing meeting, a female community leader).

The educational space provided by the school was seen as positive for constituting a sort of safety net for children. It is positive because it helps through teaching, because the children "feel important" and tell their stories. Drug use inside schools was criticised, as was the lack of workshops on this topic (group of adult women). A lack of opportunities was referred to in connection with the lack of quality education in the area:

> *When talking about a lack of opportunities, it's not just a mere catchphrase. It means the opportunity to be treated well by teachers, because here the teachers are abusive. A study was carried out on early childhood in which children in nursery schools said that they were hit in the nursery. Almost 70 per cent said that they were hit. (…). So, there are a series of visions about life that contribute towards determining the possibilities a person has to develop or not. In this, I think we have an enormous, shameful inequality in our country.*

They added that in El Castillo "there is no good primary school, nor is there a [good] middle school. However, Juanita, Alicia and others go to university and study. They have to make ten times more effort than other children to study" (results-sharing meeting, a female community leader).

As for programmes and services provided by the State, the work of the National Service for Minors (*SENAME*) and the National Women's Service (*SERNAM*) is recognised for matters related to sexual abuse. Nonetheless, it is considered insufficient. In the case of SERNAM, a group of women claimed that they have very little information about the institution. It was also proposed that there should be more in-depth and better quality work when developing solutions. With regard to SENAME, it was suggested that they should pay more than 15 minutes of attention, an allusion to poor quality attention (group of mixed adults).

With regard to groups of drug dealers, even though they are negatively viewed, it was also mentioned that they are seen as positive by their friends. Although the level of

violence they bring to the area is significant, their level of organisation, degree of articulation and well-defined hierarchy are also noteworthy. In addition to the dealers, the gangs are viewed positively because "they safeguard the territory," but those that come from outside are seen negatively: "The gangs from outside come just to steal, they are criminals through and through" (group of young males, aged 15-17).

This scenario leads to a perception that nobody is really dedicated to help the people: "They have come, given us three or four talks and that's it" (group of elderly women). There is no sense of a strategic plan to make the institutions recognised for carrying out concrete actions prevent or deal with violence.

4.2   Contraloría, Municipality of La Florida

In Contraloría opinions vary regarding the presence or absence of violence in the area. It is recognised that the neighbourhood and municipality are heterogeneous, and that there are some areas more dangerous and violent than others. Contraloría, in particular, is perceived as a quiet residential area, although a number of problems linked to violence were mentioned (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5 Violence-related problems cited, and the frequency with which they were mentioned, Contraloría

Problems mentioned	Frequency
Assaults	13
Fights	13
Muggings	9
Intimidation	7
Abuse	6

Source: Eighteen focus groups in Contraloría.

a)   Violence-related problems affecting WOMEN

Violence-related problems affecting WOMEN in PUBLIC places:
According to the participants, the main problems in this field were direct violence problems in neighbourhood public spaces, and on the other hand, structural violence referred to job opportunities and poor labour conditions for women in the city.

Assaults and muggings affecting women and children in public spaces create a feeling of insecurity in the neighbourhood. These forms of violence happen in squares, at the market, at bus stops, outside the metro station and on routes to schools. "You get on the metro and hope to God. My daughter was attacked with a knife — they pushed her and cut the strap of her handbag" (group of adult women, aged 30-50). This is particularly pronounced among elderly women. Habits change: it is important, they say, "not getting home late or not going out at night, being more careful and trying to go unnoticed" (group of adult women, aged 30-50). "…There are people who don't have any money to buy good clothes and that's why there are muggings, due to jealousy of those who do have things" (group of young males, aged 15-16). In subsequent meetings, it was suggested that the existence of areas with poor visibility aided assaults and muggings. People from the area have called on the Municipality to demand a solution to the problem of poor street lighting, but without success (results-sharing meeting, adult male).

Schoolgirls highlighted rape as another problem, mainly as a risk or fear. They said this problem affects not only women, but boys too, and does not occur solely in public places,

but also in people's homes. As young women, they feel vulnerable when walking alone through the streets. It was also mentioned that rape can be "contracted": when a person "has it in for someone else" and gets another person to rape them (group of young males, aged 15-17). At parties, "sometimes drugs are put in a woman's drink" so she falls asleep and then they rape her. There is also abuse within relationships, including rape. The fear of rape in relation to break-ins was also mentioned: "Addicts get into houses and, as well as stealing stuff, they rape some of the people who live there" (group of elderly men).

Linked to the possibility of sexual abuse, they mentioned the existence of *psychopaths* who flash women and children in public. This problem was mentioned by both the male and female groups of adults.

A topic brought up by young people, which proved controversial, was that of women dressing in a "provocative" manner and thus arousing perverts. However, one of the young men in the group refuted this idea, saying that none of them would rape a girl just because her clothes were tight, and the rest agreed (group of young people, aged 13-17).

Verbal aggression towards women in public places, either by their partner or by unknown men, was highlighted as another problem, as illustrated in Figure 3.11. Participants said that this type of violence has its roots in the *machista* culture and men's resentment towards women because they have been gaining their own space. The stress in society was also highlighted as one of the causes. Women described the effects of such aggression as part of a violence chain: "You're left feeling bad, angry, it erodes your emotions and it leads you to take revenge on the kids or people who have nothing to do with this" (group of elderly women, aged 40-65).

Figure 3.11 Flow diagram of causes and consequences, based on verbal aggression against women in public places, Contraloría
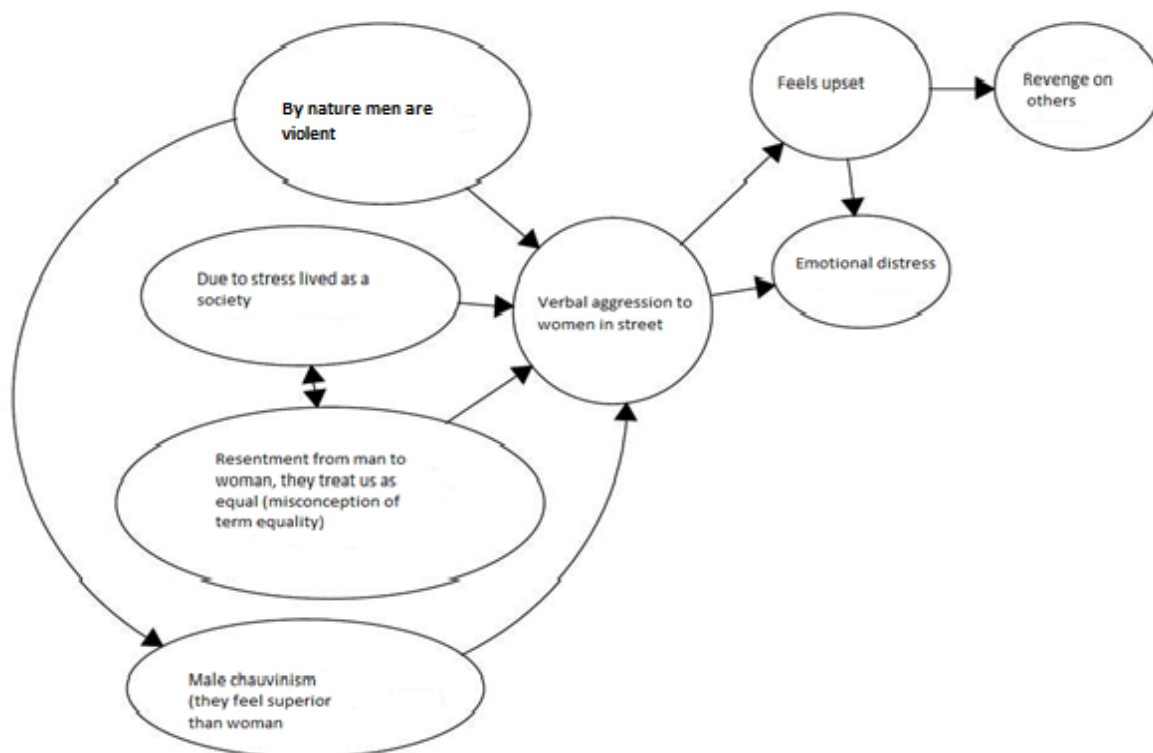
Source: Group of women, aged 45-65. Contraloría.

In this area, some of the participants perceive drug addiction as a cause of violence that is "camouflaged" (group of adult male community leaders). Some regard public squares as places where young people meet and drunks go to drink and take drugs. This means that some places become unsafe: "They are already drinking at three or four o'clock in the afternoon; we women can't go out" (group of adult women, aged 45-55). One woman said: "There's alcohol at home and in public places ; it's everywhere. (…) 14-year old kids, drunk (…) grab bottles and start fighting. It's like it [the alcohol] triggers the violence" (group of adult women, aged 40-65). Furthermore, it was mentioned that young people often have sex in full view in the squares, which discourages people from taking children out.

They said that as the district has enlarged, the 'wrong' kind of people has arrived: "The municipality grew, right? But how do you choose the people who buy in one place or another? Another added: "We see the fights on TV — they are more violent. It's 'the system' that leads people to this" (results-sharing meeting, adult man).

Job uncertainty with regard to income was ranked as another important problem, as shown in Figure 3.12. Economic dependence on their male partner makes women accept violence, because they fear economic uncertainty. Women face instability in their work as their jobs are informal and precarious and great demands are placed on them. Furthermore, they are discriminated against because women run the risk of pregnancy. This violence is due to an environment that is hostile towards women at work and their role as breadwinners for their families, as almost all men and women work to cover daily living costs. This particularly affects women heads of households, but is less complicated if she is a professional. "Here it's common for families to take care of grandchildren." Another woman said: "Unfortunately my daughter's husband doesn't give her a penny; she has to go out looking for work and leave her kids; she does sporadic jobs. I think that happens with all separated couples" (results-sharing meeting, adult man).

Figure 3.12 Flow diagram of causes and consequences and chains of violence that affect women, based on job uncertainty, Contraloría
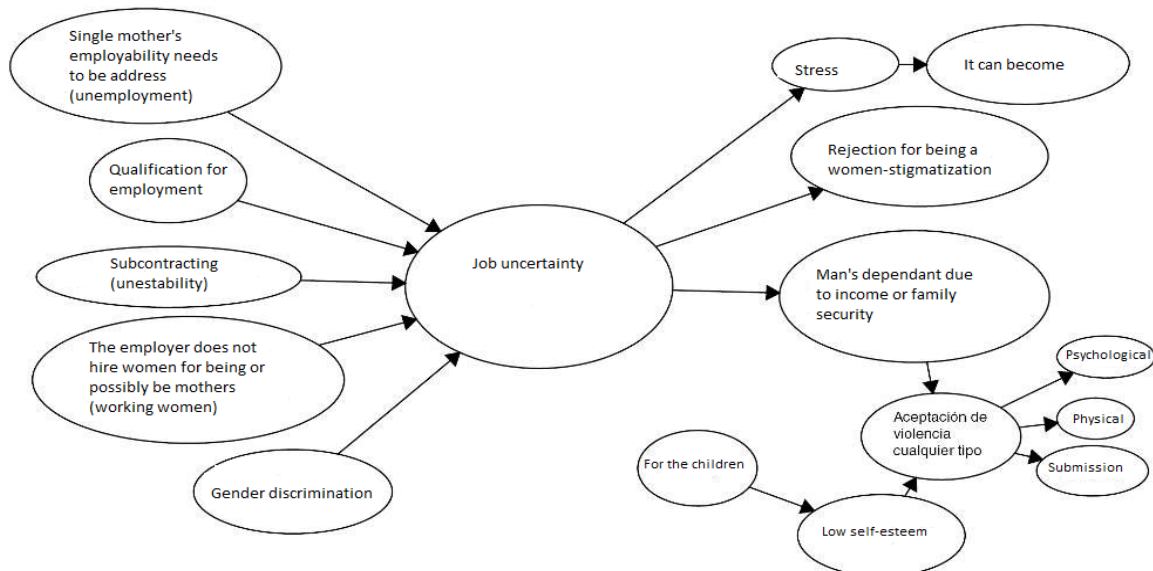
Source: Mixed group of young people, aged 17-20. Contraloría.

Violence-related problems affecting WOMEN in the HOME:

Intra-family violence, both psychological and physical, was the main problem emphasised. This contrasts with the fact that some groups said it was difficult to talk about intra-family violence because you don't know what happens behind closed doors: "Here, if a man hits his wife and really beats her up, it won't be known publicly" (group of adult male community leaders, aged 30-65).

Psychological violence towards women in the home is related to a *machista* culture, jealousy, and the fact that "men don't know how to manage their frustrations" within the family (group of adult male community leaders, aged 30-65). Participants mentioned that psychological violence is directed mainly by men towards women. "In homes, women are psychologically and physically abused by their partners; the man becomes violent when he doesn't get what he wants; he starts with verbal abuse and then lashes out." As illustrated in Figure 3.13, this generates a family crisis chain, couples are broken apart and children get hurt, adults get depressed and therefore take drugs.

Figure 3.13 Flow diagram of causes and consequence, illustrates how drug addiction is simultaneously a case and consequence of intra-family violence. Contraloría
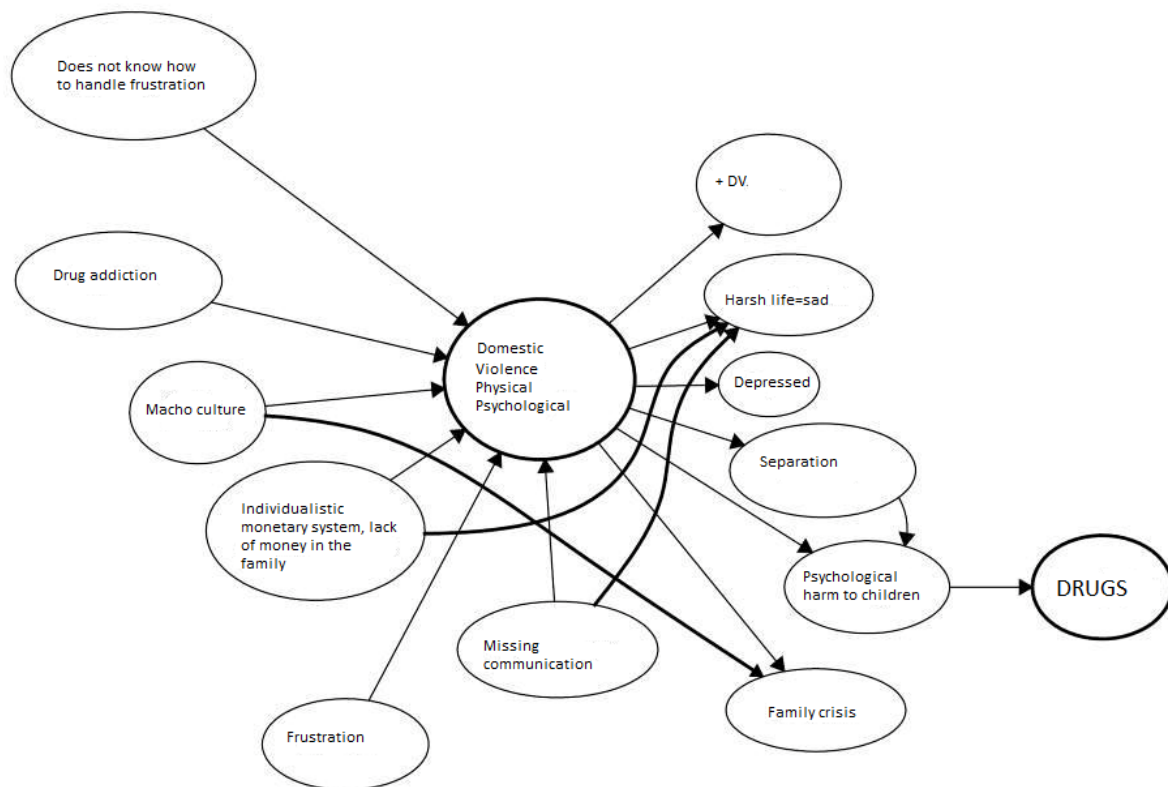
Source: Group of male community leaders, aged 30-65. Contraloría.

Alcohol consumption was identified as another factor leading to intra-family violence. "The husband arrives after a few drinks and the wife gets his attention somehow and it ends in intra-family violence, which in turn produces the break-up of the family." "Drunk men don't want anyone to contradict them, they don't want to be restricted, they lose control and arguments start" (group of elderly adult men).

One group suggested that a woman's financial dependence on her husband causes her to accept violence from him. She has to think of her children, who are caught in the middle, "so the woman has to resolve it in part or leave the man; it's not a choice, the

relationship does not become reciprocal: she feels responsible, she has to compromise in order to resolve the conflict" (group of mixed young people, aged 17-20).

There is physical abuse, as mothers hit their children, but the opposite also exists: children who abuse their mothers. The same goes for psychological abuse, inflicted by mothers on their children and vice versa. One group of women said that "you can see and hear this, just being disrespectful to your mum is psychological abuse" (group of adult women, aged 34-48). This problem was identified as something normal, a typical type of violence committed by young people (group of adult women, aged 60-75).

It was suggested that children hitting their mothers at home is caused by the *bad influences* they are exposed to as a result of the use of drugs and alcohol in public, parents' lack of authority over their children, and the absence of communication between couples and within the family. Children are often raised by maids or grandmothers who cannot get them to pay attention or punish them, while both parents, who "are completely focused on earning money," work outside the home (group of adult women, aged 60-75).

Young women also mentioned abuse — both physical and psychological — by mothers and fathers towards daughters. The reasons given for this abuse varied from not paying them attention or talking back, to not doing well at school, fighting with sisters and brothers or interfering in their parents' fights. "When your mum hits you, you don't respect her any more, you fear her" (group of young women, aged 14-15). Furthermore, boys today are more aware of their rights and can complain: "Grandchildren help sometimes; they call the 'carabineros' right away if I have a standoff with my wife. My grandson's mother tried to hit him once and he called the police and my daughter was called to court" (results-sharing meeting, adult man). Another group said that the violence men suffer is similar to that which women encounter, but "men are more private... they are abused, but they just take it, you keep it quiet..." (group of young males, aged 15-17).

b)   Violence-related problems affecting MEN

Violence-related problems affecting MEN in PUBLIC places:
Men are the main perpetrators, but also the primary victims, of violence problems that occur in public places. What is noteworthy in this case is that these conflicts take place almost exclusively among peers, whether among young or adult men.

Fights among men occur for different causes: trying to be 'cool', "to gain status and respect" (group of young males, aged 14-15), or because of disagreements over football. Stress also generates fights among adults; men "get out of their cars and start laying in to one another" (group of adult women, aged 60-75).

A distinction was drawn between fights among younger men compared to those among adults; in the former, weapons may be used and some fights result in death. Among the causes mentioned for fights among young men that can prove fatal were financial debt, drug consumption or withdrawal symptoms, or for some the need to prove their superiority and ability to kill. Jealousy within a relationship can also lead to fatalities. The consequences highlighted were revenge killings, increased tension in the neighbourhood and increased mistrust (group of young males, aged 15-17).

Violence-related problems affecting MEN in the HOME:
In the home, intra-family violence is the main issue affecting men. Fights between parents and children, one of the problems highly ranked, translate into verbal and psychological abuse. Situations such as children having to repeat a year of school lead to arguments and later to psychological abuse. "My parents say many things that hurt: that

I'm lazy, that there's no future for me." Another young man recalls that on one occasion his parents told him he was a mistake (an unplanned baby) and added "I cried for a week" (group of young males, aged 14-15).

Sometimes the opposite situation arises when children are verbally aggressive towards their parents, when the parents are unemployed for instance; sons want things the father cannot give them. Other times sons simply feel like fighting and become aggressive; disputes also arise because both the father and the son want to be *in charge* (group of young males, aged 14-15).

Sexual abuse of boys was a problem ranked by one group of young men. The circumstances that lead to it were not clearly identified, but the existence of "perverts" was given as the cause. The group suggested that this problem would have consequences for the boys that had been abused, who could themselves become "perverts," "go mad" or become homosexuals (group of young males, aged 15-16).

c)   Tipping points in Contraloría

The problems highlighted by the groups refer fundamentally to violence within family relationships; specific elements that could be interpreted as tipping points did not figure strongly.

Domestic violence is mainly caused by parents being stressed by their work, completely focused on earning money, thus losing close contact with sons and daughters and giving way to intra-family violence. Such a situation is related to aspects of a structural violence: the pressure of the system and stress leads to frustration, exhaustion and tension in family life. This, in turn, is linked to drug and alcohol use as a form of escapism, as Figure 3.14 shows.

Figure 3.14   Flow diagram of a violence chain caused by drug adiction and alcoholism, Contraloría
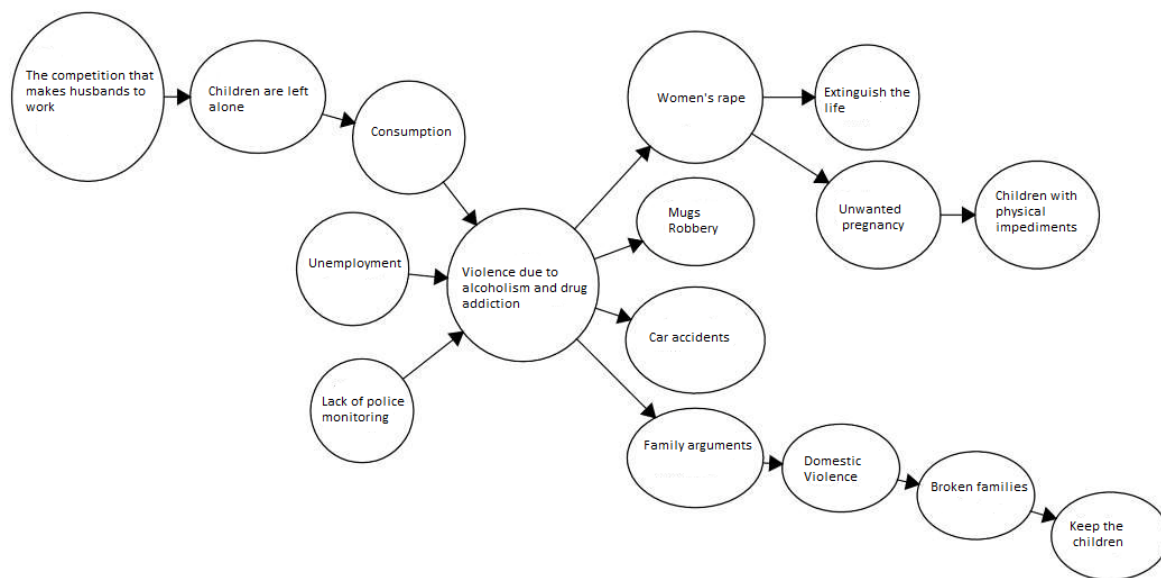
Source: Group of elderly men. Contraloría.

d)   Violence chains in Contraloría

Problems relating to intra-family violence have several starting points that can generate different violence chains.

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Drug and alcohol use was one of the problems highlighted, with *alcohol- and addiction-related violence* identified as the element triggering the greatest number of chains of violence, as demonstrated by Figure 3.14. It becomes clear that violence against women predominates, including rape, which can lead to effects such as unwanted pregnancies, family arguments and family breakdown.

Fights between fathers and sons, was another triggering element, as illustrated by Figure 3.15. This includes different types of violence — physical, psychological and sexual — affecting family members; violence from sons/daughters towards fathers/mothers and vice versa; and violence among siblings.

Figure 3.15 Flow diagram and violence chain caused by fights between fathers and sons, Contraloría
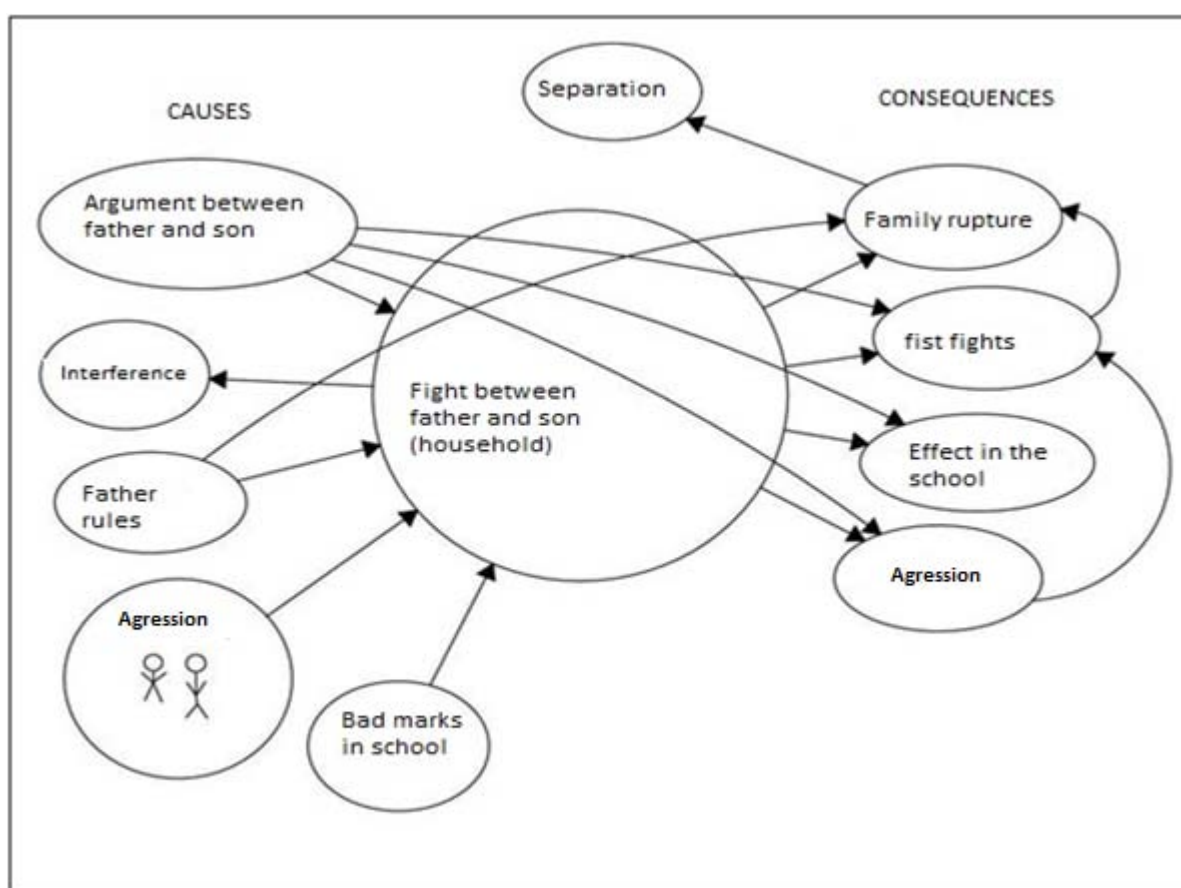
Source: Group of young males, aged 14-15. Contraloría.

Figure 3.16 illustrates another domestic violence chain with *mothers that are beaten by their sons and daughters* as the main problem. A lack of authority and loss of communication between parents and kids were pinpointed as the main causes of this problem, while family desintegration and mothers having a low self-esteem were highligted as consequences.

Figure 3.16 Flow diagram and violence chain based on mothers that are beaten by their sons, Contraloría
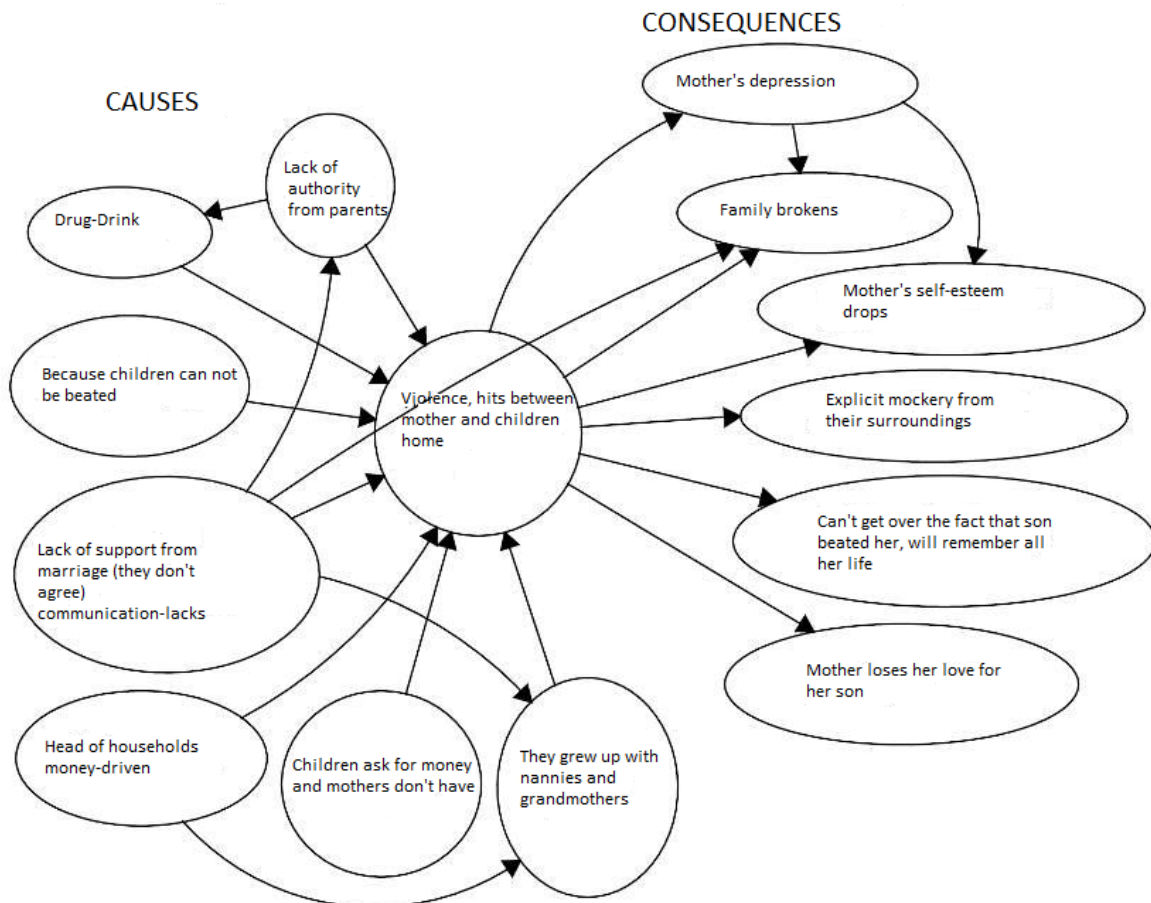
Source: Group of elderly women. Contraloría.

e)   Institutions

Institutions were rated both positively and negatively in Contraloría; it was felt that they could improve their effectiveness. Police bodies were the institutions with the highest number of mentions, as shown in Table 3.6

Table 3.6 Institutions identified in Contraloría

Type of institution	Details of the institution	Frequency
Police institutions	Carabineros and PDI	23
Other institutions	Fire brigade; Rehabilitation Centre (*Centro de Rehabilitación*); Peace and Justice Service (*Corporación Servicio Paz y Justicia, SERPAJ*): Greenpeace; Citizens' Peace Foundation (*Fundación Paz Ciudadana*); shelters; Women's Centre (*Casa de la Mujer*).	15
Community organisations and centres	Senior Citizens' Centres; Cultural Centres; Neighbourhood Groups; Local advancement Committees	8
Schools	Schools	8
Programmes and services provided by the State	National Council for the Control of Substance Abuse (Consejo Nacional para el Control de Estupefacientes, CONACE); National Service for Minors (Servicio Nacional de Menores, SENAME); National Women's Service (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer, SERNAM); Legal Aid Corporation (Corporación de Asistencia Judicial).	7
Health institutions	Health Centre; Psychologists; Hospital	7
Others mentioned which are not institutions	Postal workers; Chemists; Supermarket; Sports; Prostitution; Television help for battered women.	7
Religious institutions	Church	6
Programmes and services provided by the Municipality	Public Safety; Mayor's Office	5
Judicial institutions	Law courts	2
Family	Family	1

Source: Institutions named by 18 groups in Contraloría.

Carabineros were praised for their work with women and children rape victims; for their family mediation mechanisms in cases of intra-family violence; for preventing violence at dangerous football matches; and for information on and identification of drug dealing hot-spots. However, on the down side, it was said that Carabineros do not prevent, but in fact generate, violence through their repressive practices, as many of their interventions end in confrontation. The investigative police (*PDI*) is generally viewed positively for its work, which is seen as better than that of the 'carabineros'. However, it too is criticised for the violence of its officers. When groups are fighting, "they (PDI) draw their weapons and provoke even more violence" (group of young males, aged 14-15).

Community Organisations and Centres were seen only as positive. The work carried out by the Cultural Centres in developing alternative activities to violence was highlighted. The Neighbourhood Committees were praised for their preventive work (neighbourhood watch, detection of hot-spots for violence and making complaints to the Mayor). However, it is recognised that their focus is safety at 'block' level, instead of at entire neighbourhoods, which demonstrates that their concern is for the most immediate area rather than the entire sector.

Schools are considered important with regard to violence: they educate and socialise; however, it is thought that their role continues to be deficient, as they merely detect and refer problems without taking charge of finding a solution.

With regard to programmes and services provided by the State, the work of the National Service for Minors (*SENAME*) was criticised for a lack of information regarding its specific functions. SENAME's help with violence was praised, but it was also mentioned that it ultimately fails in its attempt to help, because "the majority of the children that go to SENAME learn to be delinquents" (group of young women, aged 16-17).

The health institutions are viewed positively. The hospital is recognised for its contribution in identifying rape cases and the health centres are welcomed as positive agents that provide therapy to the victims of sexual violence. However, the quality of treatment is criticised (for being incomplete), hence the emphasis placed on the importance of completing treatments so they have a real impact on the rehabilitation of a victim.

Religious organisations, specifically work with young people by Churches, were praised (they educate and preach).

With regard to programmes and services provided by the Municipality, it was stressed that the Municipality is an institution external to the neighbourhood and, as such, "doesn't help with anything" and "acts with class prejudice." However, other aspects were regarded positively, such as the role of the National Council for the Control of Substance Abuse (*Consejo Nacional para el Control de Estupefacientes, CONACE*), a drug-prevention institution that offers resources to different organisations to fund projects.

Judicial institutions are regarded negatively, especially the law court in the neighbourhood, constantly receiving offenders who come to sign the register, which annoys local people.

The family, last place in the ranking, is seen both positively and negatively. It is responsible for preventive action through educating, providing values and stopping violence; however, its performance is seen as falling short of this. It was proposed that families "should turn off the telly, make a commitment to education and participate more in the school" (group of male community leaders, aged 30-65). Television was seen as positive because it reports where an abused person can go for help; and negative because "it is a poor educator and doesn't prevent violence," and above all because families watch it constantly, which reduces communication.

4.3   La Dehesa, Municipality of Lo Barnechea

La Dehesa is known as an area in which people with high incomes and a good standard of living are concentrated. Nevertheless, in this same area, there are also some social housing neighbourhoods — Cerro 18, Juan Pablo II and La Ermita de San Antonio — which have become poor enclaves in an area mainly populated by wealthy people. This situation is key to perceptions of violence among the discussion groups. Violence is perceived and experienced by them as something that comes from outside, provoked by "others," particularly people from a lower socio-economic level.

Table 3.7 Violence-related problems cited, and the frequency with which they were mentioned, La Dehesa

Violence-related problems mentioned	Frequency*
Assault/mugging	7
Fights	4
Sexual abuse	3
Physical appearance	3
Bullying	3
Fear	3
Intra-family violence	3

* Frequency refers to the number of times a problem was mentioned by the groups in the list and ranking of violence-related problems.

Source: Seven groups in La Dehesa.

a)   Violence-related problems affecting WOMEN

Violence-related problems affecting WOMEN in PUBLIC places:

In La Dehesa, women's bodies, as an 'object of desire', are at the core of different types of violence affecting them, be it physical, sexual or psychological.

According to the groups, car smash-and-grab incidents are one of the important problems affecting women. This is because "women are more defenceless and more attractive" (group of young women, aged 17-19). These incidents often take place during the morning peak period for traffic, when women are driving. When they stop at traffic lights, bridges or petrol stations, thieves approach them to steal their handbags or take things from the car, sometimes breaking the car windows. As a result, the Carabineros "have stationed police vehicles at the problem hot-spots in the mornings" (group of adult men, aged 49-51).

Sexual harassment of young women in public places was mentioned frequently. It can take the form of visual or verbal harassment, offensive *piropos* (flirtatious comments). The young women perceive this as a type of violence, as they feel they are being treated as *sexual objects* — "when they shout stuff at you [obscenities] I feel like a piece of meat" — and this makes them feel more vulnerable than men: "When coming home at night, I'd rather be a man." The young women argued that this is exacerbated by TV, which only shows "*tits and ass*," which they feel attacks their integrity as women (group of young women, aged 18-19). Furthermore, the risk of rape, which is more fear than fact, was highlighted as another problem, especially affecting younger women. They feel vulnerable to rape when they are walking in public places. As this could happen on public transport, especially in taxis, they avoid using them if they are alone, especially when they are drunk; they have heard of girls getting raped in this situation (however, none of

the members of the group was able to confirm that this does happen) (group of young women, aged 18-19).

The groups associated the fear of sexual assault with a number of causes, mainly the fact that society "is very sexualised" and also that "the female body is over-eroticised." It was also linked to the lack of sex education; the influence of TV and the internet, which do not provide sex education; men with mental illnesses and the fact that some men are aroused by the use of "force". Some young women said that when women "dress provocatively" it incites men and this is because some women imitate the appearance of women on television (group of young women, aged 18-19).

One group of girls spoke about discrimination and bullying at school, a problem that affects both boys and girls. They gave as an example some of the things which are said at school: "Get out of here, fatty [girl], get out of here, queer (…) because you can't be a *perkins* [an underdog] (…). There are really powerful forms of discrimination, for instance calling people 'gay' or 'lesbian' when they are not." When asked about some of the causes for this type of violence, they said that "there are people who enjoy seeing others suffer"; that the supposedly most popular groups discriminate and "there are some people who don't bother with anyone who is different." They said that this type of violence "is psychologically annoying and hurtful" and could lead to stress, depression and even suicide (group of girls, aged 10-12). A group of older young girls also spoke of other bullying instances: "They ruined the life of one friend, they didn't accept her because she was ugly; she became aggressive and they formed a clique that totally excluded her, nobody accepted her, it was terrible…" (Group of young women, aged 17-19).

Violence-related problems affecting WOMEN in the HOME:
When time to talk about violence in the home came round, the first reaction in La Dehesa was denial. They find it difficult to acknowledge violence that takes place within their families or in relationships with peers. "Here things don't get on television; people take good care to ensure that, some things are not made public." (Group of adult women, aged 50-55). The follow-up was a persistent reference to violence against property, where they are the victims.

Along this line, burglary was one of the most highlighted problems which affect women and all the members of a family. It was expressed in a number of ways: fear of people breaking into the house while the residents are there, fear of going out and leaving the children home alone, the possibility of rape during the break-in, especially in the case of young women: "I'm not scared of them taking the telly but I am scared of being raped" (group of young women, aged 18-19).

One group of adults said: "Our houses are broken into (…) we don't trust some of the guards, they don't carry out all the security measures." If they go out, they warn their children not to open the door to strangers. They said that the fear of break-ins is greater than the reality, but "they wouldn't go to live in just any house," referring to the security measures in place in their current home, which another home might not have (group of adult women, aged 45-50). Other measures they take include not leaving windows open, even if "they are suffocating" in the summer. They said that "it is unsafe in the street and in the home. I have like three different alarms in my house; the alarm and the dogs are necessary. Here a system of mobile guards has been organised to take care of the neighbourhood. However it is not an area where people walk" (group of adult women, aged 50-55).

With regard to the causes of burglaries, the participants mentioned social inequality and the carelessness of homeowners: "opportunity makes the burglar", as shown in Figure 3.17. They said that lack of education, family problems and extreme poverty lead young people to want to steal, as do drugs and adrenaline: "Anger, frustration and also envy

and the desire to own things, such as trendy clothes, lead them to steal" (group of adult women, aged 45-50). Social inequality turns into violence: "If poor people don't have anything, they come to steal from us… It's because of need but also because of a lack of values." They added that "abandonment by their parents, intra-family violence and the break-down of the family all have a big influence on violence (…) when they can't meet their basic needs, violence results" (group of adult women, aged 45-50).

Figure 3.17 Cause-flow diagram based on social inequality as a cause of fear of break-ins, La Dehesa
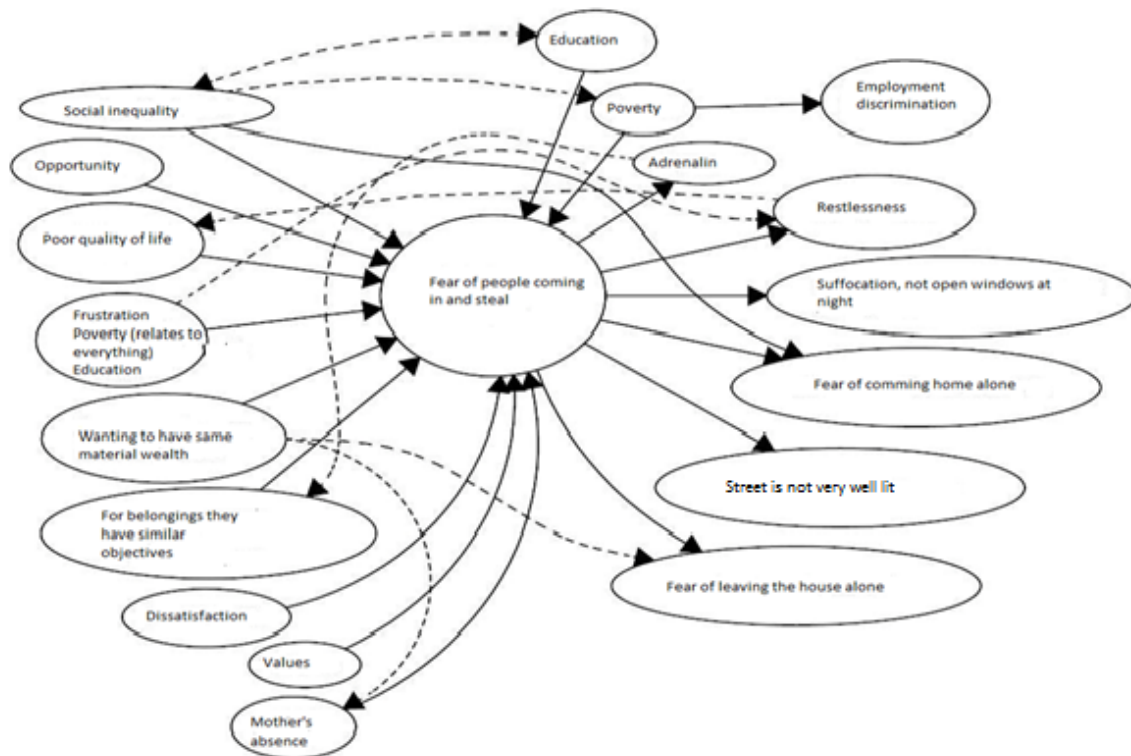
Source: Group of adult women, aged 45-50. La Dehesa.

The violence-related problems in family relationships affecting women tend to involve the whole family nucleus. This is shown in a variety of ways: competitive relationships between sons and daughters; lack of authority and difficulty with establishing boundaries and maintaining control of children; lack of respect and neglect of children and elderly people; and violence and discrimination towards domestic employees (mentioned both by a group of adult women and a group of young women).

Another problem mentioned was gender-based violence in relationships, both between dating and married couples. Violence in couples who are dating was spoken of as something people hear about but which is not discussed openly. "I've heard that her boyfriend hits her" (group of young women, aged 17-19). Women can be victim to both psychological and physical violence in a relationship and this can be related to jealousy, infidelity and physical appearance. It was suggested that it affects adult women because they "are kept" by their husbands, which in some cases leads them to put up with violence (group of young women, aged 18-19). It was also implied that drug and alcohol consumption, which mainly affect men, leads to fights between parents and children and

between siblings, but this is all kept hidden. "There is well-financed drug and alcohol use" (group of mixed young people, aged 18-23).

The problem of children being violent was also mentioned. One group of adult women said that this is related to the fact that children stay at home a lot of the time, they do not go out to play in the street, rather they play video games and "play-station", watch films and TV programmes, which are violent and change their behaviour (group of adult women, aged 50-55). On the other hand, one group of young women highlighted the abuse of small children by maids and also sometimes the opposite, violence by children towards maids (group of young women, aged 18-19).

The high value placed on physical appearance and the demand that young and adult women must remain "slim" were problems highlighted by several groups, especially by young people: "The fat women from here go on the metro and they really aren't fat but here they are seen as fat…" (group of mixed young people, aged 18-23). It was mentioned that television influences people as it promotes a physical stereotype of women, which some women imitate. Even in one group of schoolgirls (aged 10 to 12), this issue was mentioned, and they said that they could be discriminated against at school for being "fat".

Violence between a couple and physical appearance seem to be related, as one of the groups mentioned: "Husbands start to look less at their partners and stop being interested," hence the concern over physical appearance which is transmitted to young people (group of young women, aged 18-19). While it predominantly affects women, the pressure regarding physical appearance also reaches young men. It was said that they are compelled by their parents to practise sports to bring out their masculine side and that the virility of their appearance is a concern (group of young women, aged 18-19).

b)   Violence-related problems affecting MEN

Violence-related problems affecting MEN in PUBLIC places:
Fights among groups of young men and drunks were highlighted as one of the main problems affecting young men in public places. These fights are motivated by women and jealousy, differences between groups of young people (different ages, schools or social classes), and the defence of friends: "Men get into fights because one looked at another's girlfriend and then they all get involved." Drug and alcohol consumption is an element that contributes towards violent behaviour: "They don't know what they're doing, they're out of themselves" (group of young women, aged 17-19).

Fights between drunks generally take place outside nightclubs and in a nearby square, where "people from different social levels mingle." There are some groups who go to the nightclub especially to fight: "It's good to feel that you have power over someone else; this is also related to masculinity… you can see the rage immediately" (young women, aged 17-19). Young men know that they will not be punished for their violent behaviour in these fights: "An aggressor could easily be a civil engineer from the Católica [Catholic University]… So he feels protected… immune" (group of mixed young people, aged 18-23).

The violence at nightclubs provokes fear and anxiety in the mothers of these young men. "The nightclub is a risky place; there are a lot of fights and it scares me." According to the groups, "outside it's worse — there are drugs, cannabis and sometimes even "people who are different from you." The guards are thugs, as scary as the drunks and addicts… They really beat up Vero's son, completely broke his jaw" (group of adult women, aged 50-55).

Physical appearance and looks are a decisive factor in peer approval or rejection, especially of young people. In turn, this is a decisive factor in whether a young person is popular or bullied at school, within the family and in public. Bullying, mentioned in various groups, seems to be a frequent practice, both within families (between siblings or parents and children), where it is not always recognised as violence, and at school, where it is more visible.

Violence-related problems affecting MEN in the HOME:
Home break-ins were highlighted as the main type of violence in the area, affecting both men and women. Groups speculated that one of the reasons for this is the difference in the level of earnings, in their words "the profit margin is greater here" (group of mixed young people, aged 18-23). This results in the violence being identified with the poorest sectors, something mentioned by different groups; there are "hot-spots for violence" from which they come to steal, from Cerro 18 (and other poor residential areas). They referred to socio-economic factors, such as envy and resentment by poor people towards higher-class people. Like the women's groups, the men said that unprotected homes provide the conditions for burglary: "If a thief sees an opportunity, he takes it immediately." (Group of adult men, aged 49-51).

As a result, people "feel vulnerable" and they adopt a culture of security. "You feel vulnerable and you have to take a lot of measures yourself and, as a result, we generate a dynamic of security." This logic reproduces itself: "Protect yourself, I try to instil in the kids ideas about protection (…) I walk around checking if they have painted some rubbish on the door" (group of adult men, aged 49-51). They added that "the issue is one of a model that is completely unfair, there are underlying social issues that are relevant." The sensation of insecurity is leading to changes in habits: "I was dead against putting in alarms but I had to do it," "if there is some lunatic, even if it is just three mates talking, I give them a wide berth," "if a kid says to me 'I'm going to go by bus at 2.30 in the morning,' I say 'no way, I'm going to pick you up'" (group of adult men, aged 49-51).

c)   Tipping points in La Dehesa

Urban development — The *landscape change* in La Dehesa, from being initially a semi-rural area disconnected from the city, to becoming a heavily populated area with large-scale urban development, was highlighted by the groups as a tipping point that has transformed life in the area, making it ever more congested, unsafe and violent.

The mix of people, meaning some settlements of poor families in the area, was referred to as an element generating violence and fear. Due to social resentment, there are greater opportunities for theft and fights between young people of different socio-economic levels.

The groups suggested that social inequality, expressed by a fear of others and the lack of tolerance for social diversity, are among the main elements leading to violence and people feeling unsafe. These elements frequently unleash fights among young men, for varied reasons — different ages, schools or social classes, and the defence of friends, worsened by drug and alcohol consumption — as seen in Figure 3.18.

Figure 3.18 Flow diagram and violence chain based on fights among young men for various reasons, La Dehesa
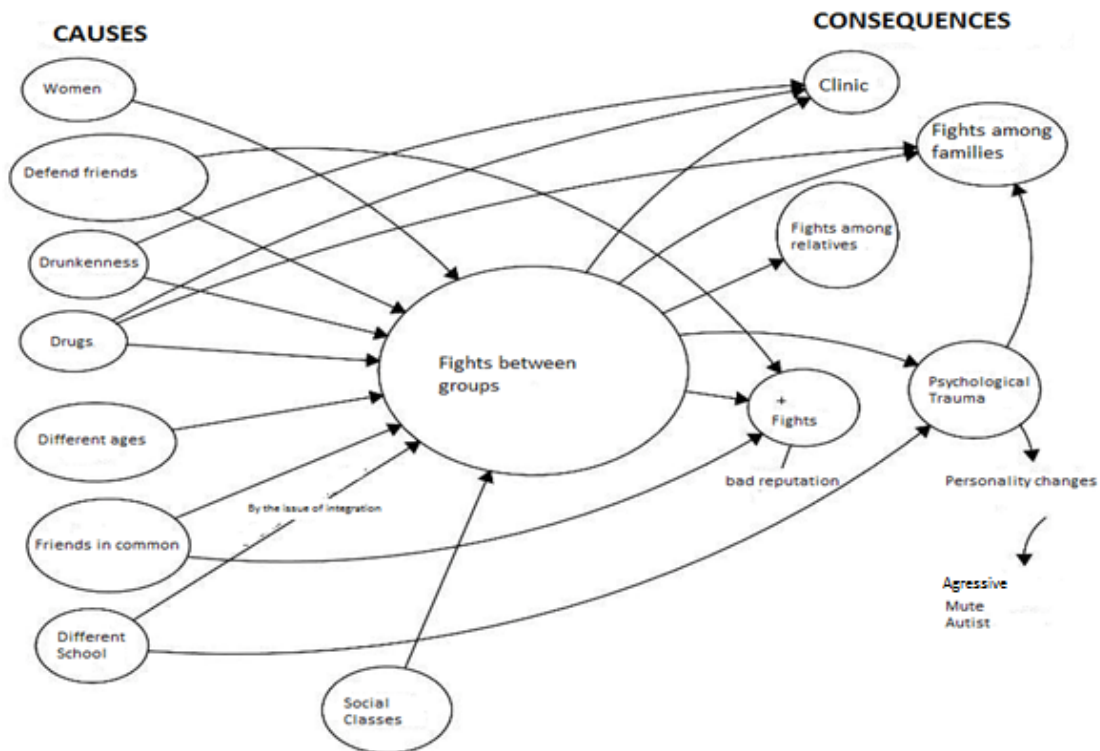
Source: Group of young women, aged 17-19. La Dehesa.

d) Violence chains in La Dehesa

According to the women's perceptions, violent video games can be one of the starting points of violence chains. They say that these games have a violent logic whereby the player must eliminate or kill the other player, the enemy, in order to win; and children learn this while playing and afterwards replicate it in real life. "You have to beat the other person; it's all about winning… winners and losers." This, they think, is related to abandonment: "The parents don't worry; it's easier to leave their child in front of the TV or playing games." When children are left alone with the maid, they are unsupervised, but parents feel reassured that their children are inside the house and not outside: "This has a number of negative consequences: children become obese because they don't move, they don't go out to practise sports; they become aggressive as a result of playing games; and they experience anxiety and loneliness (group of adult women, aged 50-55).

It was also suggested that at the root of this problem lies an atmosphere that favours violence, a lack of values that is ultimately part of the dominant model. "The economic model is like a system of life: it teaches us that you have to win in this life, be successful winners; you have to eliminate everyone else, it's like the game" (group of adult women, aged 50-55).

e) Institutions

All the institutions mentioned are located within the neighbourhood; they were evaluated both positively and negatively, with the exception of the health institutions, which were

viewed only positively. They were criticised, however, for not doing anything to prevent violence, dedicating themselves to just treating people.

Table 3.8 Institutions identified in La Dehesa

Type of institution	Details of the institution	Frequency
Programmes and services provided by the Municipality	Citizen safety; street lighting	8
Others mentioned which are not institutions	Cerro 18; Help for battered women; television; prison; bullying.	8
Police institutions	Carabineros and PDI	7
Other institutions mentioned	Citizen Peace Foundation (*Fundación Paz Ciudadana*); fire brigade; Women's Organisation *(Organización de la Mujer)*; Greenpeace; anti-discrimination organisations	5
Private security	Alarm and private guard companies	4
Schools	Schools and teachers	3
Community organisations and centres	Neighbourhood committee	2
Family	Fathers	2
Health institutions	Health centre and polyclinic	1
Judicial institutions	Law courts	1
Programmes and services provided by the State	State	1

Source: Institutions named by 7 groups in La Dehesa

The Municipality is seen as an institution that does little to deal with violence. One group of men said that it does nothing because they (higher-income families) are not the priority public group, since social programmes are not focused on them (group of adult men, aged 49-51). It was added that the Citizen Safety *(Seguridad Ciudadana)* programme, while positive, has little presence in the area, while greater presence is needed.

With regard to Carabineros (the institution), positive opinions were associated with the different activities it carries out to prevent violence, "being a presence." Comments were also made about actions related to violence, such as officers intervening in confrontational situations and arresting people associated with crimes. The negative view of Carabineros is explained by the institution's inadequate staffing level and delays when called: "They give preferential treatment to people of their own level, unlike what happens in other areas," and the existence of corruption: "There is corruption, not at the 'cop' level but higher up (I've heard that if you make a donation, they give you your identity card)" (group of mixed young people, aged 18-23).

The investigative police (*PDI*) were viewed negatively for having little presence in the area and not doing anything.

Private Security is one of the institutions that were mentioned most frequently. Although it is viewed positively, there are criticisms about how it works: "The word is that [the security firm] Security SAT promoted burglaries in the neighbourhood to boost business" (group of mixed young people, aged 18-23). Another criticism is related to their limited capacity to act: "If your house is broken into, the private security firm arrives first but

they can't do anything; those who can are the Carabineros" (group of mixed young people, aged 18-23). It is seen as a service with little effective use and its actions are limited to patrolling in cars and providing a guard presence.

Regarding the school, it was felt, on the one hand, that it is responsible for providing direction, teaching respect and good manners; but that it also provides a space where children and young people can form relationships with peers with different (negative) values, which makes the school's initial objectives more difficult. Teachers try to prevent violence by having talks and interviews with parents and when violence occurs, punishing the offenders and calling the parents.

The community centres and organisations, and specifically the neighbourhood committees, were positively evaluated; the lack of community culture in the neighbourhood was recognised, as was the need for greater communication and organisation between neighbours. It was said that the neighbourhood committees work on safety (or lack of) and violence, check the private security firms and analyse violence-related issues in order to prevent them (adult men, aged 49-51).

The family was mentioned as an important institution, the one which "teaches you how to deal with violence," but also "if you are violent, the family suffers" (group of young women, aged 18-19). It was argued that the family prevents violence by educating children, instilling values, assigning tasks to be done in their free time, talking with children and being present. Families look for solutions to violence-related problems and provide consolation or punishment, depending on the situation. Other things mentioned here were television, which is either positive or negative, depending on the programmes being broadcast; and bullying, described as negative behaviour, as "young people can even end up killing themselves ..." (group of girls, aged 10-12); and Cerro 18, as a "hot-spot for violence" in the area.

The State is seen both positively and negatively, depending on the social policies it implements. Among the functions associated with the State are the development of campaigns, legislation and the administration of prevention and education organisations, as well as responding to violence through prisons (rehabilitation programmes).

5 Conclusions from the PVA. Reflections after the fieldwork

5.1 Problems and types of violence

The rich information yielded by the PVA methodology demonstrates that, contrary to what is often thought, violence exists in all three of the areas investigated, which correspond to low, middle and high socio-economic strata. Violence is not confined to poor areas, as is often depicted by the media. Furthermore, victims as well as perpetrators can be found in every socio-economic level.

In **El Castillo,** women and men both recognised and spoke openly about the violence-related problems of an economic and socio-economic nature that affect them at home and in public. These include the prevalence of drug use, micro-trafficking networks, fights and shootings, and power struggles. These manifestations of violence have diverse consequences for family life and the neighbourhood, as they generate high levels of fear, and impede the free use of public spaces. Houses are not safe spaces either, given that their small size and precariousness in terms of material resources engender poor living conditions and overcrowding. As a result, stress and frustration lead to violence in family relationships, child abuse and violence against women are all prevalent.

From a gender perspective, the violence-related problems that affect men are related to fights, weapon-use (linked to drugs), and conflicts between gangs, troublemakers and hooligans. The 'law of the jungle' governs the conduct of men in public places. The violence-related problems that affect women are mainly tied to violence within couples, teen pregnancies (that later give rise to child abuse or mistreatment). These forms of violence exist within the space of the home, yet they are also visible in public spaces. *Machismo* was identified as the principal cause of violence against women, an attitude that is passed down from generation to generation. While it is true that today women are less subordinated and no longer "take these behaviours sitting down" as in the past, their greater autonomy has not been paralleled by an equivalent evolution on the part of men.

A lack of i) opportunities, ii) education, iii) employment, and iv) money, were identified as the main causes of violence-related problems in El Castillo. Male and female participants connected these causes to the existence of a model that produces inequality and discrimination. The underlying problem, then, is one of structural violence. In the context of this situation, drugs are only the symptom: they constitute an escape from frustration and a possible route to easy money.

The area of **Contraloría** is perceived as a quiet residential neighbourhood. Here violence is predominantly social, taking the form of violence in family relationships — such as abuse, fights, hitting between mothers/fathers, sons/daughters — and violence against women within couples. This is partly explained by the fact that fathers and mothers are under high stress relating to their jobs, they are "completely focused on earning money," and, consequently, they lose daily contact with their sons and daughters.

Types of socio-economic violence mentioned were fights in public spaces, as well as young people's use of public squares for drug and alcohol consumption and having sex. The effect of this violence is the increasingly limited use of these spaces by women and by other community members. The types of economic violence discussed were assaults and muggings that primarily affect women, but also boys and girls in the distinct places that they customarily frequent.

From a gender perspective, violence against women within couples, economic dependency, and uncertainty and discrimination related to employment are problems that affect women both in the home and in public places. In terms of causes, participants alluded to a *machista* culture and to men's resentment of women because of their increased autonomy. Street fights, drug and alcohol consumption are problems that

affect men in public, as well as in the home. Men are the main perpetrators, but also the primary victims of violence problems that occur in the public places.

The "pressure of the capitalist system" and the "stress that we live as a society" (structural violence) were the main causes of the problems identified in Contraloría. These forms of violence are intertwined with consumerism and individualism (cultural violence), which produces frustration, a workaholic ethic among adults, and a subsequent loss of authority and communication with sons and daughters.

La Dehesa was the area we found the most challenging to talk about violence. The initial reaction of the groups was to deny that violence existed in their personal relationships. Instead, participants referred almost exclusively to direct forms of economic violence, e.g. assaults, house burglaries and theft of and from cars. However, as participants discussed the issues in more depth, we discovered that there are other violence-related problems in the area, although they are not as easy to recognise.

Fear related to robberies and assaults, potential or real, and other violence-related problems were very present in these focus groups. Intolerance towards diversity and a fear of the 'other', as *different, poor and violent,* create powerful feelings of insecurity, and a perception that the community is unsafe. The response to these fears is to adopt protective measures — contract private security companies, go out less often so as not to leave the house unattended, install bars on windows and doors, erect fences, and get guard dogs. Life takes place inside the home or in enclosed places, not out in public spaces.

From a gender perspective, the following problems related to social violence were identified: violence against women within couples, fights among young men for various reasons, discrimination and bullying at school and within the family. The importance of physical appearance and the obligation to be "thin" was emphasised as a very forceful cultural norm for both young and adult women.

In relation to the main causes of the problems identified, participants isolated the prevailing economic model, social inequality and a paucity of social values. The notion of a *culture of winners* was discussed.

We observe that in all three city areas there are manifestations of *direct violence* that are economic, socio-economic and social in nature. That is, participants reported the existence of *violence against people* (violence against women, child abuse, sexual harassment and abuse, bullying, fights, shootings and drug-related deaths, robberies and muggings), as well as *violence against property* (assaults/damage and house burglaries and theft from cars). Also prevalent is political/institutional violence, exemplified by the overcrowded housing conditions in El Castillo, and by the fear and perception of a lack of safety that predominate in the three areas.

On a second level of analysis, the causes of the violence-related problems identified by the participants are:

- *Structural violence*, as evidenced by the profound economic and social inequalities that characterise the three areas, in addition to lack of opportunities, education and money, specifically in El Castillo.

- *Cultural violence,* taking the form of machismo, consumerism and individualism in all three of the areas; the stress and pressure of the system in Contraloría, and the 'winner' culture and a lack of values in La Dehesa.

Hence, it is clear that the problems related to *direct violence* are merely a palpable manifestation of a much deeper and widespread problem rooted in *structural violence*

and legitimated by *cultural violence*. This reality is clearly demonstrated by the three case studies, as depicted in Figure 3.19. However, this is not a phenomenon that affects only these three places, but rather, one that exists in the entire country. For proof of this condition, we need look no further than the multiple protests and mobilisations currently being realised by a dissatisfied multitude in different cities. As a result, conflicts and forms of violence that have been hidden for a long time are now becoming visible.[32]

Figure 3.19 Specific types of violence and cross-cutting violence in the three areas — El Castillo, Contraloría and La Dehesa.

Direct Violence
More severe and frequent.

In the home and in public places as part of a continuum.

The "LOSERS" of the system.

Direct Violence
Less severe.

Intra-family violence in the home as a result of stress and a lack of communication. Illusion of integration via the market.

'CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE' — Inhabitants want to distance themselves from the poor and become more like the wealthy.

Direct Violence
Less severe, less visible, less acknowledged.

The "WINNERS" of the system.

STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE
Inequality
Inequity

CULTURAL VIOLENCE
Consumerism
Individualism
Machismo

Source: Produced by the SUR research team

5.2   Institutions

In all three of the areas investigated, there was dissatisfaction with the way institutions related to violence. In El Castillo, although there are a significant number of social interventions and programmes, both public and private, the perception is one of abandonment. Nobody is truly dedicated to the people: "There is no institution mounting a counterattack to violence." In Contraloría, the actions of various institutions are deemed to be deficient in general. In La Dehesa, the institutions dedicated to private security were highlighted, but they are perceived as having a negligible capacity for real action. As such, community members' demands revolve around a greater police presence.

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[32] Over the course of the past several months, numerous protests (close to 80) have been carried out in distinct cities of the country. These are demonstrations by organisations and movements that have focused their struggles on conflicts related to the lived-in space of cities, and access to institutions (health, education, housing, leisure, among others). See: Línea temporal de manifestaciones y luchas urbanas, Chile, 2011 (A Time Line of Protest and Urban Struggle, Chile, 2011) at www.sitiosur.cl.

There are insignificant differences between the institutions identified in the three areas; primarily, they were institutions related to the police, health, education, community organisations and centres, programmes and services of the Municipalities and the State.

In El Castillo, organised gangs were ranked as the most important institution (mentioned 18 times), while in Contraloría the police was considered most important (mentioned 23 times) and in La Dehesa the Municipality ranked highest (8 times). It is noteworthy that the family, mentioned in Contraloría and La Dehesa, was not mentioned in El Castillo by the discussion groups. [33] Others groups mentioned were the vendors in free markets located in public spaces (*ferianos*), organised gangs and groups of troublemakers in El Castillo, postal workers in Contraloría, and private security and *Cerro 18* in La Dehesa. Television was determined to be a factor that promotes violence.

Regarding the police, both positive and negative aspects were probed. In terms of negative assessments, in El Castillo and Contraloría, Carabineros and the investigative police (*PDI*) are perceived as part of the problem, that is, as causing violence and operating with a certain degree of corruption. In El Castillo the police are also viewed critically because of their absence from the area: "We're in no-man's land here..."

Scant importance was ascribed to the role of the Municipality, which was deemed an ineffectual institution in relation to violence in the neighbourhoods. The merit of schools as places offering a safety net/refuge and education was acknowledged. In El Castillo, participants condemned the tendency of teachers to verbally abuse children. In Contraloría, participants criticised the propensity to identify violence-related problems, without assuming responsibility for developing solutions. Finally, in La Dehesa, participants complained about bullying at school. In both El Castillo and Contraloría, the presence of drugs in schools was raised. This was not, however, the case in La Dehesa.

In terms of proposals to reduce violence, in El Castillo the focus was on the need for greater social services, more significant professional support, and improved access to information. Participants emphasised the need for more victim services offices and counselling centres for victims of violence. They also underlined the importance of promoting sport and developing workshops for women and girls. With regard to drugs, the proposals were aimed mainly to the improvement and participative management of public spaces, rehabilitation and self help activities with peers (ex addicts), and early prevention in schools and families. Regarding intra-family violence, the suggestion were to develop campaigns to make this problem more visible and to denaturalise it, and to talk about values in the family. Concerning fights, a "hug party in the park" was highlighted as an example to improve relations among neighbours. [34]

Similarly in Contraloría, the emphasis was on the need for greater resources, information and education; the development of workshops; the promotion of sport; and more professionals to service the community. Furthermore, participants voiced demands for a more significant police presence, more extensive links between institutions in the community, a greater commitment to education on the part of parents, and increased participation by Neighbourhood Committees. It was also proposed that violence on television be eliminated and that programmes dedicated to violence prevention be developed. In La Dehesa, participants identified a need for more information on social institutions and programmes, a more significant police presence and greater organisation on the part of community members. Participants also articulated the importance of developing a sense of community in the neighbourhood and getting to know their neighbours as a means to improve safety. Finally, there were proposals for

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[33] However, the importance of the family and parents' roles were stressed, together with the fact that as families change and most of its adults members go out to work, small children are left alone (final results sharing meeting in El Castillo, March 2012).

[34] Final results sharing meeting in El Castillo, March 2012.

improvements of the judicial and penal systems, including greater professional development for Carabineros; increased dialogue and support within the family, and with children; and the assignation of greater power to institutions involved in private security, given their limitations.

Appendices

Appendix A

Table A.1 Injury rates per 100,000 inhabitants in relation to location

	La Pintana	La Florida	Lo Barnechea
Injury rate	1.5	1.2	-
In the barrio	77.0	48.8	-
In another part of the district	11.5	0.0	-
Outside the district	11.5	51.2	-

Source: National Urban Survey on Citizen Security, 2010.

Table A.2 Number of rapes per 100,000 inhabitants (2010)

La Pintana	25.1
La Florida	14.8
Lo Barnechea	13.1
Metropolitan Region	18.3
Country	18.4

Sources: Data provided by Carabineros de Chile (national police force), 2010; National Urban Survey on Citizen Security, 2010.

Table A.3 Arrests following drug related crimes, 2010

	La Pintana	La Florida	Lo Barnechea
Trafficking	230	265	27
Possession	1,237	1,417	237
Consumption	88	169	53
Others	118	34	6
TOTAL	1,668	1,885	353

Source: Data provided by Carabineros de Chile (national police force), 2010.

Table A.4 What activities are avoided by men and women in order to protect themselves from becoming victims of crimes, by sex and residential district

La Pintana		La Florida		Lo Barnechea	
Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Use of recreational public places					
52.8	66	33.8	40.5	33.3	31.8
Wearing jewels					
46.0	69.7	39.9	70.1	36.9	69.0
Carrying cash					
57.5	77.6	64.6	78	55.7	66.3
Going out at night					
60.2	79.6	58.1	71.3	36.6	63.6
Leaving the house alone					
62.8	78.5	67.9	67.2	58.8	48.6
Getting home late					
64.2	80.2	71.1	74.8	49.9	65.4

Source: National Urban Survey on Citizen Security, 2010.

Table A.5 SIMCE (Education Quality Measurement System) 2009 results (Selected districts)

Districts	4th Grade Results		8th Grade Results	
	Language Average	Mathematics Average	Language Average	Mathematics Average
La Pintana	255	248	236	247
La Florida	262	257	253	264
Lo Barnechea	283	285	281	300
Metropolitan Region	264	257	255	265
National	262	253	252	260

Source: SIMCE (Education Quality Measurement System), 2009

Table A.6 Population distribution according to health care system (Selected districts) (percentages)

Health Care Systems	La Pintana	La Florida	Lo Barnechea
Public system	94	64	57
Armed Forces and Carabineros	0	3	3
Private institutional system (Isapres)	2	21	38
None (Private health care specialists)	3	10	2
Another system	0	1	0
Do not know	1	1	0
Total	100	100	100

Source: Ministry of Planning, Chile, Socio-economic Classification Surveys (CASEN), 2009.

Table A.7 Job participation and unemployment rates according to sex (Selected districts)

	La Pintana		La Florida		Lo Barnechea	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Job participation rates	63.1	39.4	70.9	45.2	74.6	51.2
Unemployment rates	15.4	14.3	8.4	8.6	8.3	8.9

Source: Ministry of Planning, Chile, Socio-economic Classification Surveys (CASEN), 2009.

Table A.8 Participation rates in care of household members as main activity, and average of daily hours dedicated to that activity, by sex and quintile

	SEX				Total	
	Men		Women			
Quintile	% Participation	Hours	% Participation	Hours	% Participation	Hours
I	12.4	1.6	47.3	3.5	33.0	3.2
II	11.7	1.8	38.9	2.3	26.2	2.2
III	7.4	1.2	30.4	2.3	18.4	2.1
IV	9.1	1.0	12.5	2.1	10.8	1.6
V	0.8	2.9	1.6	1.5	1.2	2.0
TOTAL	9.2	1.5	31.8	2.6	20.9	2.4

Source: Experimental survey on time use in Greater Santiago, National Statistics Institute, 2008.

Appendix B

Table B.1 Summary of violence-related problems — El Castillo, Contraloría, La Dehesa

Women		Men		Type of violence
Home	**Street**	**Home**	**Street**	
El Castillo				
Drugs: Consumption and trafficking, physical and psychological violence, abandonment of children, family economy.	Drugs: prevents the free use of public spaces, source of intimidation, gang violence, a negative environment that impacts sons and daughters.	Drug use	Fights over drugs	Economic Socio-economic
Intra-family violence: physical and psychological violence against women by their partners	Child abuse: put-downs and physical abuse	Sexual abuse of girls and boys	Money: associated with drugs	Social Economic — money / drugs
Child abuse.	Shootings, violence in the street over drugs		Shootings between men, power struggles in the street	Social Socio-economic
	Rape: young women feel vulnerable		Power struggles over 'who is cooler', need to prove oneself and be respected	Social Socio-economic
	Fights: between young women and adult women due to jealousy and infidelity of men, for material differences between neighbours.			Social Socio-economic — fights over material differences
Overcrowding: lack of privacy, difficulties concentrating and learning for girls and boys.				Institutional
Contraloría				
Abuse: mothers hitting kids and vice versa; mothers disrespected by kids.	Assaults and muggings: in public places and on public transportation.	Sexual abuse of children (fear that it will happen).	Fights: who is 'cooler'; altercations over football; fights between young people.	Social Economic
Psychological and physical violence of partner.	Rape: risk of — young women feel more vulnerable.	Fights between parents and kids (turn into harsh words and psychological abuse, verbal aggression by kids towards		Social

Women		Men		Type of violence
Home	**Street**	**Home**	**Street**	
		parents.		
	Verbal aggression: of women by their partners and strangers.			Social
	Psychopaths: Flashing women and children.			Social
	Alcohol, drugs, and sex in public squares (young people).			Social and socio-economic
	Uncertainty and job discrimination: smaller income			Economic
La Dehesa				
Fear of being robbed and raped.	Assaults and thefts of cars: women are more defenceless and easier targets.	Assaults and robberies of houses (both women and men affected).	Bullying: at school and at home.	Economic Social
Intra-family violence and gender-based violence.	Risk and fear of being raped (fear of being alone on the street and of taking taxis).		Fights between young people for diverse reasons (over girls, the presence of alcohol and/or drugs, different ages, schools and social classes).	Social
Importance of physical appearance: obligation to be 'thin'.	Verbal sexual harassment of young women (*piropos* [flirtatious comments], looks/staring, feeling objectified as 'sex objects').		Children and violent games	Social
	Discrimination and bullying: at school and at home			Social

Types of violence:

- <u>Police</u> — state, guerrilla conflict, political assassinations, armed conflict between political parties.
- <u>Institutional</u> — violence of the state, social cleansing operations, assassinations, lynching.
- <u>Economic</u> — delinquency, robbery, drug trafficking, trafficking in prostitutes.
- <u>Socio-economic</u> — gangs, street children (girls and boys), territorial 'turf' violence.
- <u>Social</u> — intimate partner violence, sexual abuse, intra-family violence, child abuse, intergenerational conflict between parent and children, arguments in public.

Table B.2a Focus groups by area according to gender and age: El Castillo, Contraloría, La Dehesa

	El Castillo — LP			Contraloría stadium — LF			La Dehesa- LB			TOTAL		
# of groups	21			18			7			46		
# of people	90			67			27			184		
# of people by gender	W		M	W		M	W		M	W		M
	63		27	48		19	21		6	132		52
# of people by age	Y	A	E	Y	A	E	Y	A	E	Y	A	E
	25	51	14	27	21	19	18	9	-	70	81	33

W — women / M — men
Y — young people / A — adults / E — elderly people

Area	By age	By gender
EL CASTILLO	6 groups of young people	4 groups of men
	13 groups of adults	11 groups of women
	2 groups of seniors	6 mixed groups
CONTRALORÍA	7 groups of young people	11 groups of women
	7 groups of adults	6 groups of men
	4 groups of seniors	1 mixed group
LA DEHESA	1 group of children	1 group of men
	3 groups of young people	1 mixed group
	3 groups of adults	5 groups of women

Table B.2b Breakdown of Focus groups. El Castillo, Contraloría, La Dehesa

Number of group	Gender-Age	Women	Men	Age
El Castillo, La Pintana				
1	mixed elderly people	5	3	65-80
2	adult women	4	0	45-55
3	adult women	5	0	35-56
4	adult women	6	0	30-55
5	young males	0	4	13-15
6	adult women	2	0	-
7	mixed adults	1	2	-
8	adult women	4	0	30-60
9	mixed adults	1	1	40
10	adult men	0	4	21-35
11	mixed adults	2	1	33-50
12	adult women	7	0	30-57
13	young women	4	0	
14	men	0	2	18-50
15	young males	0	5	15-17
16	young women	5	0	16-17
17	young women	4	0	21-25
18	elderly women	6	0	60 and over
19	adult women	4	0	54-65
20	mixed young people	1	3	13-18
21	mixed adults	3	2	30-50
Contraloría, La Florida				
1	young women	3	0	14-15
2	adult women	3	0	40-50
3	elderly women	8	0	60-80
4	adult women	3	0	60-75
5	mixed young people	2	1	17-20
6	young women	3	0	16-17

Number of group	Gender-Age	Women	Men	Age
7	adult men (community leaders)	0	4	30-65
8	young women	6	0	13-17
9	young males	0	3	15-17
10	adult women (community leaders)	3	0	30-50
11	elderly women	5	0	60-80
12	elderly men	0	3	60 and over
13	adult women	4	0	45-55
14	adult men	0	3	19-33
15	adult women	2	0	40-65
16	young males	0	3	14-15
17	young males	0	6	15-16
18	adult women	2	0	34-48
La Dehesa, Lo Barnechea				
1	adult men	-	2	49-51
2	mixed young people	3	4	18-23
3	adult women	4	-	50-55
4	adult women	3	-	45-50
5	young women	3	-	17-19
6	young women	4	-	18-19
7	girls	4	-	10-12

Note: All discussion groups are discrete.

Table B.3 Workshops to share results of the PVA, Santiago, June 2011

Area	Date of Meeting	Participants	Total participants
El Castillo	1/06/2011	6 adult women (Gladys, leader) 2 adult men (Héctor, leader).	8
	6/06/2011	15 women (adult and young women) 9 men (adult and young men) Representatives of the following organisations: Neighbourhood Committees, Health Committees, nursery schools, *Fundación Paréntesis* (services for young people with addiction problems), students, Centre of Stimulation for Childhood Development (*Centro de Estimulación para el Desarrollo de la Infancia*, *CEDIN*), Community Development Office (*Dirección de Desarrollo Comunitario*, *DIDECO*), psychologist, Marcelino Astoreca school, Nocedal school, Municipality, intercultural studies, San José Shared Housing Committee.	24
Contraloría	01/07/2011	2 women (adult and young women) 1 man (adult) All leaders from the Neighbourhood Committee	3

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Urban Tipping Point
The University of Manchester
Humanities Bridgeford Street Building
Manchester
M13 9PL
UK

www.urbantippingpoint.org

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