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Transport and Women's Social Exclusion in Urban Areas in Pakistan

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Abstract

This thesis explores women's everyday experiences of transport-related social exclusion, factors responsible for this, and how women negotiate restrictions on their mobility in urban areas of Pakistan. Although there is an emerging realization in the transport literature about the importance of studying social exclusion and marginaliation, little research has been carried out focusing on women's social exclusion in transport, especially with regards to urban areas in developing countries. The present study fills this research gap by analysing the case studies of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, in Pakistan. These cities have been selected to explore how the highly contrasted urban form of planned and unplanned cities, as well as socio-cultural norms and institutional arrangements, impacts on women's mobility and transport choices.

The theoretical framework combines rights-based and empowerment approaches to identify constraints and opportunities for change to women's mobility. The right-based and empowerment approaches have been selected over other theoretical lenses because they see women as active agents of change rather than portraying them as passive victims. In doing so, the emphasis is placed on rights, accountabilities, and structural injustices in society, which are imperative to study women's transport issue in developing country contexts. The design of the research is largely qualitative in nature, thus methods such as in-depth interviews, life stories, and structured observations have been used. Fifty-two in-depth interviews exploring the life stories of low-income women, business women, administrators and professional women in Rawalpindi and Islamabad, were particularly illuminating. Besides interviewing women as users of transport system, the viewpoints of males including drivers and conductors of public transport, and a range of stakeholders, were also considered.

Enriched by stories of the everyday experiences of women in Islamabad and Rawalpindi, the findings of this study highlight that women do face structural and social barriers to their mobility in the shape of: stereotypical norms about women's travel; negative attitudes of men about women in public spaces; difficulty in accessing walkways, bus stops, and public transport; safety and security concerns; and gender insensitive policies and projects. The findings also highlight that, despite these

problems, women are seen to be coming out of their homes and shattering stereotypes. Although few in numbers, these women can be regarded as success stories as far as women's empowerment through mobility is concerned. The present research develops new insights into women, gender and transport issues within cities of developing countries by finding that transport is a development issue where patriarchal attitudes, fear and safety concerns, and quality of transport service are highly relevant to women's capability to travel, yet there are cases in which women have been able to negotiate highly gendered power relations in order to gain greater freedom of movement.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Hayya vali bibyan ghar rehndian ney, towadday tara nae “(you are immodest. They [modest women] don’t come out [in public] like you rather they stay at home”, fuelled with anger, the conductor of the van (12 seat passenger vehicle) said in the distinct Punjabi accent. Everyone in the van, including male passengers, was shocked to hear these words. It was not that the fight or arguments were new, but conductors of public transport (all male) generally refrained themselves from using such direct words to women in public. These words were in reaction to the woman’s allegations, after she had been told to pay an extra Rs. 5, that drivers and conductors of the public transport are *besharam* (immodest, bastards), had no respect for women passengers and did not know how to talk gently to women. Despite the humiliating remarks of the conductor, the woman sitting in the front seat did not back-off and firmly repeated she could not give an extra Rs. 5 in fare on the pretext that fuel prices had increased.

I was sitting in the back seat while accompanying my *Khala* (Aunty). Initially, I could not figure out whether it was my *Khala*, who was sitting in the front seat, who initiated the argument. But to my relief it was not her but the other woman sitting with her alongside the driver.

The spat continued and the air in the van filled up with discomfort, especially when there was astounding heat in the month of June and everybody started whispering about the issue. I was not able to hear the words clearly as there was so much noise, not only of the arguments but noise coming from outside: horns hooting, breaks squealing, rickshaw noise, motorcycles whirring past while continuously beeping their horns, and raised voices of people, especially of conductors luring passengers to sit in their vans: *ajao ajao iss gaddi vich* (come and sit in this van), *bus ja rahay hain* (we are just leaving), *saddar Murree road aye...* (going to Saddar, Murree road...). Suddenly, the conductor of our van shouted: *O Ustad ji ghaddi roku* (please stop the van driver)

and by extending his hand carrying Rs. 10 to the woman said *aye pasisay pharo te utar jao aithay* (take your money and get off the van here).

The driver stopped the van on the side of the road; it was not a marked bus-stop there. The conductor opened the front door widely and firmly asked the woman to take the money and leave the van. She had no other option but to get out of van, though she continued verbally abusing both driver and conductor for ill-treating her. To my surprise, there were only a couple of passengers who meekly objected to the action of conductor by asking him *jaan de yaar koi gall nae...aithay na laa* (let her ride, this is not a big deal, and at least don't leave her here). Before the conductor could even listen to these words, the driver had left the woman far behind.

The anger of the conductor did not vanish there, he kept on abusing her. He even remarked *kinnay besharam ne ayna aurtan de mard jarray aina nu bahir jaan de ijazat dain de ne* (how immodest are the men [husbands, brothers, fathers etc.] of these kinds of women, who let them go out). Now the driver and other passengers (all men) also jumped into the conversation and gave a resonating yes to what the conductor was saying. The conversation had turned into the overall role of women in society and the social limitations a woman must adhere to.

I was sitting uncomfortably in the back and hoping the van would quickly reach the bus-stop near my *Khala's* house, which was in Satellite town, Rawalpindi on Murree Road. The van had taken almost 45 minutes from Aabpara market (in Islamabad) and yet there were around 15-20 minutes to go. Our travel in the morning was also not very pleasant. My *Khala* asked me to accompany her to *Itwar bazar* (Sunday market) as the provisions she was after were cheap there. I was staying with her over the university holidays for a week. This was in 2007 when I was doing Masters at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. I was living in a university hostel at that time but used to make regular visits to her place. She had twin daughters aged 12 and her husband worked in a government department.

In the morning, we waited for almost half an hour at a bus stop for a van with vacant seats for women. Although this was a Sunday and a public holiday, still there was a long wait for women at the bus stop¹. Adding to their worries, the seating area at the bus stop was occupied by men, while all women including little girls and elderly, were standing at some distance. I can vividly recall that some men were smoking cigarettes and staring at women in uncomfortable ways. The only two reserved seats for women were mostly occupied in the approaching vans. I also felt that conductors used their discretion in allowing women to ride in the vans. They would ask drivers to stop vans at certain points on a bus stop to pick up passengers. This resulted in chaos and desperate running of passengers keen to catch the vans. This was a very uncomfortable experience for me. Luckily, one van with empty seats stopped in front of us and we jumped in.

I had never been to an *Itwar bazar* (Sunday market) for shopping before. For the first time I stopped at various stalls (shops) and bargained the prices of different items along with my *Khala*. I noticed that there was not a single stall where a woman was selling anything. Even the stalls of women's clothing had male salespersons. My *khala* went into one of these stalls while I was waiting her at the entrance. Unaware of my presence, two salespersons standing at the entrance started talking to each other about three young women who were bargaining the prices of clothes at the other stall. One of them said *darmyan wali te Aishwarya hai* (the woman standing in the centre is like Aishwarya²). He was saying this in such a tone and voice that the women could hear him. The other salesperson with a big laugh replied to him *kapray ve te oosi jaisay hain* (her dress also matches with Aishwarya's dress). The woman was wearing a half sleeved shirt; however it was not revealing any part of her body except part of her arms. Noticing the continuous teasing, the women left the stall without purchasing any clothing. While they were leaving, the two salespersons approached the other shopkeeper and asked in a satiric voice *kina kuch waich laya hai janab* (how much have

¹ In vans only two seats at the front are reserved for women. This is a traditional and informal arrangement and there are no rules in this regards. Although women can sit in the back seats, they are unable to sit due to rush of male passengers during peak hours. They also refrain themselves to sit in the back due to uncomfortable situation where male passengers are squeezed in and chances of harassment are higher.

² Aishwarya was the name of the Indian film actress, who was very popular for her beauty in Pakistan.

you sold bro?). He replied by referring to those women saying *inna lena nae hunda bus fashion show kern andian ne* (they don't buy, rather just come in the market to show-off). The women heard their voices and they left the place in a hurry. Even after the women had left, the men kept on gossiping about women. The underlying theme of their conversation was that there were limits of being a woman, they had reduced liberty, they should not go out as a free agent in public spaces, and they should listen to what male have to say to them.

I realised for the first time in my life that the life of women in cities was not easy. I was born and raised in a village in Pakistan and I had not seen any problem travelling with my grandmother or mother or with other female relatives. It was not that these women never went out of their homes; in fact they were active in fulfilling their societal needs and roles which required a lot of travel. They never complained of any disrespectful comments made by men in public. I remembered instances where men passengers vacated their seats and gave these to my mother or other female relatives.

My *khala* had also lived in a village but she along with her husband decided to migrate to Rawalpindi. They wanted to give a better life opportunity to their twin daughters, who were five years old when they moved to Rawalpindi. Although her husband had a job and lived in Rawalpindi before their marriage, she stayed in the village with her husband's parents because moving and living costs in a city was very high. They sacrificed and sold most of their belongings and rented out a house in Rawalpindi so that their children could get a better education. From the outset, villagers saw cities as the places of better health, education, economic, political and recreational facilities. In the Pakistani context, this was true to a certain extent as the state of public facilities in villages and small towns was worse as compared to cities. However, people did face a lot of problems in cities and the level of difficulty for women was tremendous. I realised that travel or mobility of women in a city was the biggest challenge. Even the children, especially girls, were not sent to schools alone. My *khala* escorted her twin girls to and from school. It was ironic that my *khala* was worried about the safety and security of her daughters all the time when her very reason for their move to a city was to improve their schooling.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The above-mentioned personal experience of my travel in Islamabad and Rawalpindi became the basis for this research. As I read the literature on development issues in cities, I became interested in women's issues in transport in urban areas. Transport is one of the key issues in a society as it has been a defining characteristic of humans' ability to move from one place to other (Bohren, 2009). It is important as it directly affects, positively or otherwise, the lives of many men and women. The relationship between transport and society has long been established in academic debates (for example see, Banister, 2002; Hamilton & Jenkins, 2000; Kenworthy, 2011; Low & Gleeson, 2003; Too & Earl, 2010). Generally, these authors agree that development has a positive correlation with people's mobility. This speaks to the importance of effective and efficient transport systems. Transport has not been given due attention within development studies discourse because it is considered as a "technical" field, left mostly to engineers, planners, environmentalists and economists (Hamilton & Jenkins, 2000; Simon, 1996). As a result, the technical and eco-environmental concerns have taken much attention in transport studies and planning, while social aspects were largely side-lined if not ignored (Rajé, 2007). This may have negative impact on society at large, as according to Social Exclusion Unit, UK (2003, p. 1):

Problems with transport provision and the location of services can reinforce social exclusion. They prevent people from accessing key local services or activities, such as jobs, learning, healthcare, food shopping or leisure. Problems can vary by type of area (for example urban or rural) and for different groups of people, such as disabled people, older people or families with children.

This prevention or exclusion from the transport systems is not uniform for all groups of a society, rather it affects groups differently, thus promoting inequality in a society. Most of the time, it is the marginalised and poor segments of society, for instance women, who are affected negatively. Similarly, men and women experience transport differently and often women's mobility is more restricted as compared to men (Dobbs, 2005; Murray, 2008). Restricted mobility of women is worse in developing countries

where there are strong notions of patriarchy, increasing their dependence on men for many community-based services such as, public transportation, health care, education, shelter and counselling (Enarson & Fordham, 2001). Furthermore, the poor transport system in many of these countries reduces women's mobility and limits their opportunities for social and economic well-being.

The state of women in Pakistan is no exception as far as their transportation and mobility is concerned. Women are an excluded group and they face more transport worries as compared to men (DAWN, 2011). As Ali (2010) reports with reference to the city of Karachi in Pakistan "poor women in particular may be subject to harassment in the narrow alleys of industrial townships, in long waits at the bus stops of the unpredictable public transport system..." (p. 315). Although this is an example of Karachi, the situation is not different in other cities of Pakistan including Islamabad and Rawalpindi. A good quality transport system is very important keeping in view women's current participation trends in educational and work-force related activities. Although there are challenges for women in finding 'decent' work as most of the working women are employed in informal work or in 'low-paid' work, the number of women working outside their homes is increasing (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2015). They are coming out of their homes for work largely due to economic pressures and dissolution of extended families in urban areas (K. A. Ali, 2010).

The transport system is very important not only because it provides access to educational, healthcare and other services but it reflects the broader societal structure of gendered relationships. As Law (2002) highlights, transport or repetitive every-day women's trips is a significant cultural category where gender is constituted or enforced. The present study explores how different social, spatial and institutional structures reinforce gender stereotypes by limiting women's mobility in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Notably, as Pakistani society is changing, especially with regards to increase in the education and work force participation of women, transport becomes an important place for analysis of the negotiation of these limitations in public spaces. Thus present study analyses the relationship of women's mobility, gender relationships and the transport system in urban areas in Pakistan.

1.3 Research Aim and Questions

1.3.1 Research aim

The aim of the research is:

To investigate women's experiences of transport-related social exclusion, factors responsible for this, and how women negotiate restrictions on their mobility in urban areas of Pakistan.

1.3.2 Research questions

Based on the research aim, the study has the following research questions:

1. How do social, cultural, and religious values affect women's travel in urban areas in Pakistan?
2. How does the spatial structure, such as urban form and characteristics of the built environment, impact positively or negatively on women's transportation patterns?
3. What role do institutional structures, such as planning and policy processes, play in transport-related exclusion of women in Pakistani cities?
4. How do women use their agency to negotiate restrictions on their travel in urban areas of Pakistan?

1.4 Rationale and Importance of the Study

While there is an emerging realisation in the transport literature that social issues such as exclusion should be studied to improve the social sustainability of transport (Delbosc & Currie, 2011; Hine & Mitchell, 2003; Lucas, 2004; Priya & Uteng, 2009; Rajé, 2007; Social Exclusion Unit, 2003; Stanley, Stanley, Vella-Brodrick, & Currie, 2010), little research has been carried out focusing on women's social exclusion in transport, especially with regards to developing countries. Similarly, the studies on women, gender and transport have highlighted issues such as women's travel needs (Ahmed, 2000; Fernando & Porter, 2002; Rosenbloom, 1978), social constraints on women's

travel (Bryceson & Howe, 1993; G. Porter, 2011; Tanzarn, 2008; Wafa, Newmark, & Shiftan, 2008), impact of poverty and geographical disadvantage on women's mobility (Moser & Peake, 1987; Næss, 2008; G. Porter, 2002; Srinivasan, 2005), safety and harassment concerns about travel (Buiten, 2007; Fayer, 1997; N. Gardner, Cui, & Coiacetto, 2017; Stark & Meschik, 2018), gender insensitive policy and planning processes (Hamilton, 2003; Hamilton, Hoyle, & Jenkins, 1999; Horelli, 2017; J. Turner, 2012; Uteng, 2008), and the relationship of women's empowerment with increased mobility (Hanson, 2010; Matin, Mukib, Begum, & Khanam, 2002; Raju, 2005). However, there is no study in the 'women, gender and transport' literature that has researched different constraints on women's mobility and then analysed women's agency through employing the concept of empowerment and a rights-based framework. The present study is geared towards this end. The study draws on the rights-based and empowerment approaches and applies them to study gender issues in transport. In this way, this research explores women's experiences of the transport system, what factors impede their mobility, as well as how women are dealing with these constraints and using their agency to change things in their favour.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis comprises of nine chapters in total. This Chapter (One) has introduced the research by outlining aim and research questions. It has contextualised the research with reference to women's transport issue in Pakistani cities. It has also listed the rationale for and significance of the study.

Chapter Two highlights the relevance of transport to sustainable development with particular reference to social sustainability in urban areas. It reviews the literature on sustainable urban transport keeping in view the needs of marginalised groups, such as women. It also reviews the growing body of literature on 'transport and social exclusion' and highlights the need to study women's transport-related exclusion in developing countries.

Chapter Three reviews the body of literature on women, gender and transport. It discusses different themes emerging from the literature in accordance with social,

spatial and institutional structures and their impact on women's transport. This chapter also provides a conceptual framework to study women and transport-related social exclusion by incorporating empowerment and rights-based approaches.

Chapter Four presents the research methodology. It outlines the rationale for using a qualitative case study design and discusses different data collection methods such as structured observations, semi-structured interviews, and mobility maps. It also discusses ethical considerations, positionality/reflexivity of the researcher, the process of selecting research participants, and the rationale behind the selection of research sites, that is, Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

Chapter Five outlines the context of women's status and role in the patriarchal society of Pakistan. It provides an overview of women's development in Pakistan and discusses different ways of discrimination against women at private and public spaces in Pakistan. The chapter also highlights the ways in which women are disciplined in cases of non-conforming to social norms.

Chapter Six answers the first research question by presenting the findings around the impact of socio-cultural and religious values on women's mobility in urban areas of Pakistan. Through participants' stories, it arranges findings into different themes, such as cultural prejudices around women's mobility, attitude of drivers and conductors, fear of harassment, attitude of male family members, institution of *purdah*, and women as agents of change.

Chapter Seven presents the findings in addressing the second research question. It provides an overview of the spatial structure of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, and key features of transport planning in these cities. It also highlights how urban form, that is, areas/suburbs in a city setting have varying influences on women's travel. This influence results from a range of factors, such as quality of facilities for pedestrians, availability of and access to public transport, the nature of public spaces such as bus stops, and safety and security concerns.

Chapter Eight reviews the transport and women-related policies and management structures in Pakistan. It reviews the major policy and planning documents related to transport and women development in order to see the extent to which these documents incorporate women's issues related to transport in urban areas in Pakistan. It answers the third research question by outlining the role of policy-making structures in women's transport-related social exclusion.

Chapter Nine draws together the findings of this thesis and discusses them in relation to the key literature on gender and transport particularly with regards to empowerment and rights-based approaches to development. It discusses transport as an empowerment strategy for women by focusing on various empowerment postures, such as personal, relational and collective. It further highlights some of the institutional structures of power with regards to transport policy and discusses the relevance of rights-based approach to devise a mechanism for making responsible people accountable. The chapter also presents some of the concluding comments based on the research, recommendations, contributions of this research, and personal reflections.

CHAPTER TWO: SUSTAINABLE URBAN TRANSPORT AND TRANSPORT SOCIAL EXCLUSION

2.1 Introduction

As discussed in the first chapter, transport is very important for social and economic empowerment of people particularly for marginalised groups like women as it can provide them with access to education, employment and recreation activities. Transport is also a significant component of sustainable development. This chapter focuses on the relevance of transport to sustainable development with particular reference to social issues and the needs of disadvantaged or marginalised groups such as women. It reviews the literature related to sustainable urban transport and transport-related social exclusion. The chapter has three sections. The first section is on sustainable urban transport in which the basic concept and models of sustainable development and sustainable transport are outlined. It discusses the importance of studying urban issues and how people can benefit from sustainable transport in urban areas. The second section outlines the debate on sustainable transport with particular reference to social issues in transport. The last section ‘transport and social exclusion’ reviews the literature on the issue of transport and social exclusion. In this section different studies pertaining to social, spatial, and policy structures and their link to transport social exclusion will be discussed.

2.2 Sustainable Urban Transport

2.2.1 Sustainable development as a concept

The UN Conference on Human Environment (commonly known as Stockholm Conference) in 1972 is considered a milestone in highlighting global environmental problems in development (Adam, 2009). At that time, a book “*The Limits to Growth*” was published by Meadows et al. (1972), which used the term “sustainable development” for the first time. The authors analysed the growth trends in world population, industrialization, pollution, food production and resource depletion, and highlighted that if the then-current trend continued the “limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next one hundred years” (Meadows et al.,

1972, 23). They further said that these growth trends could be altered and an “ecological and economic stability that is sustainable far into the future” (p. 24) could be reached if a state of global equilibrium would be designed in which the basic material needs of the people were satisfied.

The idea of sustainable development received the greatest push through the release of report by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), commonly known as the Brundtland Commission in 1987. It formulated the now commonly-used definition of sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987, p. 43). It also outlined three basic components of sustainable development, that is, economic, social and environmental and suggested that “people can build a future that is more prosperous, more just, and more secure” (p. 1). Similarly, the 1992 United Nations conference on Environment and Development at Rio de Janeiro, commonly referred to as “Earth Summit” was another watershed event that helped to put forth the agenda of sustainable development at the global level. It produced a lengthy document known as “Agenda 21” and laid down principles of sustainable urban development (United Nations, 2004).

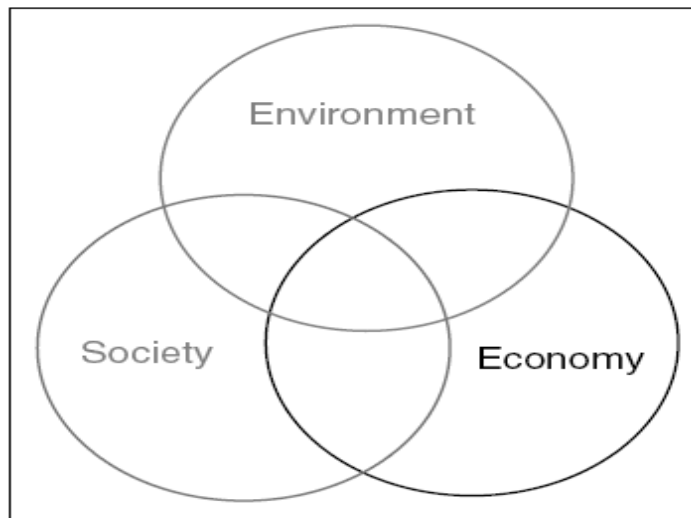
Since the emergence of the term ‘sustainable development’ in the 1980s, several attempts were made to define its meaning and apply it to different situations (Baker, 2006). There was a ten-page document of the common definitions of sustainable development used in the 1980s alone (Lele, 1991). It can be broad in meaning that it has been embraced by big businesses, governments, social reformers and environmentalists with their own set of interpretations (Giddings, Hopwood, & O'Brien, 2002). It has become so fashionable that “Greenpeace is in favour, George Bush Jr. and Sr. are, the World Bank and its chairman (a prime warmonger on Iraq) are, the Pope is, my son Arno is, the rubber tappers in the Brazilian Amazon forest are, Bill Gates is, the labour unions are” (Swyngedouw, 2007, p. 20). From its varied interpretations, some doubt that “whether anything good can ever be agreed” (Mawhinney, 2002, p. 1). According to Rees (1998), the ambiguous definition of sustainable development allows capitalism to use its course of economic growth as a

“morally bankrupt solution” to poverty. Similarly, Rist (2007, p. 487) views it as an “oxymoron, rhetorical figure”, while for Adams (2009, p. 6) it is a “better slogan than it is a basis for theory”. Redclift & Woodgate (1997) maintain that the idea of “future needs” in sustainable development is confusing because it is not possible to assess ‘future needs’ as ‘needs’ change over time. Some post-development writers are also very critical of this concept and regard it as another example of “Western hegemony”, and “business as usual” (Banerjee, 2003; Escobar, 1996; Nustad, 2001; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997). They see it as a repackaging of the “failed” approach to development despite using appealing words of environment and respect for future generations (Morse, 2008).

Nonetheless there are voices that endorse sustainable development and give practical solutions for alternative development. For instance Morse (2008) says that while it is important to believe in notions of participation, grassroots movement and local solutions, we should not reject any global thinking because “acting locally needs to be combined with thinking globally” (Morse, 2008, p. 349). Similarly McNeill (2000) highlights, because of the vagueness of the concept, sustainable development can be applied in varying social and environmental contexts, which require debate and hence challenge both researchers as well as policy makers.

Sustainable development has widely been perceived as a “three ring model” of economic, environmental and social categorizations (see figure 2.1). These categories were taken as distinctive and the objective of sustainable development was to integrate them (Barter, 2000; Hardi & Zdan, 1997).

Figure 2. 1: Three ring model of sustainable development



Source: Barton (2000, p. 5)

Some writers show it as a 'triangle' to highlight the interconnectedness of the three aspects of sustainable development (Dyllick & Hockerts, 2002; Munasinghe, 2001). However, these distinct categorizations of environment, economy and society have been criticised as an over-simplification of a very complex idea. For example, Mauerhofer (2008) highlight that these models don't pictorially represent the limitations of the environmental system; rather put it at the same strength with the economic and social systems. This is problematic as there are absolute limits to the environmental system. Similarly, Giddings et al. (2002) say that making "separate sectors of economy, environment and society risks ignoring the richness and multi-layeredness of reality" (p. 193). They instead propose a 'nested model' of sustainable development (as shown in figure 2.2).

Figure 2. 2: Nested model of sustainable development

Source: Giddings, Hopwood & O'Brien (2002, p. 192)

According to them, environment is an independent entity which can exist without society and economy. However, Society is dependent on environment, and economy cannot exist without both the environment and society. Although Giddings et al. (2002) presented an alternative way of conceptualizing sustainable development, there was still confusion about the relationship of society with the economy. Can society survive without an economy? Or can an economy maintain itself if there is a changing or deteriorating social fabric?

Recently, Raworth (Raworth, 2017) published 'Doughnut Economics' as an extension of the nested model, which is gaining traction in the academic and policy fields. This model not only provides a comprehensive understanding of social, economic and environmental dimensions, it also puts social issues including gender equality, justice and provisions of basic services at the core of its analysis.

Figure 2. 3: The Doughnut model of sustainable development

Source: (Raworth, 2017, p. 44)

In explaining the Doughnut, Raworth (Raworth, 2017, p. 39) states that “it’s a radically new compass for guiding humanity this century. And it points towards a future that can provide for every person’s needs while safeguarding the living world on which we all depend”. In this regards, this model is quite relevant to the debates about environment, cities, transport and gender because these issues bring together concerns for social justice, sustainability and gender equality.

Hopwood, Mellor and O’Brien (2005) outline two approaches to sustainable development: status quo and transformation approaches. The ‘status quo’ approach relies on top-down management thinking and allows “trade-offs between environmental and social issues, whether it is that some pollution is acceptable to increase growth, or loss of some pastureland for parks, or jobs for cleaner air” (Hopwood et al., 2005, p. 48). On the other hand, transformationists advocate for

justice and equity. They argue that “sustainable development needs to be based on appreciation of the close links between the environment and society with feedback loops both ways” (p. 49). Davidson (2000) name these approaches as conservative and radical, equating conservative approach to status quo and the radical approach to transformation approach. According to her, the ‘radical version’ of sustainability can challenge the modern economic and ethical values of liberal democracy and individualistic goods, which in turn are responsible for unsustainable ways of development. On the other hand, the ‘conservative version’ rests on weak ethical grounds. She maintains the need to deconstruct modern ideals of consumerism and individualism while highlighting the importance of environment and communal bonding through the process of participation/consultation. Similar to this distinction, some writers categorize this into weak and strong sustainable development (R. Turner, 1993). The weak interpretation puts the environment question first, putting aside the development-related issues and ignoring the intra-generational equity (Kallio, Nordberg, & Ahonen, 2007). On the other hand, the strong interpretation reconciles sound human development with the environmental integrity, and demands more participatory, transparent and democratic processes (Bebbington, 2001; Carvalho, 2001).

2.2.2 Importance of studying urban issues

Having discussed the basic tenets of sustainable development, it is important to relate it to this research problem. As this study explores the issue of sustainable urban transport, it is imperative to outline the importance of urban areas or cities and their relevance within the broader framework of sustainable development. The urban population of the world is growing rapidly. Urbanisation can be regarded as one of the significant trends of the last and present century (UN-Habitat, 2016). In 1800 only 3% of the world population lived in towns and cities (UN-Habitat, 2001), however, this reached to 54% in 2014 and is projected to be 66% in 2050 (United Nations, 2015b). This rapid population growth is the result of migration and natural increases in population. Not only people, but goods, capital, income and information also flow towards urban areas (Satterthwaite, 2008). Pakistan is also urbanizing rapidly. Presently, almost 38% of the total population is living in urban areas, and this is

predicted to be 60% in the year 2050 (United Nations, 2014). This huge rise in the urban population is feared to put pressure on different urban issues such as housing, transport, drinking water, education and health. One of the important reasons for rural to urban migration is the lure of economic opportunities in cities (Todaro, 2000). It is believed that urbanization and economic growth go hand in hand as no country has achieved middle-income status without significant population shift from rural to urban areas (Annez & Buckley, 2009). This results in expansion and spread of cities beyond their capacities, for example Jakarta and Mumbai are expanding and merging with nearby urban areas to form “extended metropolitan regions” (R. Potter, Binns, Elliot, & Smith, 2004).

Besides the growth of cities in terms of their size, they are also changing in response to global economic, political and trading systems and becoming “nodal points” for trade and global capitalism (Knox, 2002). Despite the economic and other opportunities, urban areas are more unequal as compared to rural areas (United Nations, 2014) and their impact on the environment is also severe. Cities consume almost 75% of the world’s energy and produce 80% of greenhouse gas emissions (Fitzgerald, 2010). The process of urbanization and associated economic growth is unsustainable as it exhausts both natural and human resources (Keil, 2007, p. 55).

People living in cities, especially in developing countries, are inherently vulnerable to different and difficult challenges as compared to people living in rural areas. Generally, urban dwellers have to purchase many things which could be accessed freely or very cheaply in rural areas, such as fuel and building material; urban consumers also pay almost 30 percent more for their food as compared to rural people (UN-Habitat, 2001). Poverty is extreme in urban areas as residents have to rely on cash incomes to access services and goods which are susceptible to price rise (Elliott, 2006). Things get worse in the absence of strong social networks and in-kind borrowing in the cities which are norms in the rural areas especially in developing countries. Further, the urban poor face the challenges of limited employment or under-employment; as Todaro (2000) highlights in the past few decades there is a “failure of the modern urban industries to generate a significant number of employment opportunities” (p. 247). This increases

their vulnerability in harsh environments because they have only labour and human capital as their source of livelihood generation (Rakodi, 2008).

Mostly urban poor are the people in cities who are subject to environmental or climatic catastrophes (Beall, Guha-Khasnobis, & Kanbur, 2010). For example, in case of heavy rains during the monsoon season in Pakistan, cities look miserable with exaggerated problems of sewage, water stagnation, roads damaged, poor transport system and inability of people to access different services (R. Ali, 2008). Although many people face these bad conditions, people living in poor and excluded settlements (*Kachi Abaddies* or slums) face the worst in the form of destruction to their houses, water-borne diseases and even deaths (K. Iqbal, 2017). The poor people in cities are in a constant state of flux to solve recurring issues of their survival, as Davis (2006) puts it that “urban poor have to solve a complex equation as they try to optimize housing cost, tenure security, quality of shelter, journey to work, and sometimes, personal safety” (p. 27).

This produces extreme inequality and huge differential between poor and rich people living in cities, especially in developing countries (Werna, 2000). This is quite evident from the UN-Habitat (2003) report which states that 32% of the world’s urban population resides in slums (p. 3). The condition was worse in developing countries where 43% of the urban population lived in slums (p. 25). Although this proportion has gone down to 30%, however the number of slum dwellers has increased from 791 million in 2000 to 880 million in 2014 (UN-Habitat, 2016). This is a huge number and speaks about the severity of the issue. The slums are an inevitable result of rapid urbanization and lack of people-centred and pro-poor policies in developing countries (Davis, 2006). According to Arimah (2010), city authorities have viewed slums as giving a negative stigma and since the past five decades have devised several strategies to tackle slums. These include benign neglect; forced eviction and demolition; resettlement or relocation; programmes upgrading slums; and, recently the adoption of enabling strategies (pp. 144-145).

Despite these challenges, Elliott (2013) optimistically says, cities also have an opportunity for better practices of sustainable development because it is easier to provide services such as piped water, roads, electricity, health care, education, public transport and disaster management as the population is quite dense and in close vicinity to each other in cities. Besides, there is also an opportunity to address structural issues of poverty and inequality, which are so apparent in the spatial distribution of land and provision of basic services (Adam, 2009).

The importance of urban areas and their relevance to sustainable development has even been recognized in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). SDGs include 17 goals, 169 targets and they “seek to build on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to complete what they did not achieve” (United Nations, 2015a, p. 1). Goal 11 specifically aims to “make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable”. This goal has 10 targets including the issue of transport. The target 11.2 states that “by 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons” (United Nations, 2015a, p. 21). This target clearly highlights the importance of providing sustainable and safe transport system in urban areas and singles out women as a group deserving of special attention. The next section discusses sustainable transport in cities with particular regards to social issues in sustainable transport. Social issues are particularly important to the present study because these have been undervalued or overlooked in the debates on sustainable development, even though sustainable development has three dimensions, social, environmental and economic, as discussed earlier.

2.2.3 Sustainable transport

Transport is an integral element in the structure and network of any city. Transport not only connects the existing areas, it also influences the future growth and characteristics of a city (Vuchic, 1999). Because of this integral relationship, transport is central to the agenda of sustainable urban development. According to Bithas & Christofakis (2006) sustainable transport can solve urban problems of waste,

environmental pollution, congestion, and social exclusion. Concerns about the unsustainable nature of urban transport are well established in the literature (for example see, Banister, 2005; Black, 2001; Boussauw & Vanoutrive, 2017; A. Hull, 2011; Imran, 2010; Kenworthy, 2011; Low & Gleeson, 2003; Lucas, Halden, & Wixey, 2010; Reeds, 2011). Like sustainable development, sustainable transport also comprises of three main components, that is, social, economic and environmental. Building on a triangular model, Kennedy et al. (2005) outline four pillars of sustainable transport, which are illustrated in Figure 2.4.

Figure 2. 4: Four pillars of sustainable urban transport

Source: Kennedy et al. (2005, p. 396)

According to them, effective bodies for transport planning (governance), efficient and fair funding mechanisms (finance), strategic investment in infrastructure projects (infrastructure), and involvement and support at the local level (neighbourhoods) are essential for sustainable transport. Low (2003) on the contrary criticises the three dimension model of sustainable transport. According to him, this model encourages the popular belief that all three, society, economy, and environment, must be sustained, which is not more than a political compromise between the conflicting goals

of each of these dimensions. This is paradoxical because “for the environment to be sustained, both society and economy have to *change*. They cannot therefore be *sustained* in their present form” (Low, 2003, p. 2).

In the environmental dimension of sustainable transport, studies have focused on areas such as the peak oil phenomenon (Griffiths, 2005); transport’s share in greenhouse gas emissions globally (Lidskog, Elander, & Brundin, 2003); road infrastructure building, urban sprawl and its impact on agricultural productivity and hydrologic cycles (Ernst, 2011); congestion, urban pollution, greenhouse gas emissions, noise pollution and fatal accidents (Banister, 2002); and need for the environmentally-friendly sustainable modes of transport (Whitelegg, 1997). Likewise, many other studies have focused on the economic aspects of sustainable transport. These studies have mainly focused on road network building, freight services, time savings, efficient mobility and economic appraisals for sustainable transport (for example see, Adler, 1987; Aschauer, 1990; Creightney, 1993; Hook, 2011; Sieber, 1997).

Although the economic and environmental concerns are important and have rightly been discussed in the literature, the social issues and concerns surrounding sustainable transport have largely been undervalued (Boschmann & Kwan, 2008; Lowe, Stanley, & Stanley, 2018). The next section highlights this point by reviewing the relevant literature and focusing on social aspects and their relevance to sustainable urban transport.

2.2.4 Socially sustainable transport

There is no agreed-on definition of social sustainability with regards to urban transport. However, the commonly cited definition of social sustainability for a city was provided by Polese & Stren (2000, pp. 15-16):

Development (and/or growth) that is compatible with harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population.

According to Bramley et al. (2006), "...while there is wide-spread agreement that a social dimension is important, there is less agreement, and less systematic analysis, of what exactly is meant by social sustainability" (p. 2). There is this ambiguity whether social sustainability means the social preconditions for sustainable development or requirement to sustain certain structures and customs in a society (Colantonio, 2009). Because of this ambiguity there is limited literature specifically on social sustainability, however broader literature on overlapping issues such as quality of life, health, equity, liveability, social capital, social cohesion and social exclusion/inclusion exists (Bramley et al., 2006; Dempsey, Bramley, Power, & Brown, 2011; Grieco, 2015).

Hill & Duggan (2006) with the example of Oakgrove Millennium Community in Milton Keynes, UK highlight the importance of sustainable transport for community building. They promote "community efficiency" over "car efficiency" by arguing that high-quality, integrated public transport could serve as a solution to increasing congestion and car culture, and can promote community and social values. It is also interesting to note that a culture of cars has been rooted deep into social life. Many studies in this regards have focused on issues such as; evolution of car culture in developed countries; the car as a symbol of wealth and power; the car as a space of freedom, style, speed and individual mastery; the car as our "second nature", and even the car as an instrument of national identity formation (Bohren, 2009; Bull, 2004; Edensor, 2004; Sheller, 2004; Thoms, Holdern, & Claydon, 1998; Urry, 2004; Volti, 2004).

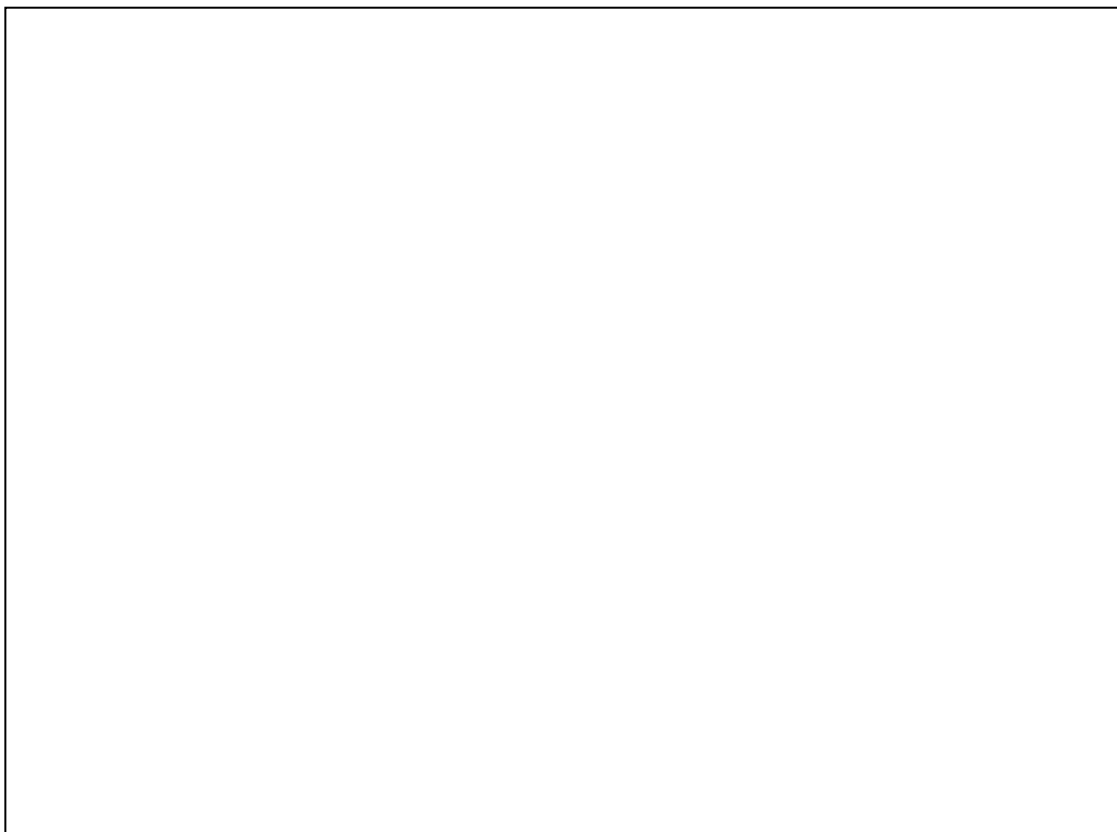
A viable public transport system could serve as an alternate to cars, but unless the public transport system meets the expected needs of people, sustainable transport is hard to achieve. Banister (2005) notes that intention of policy makers should not be to prohibit the use of car all together rather they should work creatively to design cities of such quality that people would not need to use their cars.

Too and Earl (2010) also stress a similar point that until public transport system gives commuters the expected level of ease and comfort, they will not use it. They used the SERVQUAL framework to measure perception of people regarding public transport

services in a master-planned community in Gold Coast, Australia. They used five indicators of service quality: tangibility, reliability, responsiveness, assurance and empathy. The data revealed that people in the study area ranked public transport low against the five indicators, which implied that they were using cars more often.

The reliance on cars goes against the ideals of sustainable transport and causes development problems in cities. Kenworthy (2011) analysed transport data since 1995 of 26 low-income cities around the world which were facing the issue of rapid motorization. Building on the arguments of Barter (2000), he presents a generic model of urban transport and land use evolution in developing cities, which is shown in figure 2.5.

Figure 2. 5: Generic model of urban transport and land use evolution in developing countries



Source: Kenworthy (2011, p. 75)

In this model wealthier cities in developed countries are either 'automobile cities' or 'modern transit cities'. According to Kenworthy, many low-income cities in developing countries are becoming 'traffic-disaster cities' rather than becoming low-density

automobile cities or high-density modern transit cities. The transport problem becomes exaggerated when coupled with Rapid growth, extreme inequality and poverty in cities of developing countries. Although these vary from country to country, Pucher, Korattyswaropam, Mittal, & Ittyerah (2005, pp. 185-186) highlight that all developing countries suffer from the following:

- Unplanned, haphazard development at the suburban fringe without adequate infrastructure, transport, and other public services
- Limited network of roads, often narrow, poorly maintained, and unpaved
- Extremely congested roads with an incompatible mix of both motorized and non-motorized vehicles traveling at widely different speeds
- Rapidly increasing ownership and use of private cars and motorcycles
- Inadequate roadway accommodations for buses and non-motorized transport
- Primitive or non-existent traffic control and management, often without even the most basic street signage
- Extremely high and rapidly rising traffic fatalities, especially among pedestrians and motorcyclists
- Overcrowded, uncomfortable, undependable, slow, uncoordinated, inefficient, and dangerous public transport
- Extremely high levels of transport-related pollution, noise and other environmental impacts, especially in large cities

This outcome is predominantly caused by government policies on road building, patterns of urbanization and suburbanization, traffic restraint, and lower levels of investment in public transport and non-motorized transport. These policies minimize the advantage of most developing cities of dense urban form and mixed land, which could be taken advantage of by introducing a better public transport system and investment in attractive infrastructure buildings for walking and cycling. Although there is no mention of any Pakistani city in the data-set, the general findings are applicable there as well because the focus of successive governments has remained on investing in big road development projects which lead to increased motorization (Imran, 2010).

Polese & Stren (2000) also agree that governments generally invest in road infrastructure in contrast to investing in public transport because this is easier and something tangible which attracts the voters' attention. But this divides cities and produces social inequality in such a way that "two cities coexist in the same metropolitan area: the 'modern' city nurtured on the car; the 'other' city dependent on other, more traditional means of transport (including walking)" (p. 320). Similarly, Low (2003) points out that current transport policy in most parts of the world is obsessed with road infrastructure development. According to him, this conception is a cornerstone hurdle in making transport sustainable because it encourages private motorized transport, which not only puts stress on the environment but is also not good for social values of equality and mutual living.

However, Friedmann (2007) argues that there is nothing wrong with investing in infrastructure development if it is designed to benefit 80% of the population (the middle income and poor). According to him, new roads are needed but we should ask whether these roads are built for buses and other forms of public transport or to accommodate private vehicles? This way we can see if a city is going to be "a 20 or an 80 per cent solution" (p. 995). This is because fulfilling basic transport needs of all segments of society by linking them to each other and to different activities such as education, employment, healthcare, leisure, and social gatherings, is central to the debate of social sustainability and sustainable transport (Lucas et al., 2010).

2.2.5 Mobilities research

This is also important to discuss the relevant scholarship in the area of mobilities while discussing transport's relationship with sustainability. The notion of mobility is wide ranging. It is regarded as one of the major factors shaping the contemporary world ranging from social, cultural, economic and political realities (Mendolicchio & Hiuleileh, 2015). It has been used in so many varied contexts that it has become a principal word within academic disciplines and has been viewed as a "fundamental characteristic of modern society" (Essebo & Baeten, 2012, p. 556). Mobility is generally defined as "...the movement of people from one place to another, and is measured as the number

of trips or distance travelled per day” (Plazinić & Jović, 2018, p. 170). Sager (2006, p. 466) defines it as the “ease of movement, and can refer to the movement of individuals, goods, capital, and information in the form of text, other signs, or images”. Sager also equates mobility as ‘potential’ transport and regards it as the capacity of an individual to travel. Potential travel is termed as ‘motility’ by Kaufman (2002), who refers it as the capacity of an actor to move socially and spatially.

Some researchers have observed that despite the interests, mobility research has remained at the periphery of theoretical and methodological investigation in social sciences (Cresswell, 2010; Merriman, 2015; Sager, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006, 2016). In the last decade, however, the academic interest has grown to study mobility issues. Sheller and Urry (2006) termed this as a ‘mobility turn’ and ‘new mobilities paradigm’ in the social sciences. In their seminal work on this issue, they write that

a ‘mobility turn’ is spreading into and transforming the social sciences, transcending the dichotomy between transport research and social research, putting social relations into travel and connecting different forms of transport with complex patterns of social experience conducted through communications at-a-distance. It seems that a new paradigm is being formed within the social sciences, the ‘new mobilities paradigm’ (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 208).

The ‘mobilities turn’ started a vigorous discourse in social sciences about the issue of mobility and its varied manifestations under the rubric of ‘multiple mobilities’, which included not only movement of people, but also movement of images and information at the local, national and global levels. Furthermore, it also studies “those immobile infrastructures that organise the intermittent flow of people, information, and image, as well as the borders or ‘gates’ that limit, channel, and regulate movement or anticipated movement” (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 212). Sheller (2014, p. 791) in another article provides a detailed explanation:

mobilities research encompasses research on the spatial mobility of humans, non-humans, and objects; the circulation of information, images, and capital; as well as the study of the physical means for movement such as infrastructures, vehicles, and software systems that enable travel and communication to take place.

Cresswell (2010) highlights that mobility has three interconnected dimensions – physical movement, representation of movement (meaning) and embodied practice of movement. These three elements work in different ways to make the ‘politics of mobility’. First, the physical movement for Cresswell is made up of purpose, velocity, rhythm, route, and spatial scale. Second, the representation of movement signifies the social meaning given to movement. Third, the embodied practice means that the movement embodies different experience based on different circumstances. According to Cresswell, the politics of movement can be enriched if we consider these three dimensions together while studying mobility.

Building on this politics of mobility, Quicke and Green (2018) highlight the plight of nomadic Indigenous people in Australia. They have been subject to ‘deeply sedentarist posture’ of the Australian government through the forced mobility regulation and state housing policy, which have questionable efficacy and potential of further marginalisation of mobile cultures. Although the indigenous people challenge the sedentarist policy parameters, the “struggles with respect to cultural identity and movement regulation constitute important empirical challenge to nomadic metaphysics within the mobility turn” (Quicke & Green, 2018, p. 1).

Thomsen (2016) highlights the impact of parents’ construction of safety on their children’s independent mobility in Denmark. Although the number of traffic accidents has decreased over the last decade, more number of children is ferried around by car due to the perceived concern with traffic safety by parents. Based in the social constructivist paradigm, Thomsen used risk theory and in-depth interviews with parents to highlight that increased chauffeuring of children can pose threats to children, both who are chauffeured and the ones not taken by car. This is because the

chauffeured ones are at risk due to decrease in bodily movement, while children on roads are at risk because of the increased number of cars on the roads. Thomsen stresses the need to approach the concerns of parents regarding traffic risks for the good of children's independent mobility.

In another related article Freudendal-Pedersen (2016) used the term 'structural stories' and applied it to understand people's arguments and their justifications about their mobility. According to Freudendal-Pedersen, structural stories can provide answers to the modern car based mobility by opening the ways of 'reflexive mobility' at the individual level. This can also help understand the logics behind people's mobility pattern and how they can be made more reflexive in order to achieve environmentally sustainable mobility.

Talking about social sustainability, Nordbakke and Schwanen (2014) provide a detailed analysis of the link between well-being and mobility particularly with regards to older people. They highlight that taking a 'radical interdisciplinary' approach to study well-being is useful for an in-depth understanding of the issue. They proposed a multi-method strategy, whereby qualitative open ended methods would be used first to identify key dimension of well-being to record the subjective experiences. Later on this can be combined with the statistical analysis of objective approaches in order to take a wholistic understanding of well-being and mobility. In a similar vein, Hine (2011) highlight the transport disadvantage for groups such as women, elderly, and disabled people. She stresses that this is an important area of research because mobility of these social groups is very important for their employment and their accessibility to different services. Although the present research situates itself into the empowerment and rights-based frameworks, it uses some of the literature from mobilities research as well.

2.3 Transport and Social Exclusion

As discussed earlier in this chapter there is a strong relationship between sustainable modes of transport and social sustainability. In order to highlight this relationship many studies have emerged that have focused on social issues and behaviour of

different social groups with regards to transport system (Bae & Mayeres, 2005; Currie & Stanley, 2008; Hill & Duggan, 2006; Lucas et al., 2010; Lyons, 2004; Schintler, 2005). These studies have focused on the importance of transport for people to get access to health, education and employment-related activities and also to give them opportunity to build and strengthen social networks. The impact of any transport system is experienced differently by different groups of people. Sometimes marginalized groups feel excluded. It is important that a transport system includes all social groups in its policy and planning. It has been acknowledged in the literature that transport policies and practices have significantly contributed to reinforce social exclusion of certain groups and hindered their chances of participation in social, economic and health seeking activities (Lucas et al., 2010). The present section discusses the issue of transport and social exclusion at length. It first gives a brief overview of the concept of social exclusion in general and then delineates how this concept is being used and operationalized in the field of transport.

2.3.1 Meaning and history of social exclusion research

The term 'social exclusion' is generally attributed to René Lenoir, a French author who published the book *Les Exclus: Un Français sur Dix* in 1974. The *exclus* (excluded), for Lenoir, were those people who were marginalized from the employment and social security system, such as disabled, suicidal people, elderly, and abused children (De Haan, 1998). During the 1980s, this idea became popular in France and people started to talk about social issues such as inequality and its resultant impact on social cohesion in society (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 2004). Later, social exclusion became part of the French socialist policy agenda and a policy concept in the UK and other European countries (Lucas, 2004). It became so popular and central to the policy agendas in Britain that a Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) was established in 1997 in the Cabinet Office, whose primary aim was to develop coordinated policies to tackle social exclusion in Britain (Levitas, 2000).

The concept of social exclusion has origins in earlier debates in literature on deprivation, poverty, inequality and underclass (Hine & Mitchell, 2016). As the idea of development has no longer been viewed only in terms of economic growth and it has

attained broader connotations like human development, freedom, capabilities and even happiness (Nussbaum, 2003; Nussbaum & Glover, 1995; A. Sen, 1999, 2005; UNDP, 1992), similarly in the debates on poverty and deprivation, the limits of income as a sole indicator to measure poverty have been well acknowledged (Barnes, 2002; Bhalla & Lapeyre, 2004; Kabeer, 2000; O'Brien & Penna, 2008; Room & Britton, 2006; P. Saunders, 2003; A. Sen, 1992). In this context, social exclusion emerged from the overlap of various themes like integration, poverty, marginalization, social and civic disenfranchisement, and dearth of support networks (Backwith, 2015; Uteng, 2009). It became popular as it provided a broader conceptualization and understanding of deprivation and marginalization.

Room (1999) explains that social exclusion implies a shift away from traditional understandings of poverty and marginalisation by outlining five principal elements of social exclusion. In his views, these shifts are:

- From financial to multi-dimensional disadvantage; disadvantage cannot be confined to an insufficient income alone. It has many dimensions such as financial poverty, poor housing, educational failure, lack of skills, deprived childhood, and sickness.
- From static to a dynamic analysis; it is important to identify the underlying factors, causes, experiences and consequences of disadvantages, instead of just counting their numbers.
- From individual or household resources to those of the local community; people's living conditions are also shaped by the community they live in, therefore, analysis should also take into account 'community resources'.
- From a distributional to a relational focus; the 'poverty' paradigm the focus is on the distributional issues of resources, while in social exclusion understanding relational issues, for example inadequate social participation, lack of integration and lack of power are the focus of inquiry.
- Continuity or catastrophe: The core element in the social exclusion debate is that it has "connotation of separation and permanence: a catastrophic discontinuity in relationships with the rest of society" (Room, 1999, p. 171).

In a detailed discussion on its meaning, philosophical underpinnings, political ideologies and national discourses, Silver (1994) outlines three paradigms to study social exclusion. These constitute 'solidarity', 'specialization' and 'monopoly' paradigms. The 'solidarity' paradigm was prevalent in the French Republican thought and based largely on the ideas of Rousseau and Durkheim. This paradigm saw exclusion happening when social bond between individuals and society broke down. Social exclusion like deviance was viewed as a threat to the social order and was treated with the process of 'insertion'. The 'specialization' paradigm was found in the Anglo-American liberalization tradition, which largely drew on the ideas of Hobbes. Here social exclusion was "considered as the consequence of specialization: of social differentiation, the economic division of labour, and the separation of spheres" (Silver, 1994, p. 542). In this tradition, social structures were comprised of different social spheres or social groups, which were formed by voluntary membership of individuals based on their interests. This model of citizenship gave rise to contractual exchange of rights and obligations and exclusion resulted from an "inadequate separation of social spheres from the application of rules inappropriate to a given sphere, or from barriers to free movement and exchange between spheres" (p. 542). The 'monopoly' paradigm, which remained influential in the UK, viewed social exclusion as a result of formation of "group monopoly". This paradigm, based predominantly on the ideas of Max Weber, perceived social order as a set of hierarchical power relations. Here social exclusion is the interplay of class, status and political power. This interplay created social 'closure', which served to restrict access of the excluded to different social activities. Exclusion can be mitigated through social democratic citizenship and the "extension of equal membership and full participation in the community to outsiders" (Silver, 1994, p. 543).

These paradigms are quite useful in giving a theoretical overview of and practical orientation to the social exclusion discourse. Similarly, Levitas (2000) outlines three approaches to social exclusion. The first approach is a redistributive discourse (RED) which views social exclusion as a consequence of poverty. Although this approach regards social exclusion as a dynamic, processual, multidimensional, and relational concept, nonetheless poverty remains at its core. The second approach, social

integration (SID), regards paid work as a mean to integrate individuals of working age into society. The important indicator of social exclusion for this approach is unemployment or economic unproductivity. The third approach of social exclusion is moral underclass discourse (MUD) in which moral and cultural causes of poverty are highlighted. This approach links social exclusion with social order and focuses on groups, such as unemployed and potential criminal young men, and lone parents especially never-married young mothers.

All these approaches and social exclusion paradigms discussed above highlight the need to look at structural issues and underlying causes of exclusion. As Veit-Wilson (1998), puts it that it is important to focus on the “role of those who are doing excluding and therefore aim for solutions which reduce the powers of exclusion” (p. 45). So the focus here is to delineate underlying causes of multi-dimensional disadvantage and exclusion, such as poverty, lack of facilities like housing, schools, healthcare, and transport. It is here that social exclusion becomes a very relevant concept to apply on transport issues and the present study applies this in relation to women’s transport in Pakistani cities.

2.3.2 Transport-related social exclusion

The literature on ‘transport and social exclusion’ is an emerging one and “at an early stage of empirical development” (Stanley & Lucas, 2008). However, some studies, especially in the last decade, have tried to answer the question: what role can a transport system play in reducing exclusion from society? (for example see, Church, Frost, & Sullivan, 2000; Delbosc & Currie, 2011; Hine & Mitchell, 2003, 2016; Lucas, 2004; Pooley, 2016; Priya & Uteng, 2009; Rajé, 2007; Social Exclusion Unit, 2003; Stanley et al., 2010). These studies take social exclusion as a process of prohibiting someone from taking part in a certain activity.

This prohibition may relate to social, spatial or policy dimensions because these three spheres can significantly contribute to increasing or reducing social exclusion in urban areas. For example, McCray & Brais (2007, p. 398) says that “social exclusion occurs when sectors of the population are prevented from participating in activities that

affect the quality of life. This isolation may be created by a lack of transportation". Various social norms in a society based on ethnicity, caste, class and gender contribute towards stereotyping certain groups and their mobility in such a way that it can result in their exclusion. Rajé (2007, p. 40) defines social exclusion as a process that "causes individuals or groups not to participate in the normal activities of the society in which they are residents and has spatial manifestations". From spatial manifestations it is said that transport-related social exclusion can also result from the geography or physical built environment of a city (Özkazanc & Sönmez, 2017). This is because people living on the fringes, especially the poor, disabled and women are unable to participate in different activities relating to education, employment and healthcare, which are predominantly located in the urban centres. For Hine & Mitchel (2016) social exclusion occurs because of the poor policy making process. For them, if transport policy becomes sensitive to the needs of disadvantaged groups then these groups can be included into the social realm. The above discussion highlights that social, spatial and institutional (policy) structures have a strong relationship with transport and social exclusion and should be studied in order to understand this issue. These have been reviewed in the following sections.

2.3.3 Social structure

- ***Life chances and well-being***

Many studies have understood the transport and social exclusion debate by linking it with the broader issue of social well-being and life chances. These studies have highlighted the role of transport in social well-being in order to better inform transport policy and planning for the inclusion and increasing the life chances of excluded groups. For example Kenyon (2011) discusses the link between transport and social inclusion in higher education in the UK. She says that mobility or transportation is a necessary condition for access to different activities and full participation in higher education. Many students who participated in her study mentioned the impact of inadequate transport systems in the form of "reduced enjoyment of life, the feeling of being imprisoned in the immediate environment, a sense of reduced opportunity and an ability to achieve potential" (p. 770).

Delbosc & Currie (2011) say that literature on transport and social exclusion has mainly focused on the role of transport in increasing mobility, and accessibility while “well-being” has remained an under-researched area. According to them, in many countries happiness and well-being have become policy goals and it is important “to directly establish how access improvements or reducing social exclusion might increase well-being” (p. 556). In order to document well-being and its link with transport, they took a heterogeneous population from four different groups: people who neither face transport disadvantage nor they face social exclusion, people who face only transport disadvantage, people who only face social exclusion, and people who are both transport disadvantaged and socially excluded. They found that social exclusion, especially when combined with transport disadvantage, had a negative impact on well-being. According to them, social inclusion should not be an end policy goal in itself but it should be incorporated into the overall goal of “well-being”.

Similarly, Mackett and Thoreau (2015) stress that social exclusion has profound relationship with transport and health of different social groups, especially the marginalized ones. This is because marginalized groups such as older people, women, immigrants, racial/ethnic minorities, and people with disabilities have little access to different opportunities including transport, which excludes them from accessing essential health care services. Similarly, these groups also experience higher level of transport ‘externalities’ such as road accidents, injuries, and pollution, which make them suffer more. They further maintain that providing transport will not automatically reduce social exclusion for such groups, however, it will help them access better job and health care opportunities.

- ***Social capital and networks***

Social capital and networks are considered to be important in reducing transport-related social exclusion. Social capital is built and sustained in one way or the other through physical meetings of people which requires them to travel from one place to another (Godard, 2011; Schwanen et al., 2015). For Stanley et al. (2010) the most important mediating factor to move people from exclusion to inclusion is social capital

and resultant community connectedness. According to them, social capital is built through “networks, trust and reciprocity” (p. 282) and social exclusion can be measured through the combination of household income, employment status, political activity, social support and participation. They argue that on the one hand increased mobility builds more networks and the feeling of connectedness which in turn motivates people to be more mobile. According to them, mobility is not to get people from point A to B, as it is generally understood, but sometimes one trip could become a “venture into itself” (p. 281) and this aspect is missing in literature. They felt the need for more studies to examine the interface between social exclusion, social capital, community connectedness, well-being and personality factors, in order to broaden the discourse on transport and social exclusion/inclusion for better policy decisions.

In a very similar vein, Stanley & Vella-Brodrick (2009) stress the need to take this concept a step further by incorporating social capital and well-being into transport policy and planning. According to them, social inclusion should not be a policy goal per se but instead should be used to enhance the quality of life by incorporating social capital and well-being into its discourse. Transport provides a means to enable people to form associations and relationships, which is a necessary condition for building social capital. Using public transport is also a way of building social capital. The authors regard that well-being is central to people’s mobility as transport not only enables them to access educational or work related places; it also provides them with an opportunity to access places of leisure and build social networks.

In an immigration context, Uteng (2009), highlights the mobility pattern of non-western immigrant women settled in Norway. As compared to rest of the Norwegian groups, this particular group of women has a different profile in terms of family structure, education, participation in the labour market and access to income. This is a useful study as it discusses the social norms and their relationship with mobility of non-western immigrant women, however it tends to put all non-western immigrant women as a homogenous group and almost overlooks cultural differences within this

group. Moreover, the pattern of women mobility and travel in their home country would be quite different from the Norwegian context.

2.3.4 Spatial structure

- ***Urban form and physical structure of the built environment***

Physical structure of the built environment is very important in order to study transport and social exclusion. It has been studied that services and facilities in urban areas are not evenly distributed across the urban space. The location in urban areas with regards to different facilities and services can sometimes either advantage or disadvantage people living in these areas or close by (Kirby, 1982; Knox, 1995). Generally the poorest areas in cities are geographically and physically isolated, located at the fringes of cities, and lack basic services including transportation (Özkazanc & Sönmez, 2017). A report published by Social Exclusion Unit (1998) highlights this point that many of the poor neighborhoods in Britain are physically isolated and lack basic public and private services. Car ownership is low in these areas and in the absence of good public transport, residents of these areas face “accessibility deficit” which contributes to their social exclusion.

One of the early studies in transport and social exclusion rubric was done by Church et al. (2000). They outlined different types or categories of social exclusion with regards to transport system in London. These included;

- Physical exclusion: The physical structure of transport and built environment may inhibit certain groups of people from accessing transport system.
- Geographical exclusion: It is hard for the dispersed communities to carry out activities and access services present in other areas.
- Exclusion from facilities: Due to concentration of services and shopping in centralized areas, other areas may suffer fewer services and residents of these areas are excluded from accessing these services.
- Economic exclusion: The travel cost, in terms of time and money, can limit the chances of getting employment.
- Space exclusion: Sometimes space-management strategies for security reasons discourage marginalized people from using public transport facilities.

Due to these factors, according to Church et al. (2000), a 'disconnection' occurs between residents of an area and their ability to access different activities and opportunities through transport. This causes social exclusion. Here social exclusion is the inability of people to access different services and activities. This line of arguments was very strong early on in 'transport and social exclusion' literature. Building on this line of thinking, many studies have been conducted to understand transport-related disadvantage in urban fringes of cities (Currie, 2010; Dodson & Sipe, 2006; Hernandez, 2018; Hurni, 2007). These studies have highlighted that urban fringes are characterized by limited public transport system, poor walkways and bikeways, which require people to cover longer travel distances.

It is not always the population on urban fringes which face transport-related disadvantage or exclusion, but poor and unemployed people living in inner cities, especially in the ghetto type development in the United States, who have also been recognised as transport disadvantaged. These people have low levels of car ownership and also could not afford to use public transport systems (Cervero, 2004; Cervero & Tsai, 2003). Hernandez and Titheridge (2016) highlight, by giving the example of Altos de Cazucá, Colombia that disadvantaged groups have to trade-off between costs, time, comfort, security, essential and non-essential journeys. These trade-offs "lead people to sacrifice essential resources and time to respond to specific dimensions of transport-related social exclusion" (pp. 162-163). They further maintain that the transport disadvantage of people, such as women, elderly, children and disabled can affect the mobility of close members of their households, resulting in social exclusion of the entire household unit.

These studies have focused on the geographical distribution of population across urban space and their relationship with the transport system in increasing or decreasing transport-related social exclusion. The studies under the rubric of 'spatial structure and transport social exclusion' have given little attention to the relationship and influence of socio-cultural and religious values on public space in urban areas. Furthermore, they have not analysed the relationship of these values in perpetuating

or minimizing the transport-related social exclusion of particular groups in society. This relationship is very important and is discussed with reference to gender and transport in this thesis.

2.3.5 Policy structure

One of the important reasons why people are socially excluded is because of the institutional structure and policy directions. The spatial distribution of population on the basis of the built environment is directly related to transport or urban development policies. As Hine & Mitchell (2016) highlight, peripheral places are not fully covered by public transport operators. This is because policy makers in the UK have given little attention to the role of transport in tackling social exclusion. According to them, social exclusion is the non-participation of individuals in different life shaping activities like employment, education and leisure, and transport is the key in providing people with mobility and access to these activities. Here some of the relevant issues related to transport policy structures are reviewed.

- ***Accessibility***

Many studies have highlighted that by ignoring the accessibility needs of different groups, transport policies and practices have significantly contributed to reinforce social exclusion, subsequently hindering people's chances of participation in social and economic activities, as well as their access to healthcare services (Hernandez, 2018; Hine & Mitchell, 2003, 2016; Hurni, 2007; Lucas et al., 2010; Social Exclusion Unit, 2003).

One of the early areas of study of Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), established in the 1990s in the UK, was transport (Stanley & Vella-Brodrick, 2009). One of its reports namely *Making the Connections* was published in 2003, which highlighted that transport problems could serve as a significant barrier to people's access to different social services and activities and hence a big reason for their exclusion. The report focused on accessibility issues of different groups of people, especially the ones having no private transport. The reasons or barriers to their accessibility included unavailability and inaccessibility of public transport especially at the right time; high cost of

transport; services located at inaccessible places; safety and security issues; and travel horizons. The underlying causes for these barriers were poor transport policies which overlooked the importance of accessibility and associated social costs while establishing employment or service sites at different places. The report suggested a need to better understand the travel needs of people and to link these needs with transport planning and policy making in order to reduce social exclusion.

- ***Travel needs of disadvantaged groups***

Similarly, many studies have highlighted the travel needs of marginalized groups, which were not considered in transport policy and planning (Chung, Choi, Park, & Litman, 2014; Hernandez & Titheridge, 2016; Lucas, 2004; Rajé, 2007). Hurni (2007), for example, elaborates upon travel and transport needs of two groups, sole parents and young unemployed persons, in Western Sydney, Australia. Western Sydney, in itself, is a disadvantaged area in that it has a higher proportion of low income households, unemployed youth and single parent families as compared to rest of the Sydney. Hurni (2007) highlights, sole parents have haphazard, short and frequent travel because they need to travel for their own needs as well as the needs of their children. On the other hand, unemployed youth need to travel at night time for socialization and one-off jobs but found this difficult because the public transport does not operate after 7.30 pm. The transport system excludes such marginalized social groups without even considering their real travel needs.

Similarly, Lucas (2004) outlines different concerns of the transport disadvantaged groups, such as children, younger people, elderly, disabled people, minority groups, women and unemployed people. These concerns were predominantly related to their accessibility to different activities and services. She emphasizes the importance of starting a planning exercise which she called 'accessibility planning' where the transport-related accessibility issues of disadvantaged groups can be documented and then incorporated in policy. In a similar vein, Hine & Mitchell (2016) study transport disadvantaged groups like elderly, people with health problems, women, unemployed and low income in three case studies located in Edinburgh, Glasgow and North Lanarkshire. They recommend including transport subsidies and concessions for

marginalized groups, coordination and monitoring of transport services, coordinated and better ticketing arrangements, provision of public transport in new developments, and provision of cycling and pedestrian infrastructure. This is important to note here that these studies are all for developed country cities. In developing countries like Pakistan, cities are more disadvantaged as city planners have fewer resources to work with and more rapid urbanisation to contend with.

- ***Participation or engagement in policy development***

Participation or engagement of transport disadvantaged groups in the transport policy development process is very rare. Even in the context of the UK, Rajé (2007) explores that despite the social inclusion objectives of councils in the study areas, the local people were not being engaged in the process of transport policy development. This inculcates a feeling of disempowerment and exclusion among them and serves as a barrier to their mobility. She outlines three types of transport barriers: spatial, when a transport service is not available nearby and requires some travel; temporal, when transport is available nearby but does not connect to the desired destination at the right time and/or needs a transit; and informational, when someone wants to go at certain location but could not find information how to travel. In order to know these transport concerns, she stresses the need to engage local people in the policy making process. In the context of the United States, Rosenbloom (2007) laments that “participation or consultation” from disadvantaged groups regarding transport related projects such as construction of highways or public transport routes is not made.

- ***Financial cost of travel***

A few studies have highlighted that financial costs associated with travel in urban areas is a very important policy issue that should be given consideration. For instance, Rosenbloom (2007) stresses that transport is a kind of public finance whereby people are taxed or charged for services. The issue is, whether they are charged fairly or not. Although there is legislation in the US government such as, The Civil Rights Act 1964, the author laments that transport policies struggle to address the financial concerns of poor people. Similarly, Priya & Uteng (2009) discuss the importance of having a car-driving license to get a job, especially for immigrants living in Norway. Transport policy

in Norway is based on high-priced licensing on one hand and expansion of the public transport system on the other. According to them, this could be useful for the perceived sustainability agenda but they lamented that this has ignored the needs of poor segments of society like the immigrants as they can't find a job. This might have repercussions for them to be excluded from Norwegian society. They further said that transport policy does not impact equally on different groups of society as "some ethnic/low-income groups are affected more than others...this causes more ghettos around the public transport system/stations" (p. 138). The financial cost of travel is of utmost importance to poor people especially the ones who have to travel long distances (as noted, the poor are often on the outskirts of cities) or make multiple trips. This has been further discussed with reference to women's transport issues and impact of poverty on their travel pattern in the next chapter.

All these studies in the 'transport and social exclusion' literature are useful as they provide a broader framework to study transport issues, however there is dearth of research on social and cultural factors responsible for transport-related social exclusion. Among these factors, the social behavior or attitude of people towards transport of certain groups is very significant. This not only defines how, when and where travel occurs but also who can travel. In other words, society or social structure defines travel and transport behavior of different groups. As far as the present study is concerned, it will focus not only on transport policies for women's better access to different services and activities; it will also focus on social structure and gendered social relationships which pave the way for women's marginalization and exclusion. These attitudes towards women's mobility are reflected in transport policies and in the spatial design of urban settings. Hence the present study will provide a comprehensive framework to study transport and women's social exclusion by focusing not only on the policies or the institutional frameworks, but also on the social systems and behaviors of people regarding the notion of women's mobility in public spaces. This will be discussed in light of the relevant literature in the next chapter.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has elaborated upon some of the key ideas on sustainable urban development with particular regards to social issues. This has highlighted that as compared to economic and environmental concerns, social issues have not been given due importance in the discourse on sustainable development and sustainable transport. One such issue is social exclusion of different disadvantaged groups from the transport system. The issue of transport and social exclusion has been discussed with regards to three aspects: social, spatial, and institutional.

The studies on 'transport and social exclusion' have been instrumental in highlighting the importance of understanding social issues in transport. Issues such as marginalization, disadvantage, transport poverty, and exclusion have caught the attention of policy makers in different countries (Rajé, 2007). However, it is also vital to mention here that almost all of these studies have been conducted in the developed countries: there is a dearth of literature on transport and social exclusion with regards to developing countries. Therefore there is a need for comprehensive studies exploring transport marginalization and exclusion in developing countries. This is imperative because developing countries are the ones facing massive motorisation in their urban areas (Kenworthy, 2011), which triggers different social, economic and environmental issues.

Similarly, social processes in cities of developing countries, for example Pakistan, are significantly different from those of developed countries. While in cities of the developed countries, studies highlight the need for developing social capital, connections and networks as strategies of inclusion of disadvantaged groups (Stanley et al., 2010; Stanley & Vella-Brodrick, 2009), in developing countries social capital and networks are apparently stronger but still people are being excluded from different services. It is important to critically study the role of social capital in transport and social exclusion and the strengths and weaknesses of this concept in developing countries. At this point it becomes important to examine how social, spatial, and policy-related structures of cities contribute towards increasing or decreasing transport social exclusion. This question will be explored with regards to women's

social exclusion in the next chapter where key articles on gender and transport will be reviewed as well as a conceptual framework to study gender and transport will be presented. This will be a useful contribution to the body of knowledge, because there are hardly any studies under the rubric of 'transport and social exclusion' that have focused on women's issues in transport.

CHAPTER THREE: GENDER AND TRANSPORT IN THE FIELD OF DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a conceptual framework to study women, and transport social exclusion from a development perspective. While gender has been thoroughly theorized and studied in feminist and development studies, transport is considered as the purview of transport studies, planning and engineering disciplines. There are very few instances where the relationship between these two issues is being studied either in transport studies or in development studies. Before going to discuss different theoretical ideas regarding this research, the existing literature on gender and transport will be reviewed.

The present chapter is broadly divided into two sections: a review of literature on gender issues in transport, and gender and development-related frameworks. The first section, by following on from the discussion on transport and social exclusion outlined in the previous chapter, reviews the body of literature on women, gender and transport. This section discusses different themes emerging from the literature in accordance with social, spatial and institutional structures and their impact on women's transport. The second section discusses broad areas of scholarship to study women's issues in development: WID (Women in Development), WAD (Women and Development), GAD (Gender and Development) and rights-based approaches to gender and development. By employing rights-based and empowerment approaches, a framework to study gender and transport is outlined at the end.

3.2 Women, Gender and Transport

It has been discussed in the previous chapter that there are certain disadvantaged or socially excluded groups when it comes to transport. Women as a group can be regarded as an excluded group as far as transport system in certain developing countries is concerned. Women's travel is largely influenced by a range of issues

related to the social, spatial and policy structure of particular societies, as will be discussed below.

3.2.1 Social Constraints to Women's Travel in Urban Areas

- ***Social, cultural and religious values***

Women's travel or mobility is inextricably linked to the societal values and norms pertaining to women's movement outside the sphere of home (Alberts, Pfeffer, & Baud, 2016; Masood, 2018; Rosenbloom, 2010). This is more so with regards to women's transport in developing country context, as Uteng (2008, p. 78) elaborates:

the cultural symbolism for the constrained mobility of women is one of the primary links among non-western cultures. The breaking and binding of feet of Chinese women, the enforcement of strict *purdah* on women within a variety of non-western cultures and the requirement for women to ask public authorities for permission to drive a car, all provide well known and highly transparent constraints on women's mobility.

Social values and norms pertaining to women's mobility play a significant role in transport-related social exclusion of women. Porter (2011) highlights, in many rural areas across Sub-Saharan Africa, females have severe constraints on their mobility which reduces their chances of accessing education, healthcare and jobs. These constraints are partly due to poor infrastructure and transport services, but largely due to the social and patriarchal values pertaining to women's mobility. Even when women are involved in off-farm market related activities and have to travel short distances to nearby towns, they are supposed to come back early and not travel without asking males in their families, otherwise they are labelled as "bad (uncaring) wives" (p. 68) and might be beaten. The social values pertaining to women in general and their appearance in the public sphere discourage women from using certain types of transport. For instance in the case of sub-saharan Africa, Bryceson & Howe (1993) highlighted that women were reluctant to adopt new technologies in the

transportation system, for example handcarts and motorbikes, which were introduced by different development organizations. This was largely affected by the social and cultural norms which held that such modes were not appropriate for women.

In order to elaborate this point about transport or mobility being largely influenced by social and cultural norms, it is useful to quote two case studies from the article of Tanzran (2008, p. 167). These case studies were of women belonging to different economic classes in Uganda:

Case I

I am a 45-year-old professional woman. I am what many would consider as a privileged woman, an empowered woman. I am well educated (a PhD holder), married with children and have a good job. There is one thing I have failed to do though...drive a car. And at my age, I think that it is now something I will never be able to do. My husband uses the family car (which we both contributed to) to control me. This is not so much of a problem when I am going out to work because I have access to company transport. However, when I need to go out shopping or visiting, it becomes an issue. Many times my husband refuses to take me. He sometimes insists that I use public means. The problem is that we live about 3 km away from the main road and the road is very muddy during the wet season. If the journey is very urgent, I hire a taxi. My family and friends say that since I got married, I no longer have time for them.

Case II

My movement is controlled by my husband and my boss. My husband expects me to inform him of all my movements. I have to let my husband know where I am going, even if I have to go out of the office for brief moments only. What would I say if he called and I was away from the office? He has to know where I am at all times. I don't necessarily have to ask him for permission in order to go anywhere but as a responsible wife, I have to inform him where I am going and

why I am going there. I don't want him to be suspicious of me. If my husband is to tell me anything about his movements, he will do so only if I ask him on his return. But I suspect that many times he doesn't tell me the truth.

Similarly, religious values, particularly in some Muslim countries, add to the existing gendered travel pattern. This also is a significant influencing factor in determining women's appropriate behaviour. For instance, Wafa, Newmark, & Shiftan (2008) maintain that religious values and cultural system restrict the ability of women to travel or to work outside their home. As a result they make few trips, spend less time travelling and stay shorter time at the bus stops as compared to men. They also found out that one in six Arab women never leaves home in a given day, as compared to one in 30 men.

These travel norms are communicated to children at an early age. Many studies have reported that parents treat the transport needs of sons and daughters differently (for example see, McMillan, Day, Boarnet, Alfonzo, & Anderson, 2006; Ul Haque, 2005; Yeung, Wearing, & Hills, 2008). These studies emphasise that sons are often permitted to travel farther at a young age as compared to daughters. Parents often prevent girls from leaving home for recreational activities when it is not possible to accompany them.

As a result of these social and cultural values, women cannot enjoy their life to the full. In addition, their limited access to transport serves as a constraint on their ability to access health care, education and other social services (Alberts et al., 2016; Peters, 1998). Understanding and responding to women's transport needs is essential for their betterment (Riverson, Kunieda, Roberts, Lewi, & Walker, 2006).

- ***Income and poverty***

Besides social, cultural and religious values, poverty or low-income is also regarded as a constraint on women's mobility, especially poor women in certain developing countries (Salon & Gulyani, 2010; Srinivasan, 2005). Poor people generally use low-cost

transport means because they are unable to afford the cost of travel associated with motorized means of transport. Salon & Gulyani (2010, p. 641) maintain that poor people cope with this situation by “limiting their travel outside their settlement and, if they do travel, by often ‘choosing’ to walk”.

Furthermore the burden of reduced travel associated with low income is disproportionately borne by women. This is because women’s work is associated with low income, irregularity and part time work (Hamilton, 2003). As a result they not only earn less as compared to men but also make more travel trips in order to fulfil their multiple responsibilities associated with household maintenance and child care (Christoffel Venter, Vokolkova, & Michalek, 2007).

Similarly if the residential location of women is moved from one area to the other, they face more employment-related problems as compared to men. For example, Moser & Peake (1987) highlight that when the Indian government moved the central area squatter colonies in Delhi to peripheral lands, unemployment among women rose by 27% as compared to a 5% rise for men. This was because of men’s greater access to faster transport modes; women relied on slower and cheaper modes and the time cost associated with these modes made it difficult for them to continue in their jobs. This shows that the financial cost of travel is very important for poor women. Many authors emphasise that even if public transport infrastructure is improved, the cost is the key concern for poor women and often women don’t use these improved services (Srinivasan, 2005; World Bank, 2004).

3.2.2 Spatial Structure and Women’s Travel Constraints

Women’s travel or mobility is also influenced by the spatial structure of urban areas (Lin, Wang, & Guan, 2017). Some writers say that spatial structure does not exist on its own but is linked intrinsically with social structure and socially constructed norms and values of a society (Mowl & Towner, 1995; Scraton & Watson, 1998). Whereas space in itself is not gendered, “the inequitable positioning of women in society relative to men structures women and men’s use of urban space over time” (Tanzarn, 2008, p. 170). In this section, first women’s travel with regards to urban form or physical structure of

the built environment will be discussed. Next the issue of personal safety and fear of harassment in the public space regarding women's travel will be analysed.

- ***Location or Physical structure of the built environment***

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, physical structure or location is important for transport related social exclusion for poor segments of a society, especially people located at some distance from the centre of urban areas. It is important to elaborate this point with regards to women's mobility as well. Porter (2002) highlights, in coastal Ghana women living in off-road villages are usually responsible for taking produce to the urban centres for sale, but due to their location coupled with unreliable and poor transport systems they usually arrive late which causes them income losses. In a related article, Mukherjee (2002) laments that women coming from the rural outskirts of Calcutta in India in order to work as domestic servants, vendors, labourers, or industrial workers spend almost 12 hours outside their homes. These women cope with the long-waits for the bus, overcrowding, irregular bus services and the fear of being harassed. As has also been discussed in the previous section in this chapter, poverty and low income add to women's worries regarding transport. These worries or problems are exaggerated when women are physically located at some distance from their jobs or places of interest and they need to travel for a longer time.

Although these findings are related to rural women travelling to urban areas, women in urban spaces also face similar problems. This is because as Næss (2008) argues, the urban form or structure has an influence on the daily travel pattern of men and women. In Copenhagen region, women's accessibility was equal to men in the inner districts but was unequal in suburban areas where unlike men they found it necessary to choose among the available employment opportunities there instead of looking for jobs in distant areas. Using the example of Chennai, India, Srinivasan (2005) tried to find out the influence of relative location (residence) on the travel pattern of women from low income families, which are generally located away from job or business centres. She found out that better public transport in the central and southern zones helped men and women in getting to jobs when their residences were not located

close to their work, which was not the case for the northern zones. This implies that people can travel quite a long distance when the quality of public transport is good. But she laments that the travel behaviour and needs of the low-income group of people especially low-income women are not taken into account in the planning of transport provisions. This is important as Chennai has invested Rs. 7 billion in a rail network to improve the transit-based accessibility of different zones, but this has not been patronized by the low-income families because the fares are higher than the buses and the railway stations are poorly linked with the bus or taxi network, which even makes it hard for the middle income families to use this service.

- ***Safety and fear of harassment***

The issue of personal safety or the fear of being harassed in public space is central to the discussion on gender and transport. Women's sense of safety in certain spaces influences their "decisions to travel or not to travel in certain areas, at certain times, in certain ways (for example, in a group) or using certain modes of transport" (Buiten, 2007, p. 29).

This issue was also highlighted by Porter et al. (2011) in the African context where they studied the pattern of girls and boys going to school. They found out that girls' travel or mobility was restricted as compared to boys, because of the fear of sexual harassment on their way to school. Bid, Nanavaty & Patel (2002) also highlight that fear of harassment restricts women mobility and it is common for women to walk in India instead of taking 'unsafe' transport. Similarly, girls are kept out of school if there is no 'safe' transport for them. Similarly, Sur (2014) highlights in the Indian context that fear of harassment and safety concerns in public spaces 'discipline' women through self-regulation. Women themselves start to believe that best way to negotiate fear and safety concerns is to avoid going out after dark, wear appropriate clothes, and avoid certain forms of transport.

Fayer (1997) highlight in her study that the public space is dominated by men and in this space women are being harassed by men through the act of *piropos* - the customary public verbal comments made towards women. These comments may

range from polite to the vulgar. Some of the examples of Puerto Rican *piropos* with their English translations include (pp. 216-217):

- *Felices son los ojos que t even* (Joyous are the eyes that see you).
- *iQue ojos bellos! Casate conmigo* (What beautiful eyes! Marry me).
- *Dios mio. Tantos dulces y yo diabetic* (My God. Such a lot of candy and I [am] diabetic)
- *Si cocinas como caminas, me como hasta el pegao* (If you cook like you walk, I'll even eat the crispy rice (the rice at the bottom of the pot which is considered a delicacy), i.e. all of you).

Many studies in other parts of the world have also highlighted that verbal comments, unwanted sexual advances and harassment of women, as well as cases of snatch thefts and pickpocketing in public spaces, result in restricting women's mobility in cities (Hamilton, Hoyle, & Jenkins, 2002; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2010; Mitra-Sarkar & Partheeban, 2010; Phadke, Khan, & Ranade, 2011; Seedat, MacKenzie, & Mohan, 2006; Smith, 2008; Stark & Meschik, 2018; Sur, 2014). Turdalieva and Edling (2017) highlight that women face a lot of problems including sexual and verbal harassment while commuting in 'marshrutka' (minibus) in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. Marshrutkas are the prevalent mode of public transport in Bishkek, which leaves women with very little choice. However, due to problems and risks engendered by 'marshrutka' travel, many women reduce their travel, which Turdalieva and Edling (2017) term as "self-exclusion". Thus, safety concerns and fear of harassment impacts negatively on women's travel in cities in developing countries.

In the context of India, Seedat et al. (2006) found that sexual harassment by a single male or group of men was common there. The common way of harassment was through lascivious stares, suggestive remarks, and physical advancement. Due to this, women felt humiliation, fear and intense mistrust, which lead to their restricted mobility. Also in the Indian context, Anand & Tiwari (2006) make similar exertions with regards to women walking in the streets or using public transport. They further say that most of these women have resigned acceptance to these acts of harassment.

Women generally don't report these acts because "in a public culture that often puts blame on the victims of sexual assault, women are often embarrassed and reluctant to report offenses against them" (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2010, p. 106). The situation is not very different in Pakistani cities as well, which is discussed in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

This fear of harassment coupled with poor transport facilities can cause stress among women travelers. From a psychological perspective, Odufuwa (2008) had studied the gender differentials of mobility stress coping mechanisms in the city of Lagos, Nigeria. The travel related-sources of stress included: long waits at bus stops, prolonged travel time, and uncomfortable and expensive modes of transport. The study revealed that mobility stress and transport-related insecurity was higher among women as compared to men, which implied that women had "less access to and utilization of comfortable services transport and are therefore more transport insecure than their male counterpart" (p. 132). In the same Nigerian context, Asiyanbola (2007) also elaborated upon the effects of urban transport infrastructure and intra-urban travel on the psychological well-being of women and men. According to her, gender differences were found: women had more negative effects of distressed infrastructure and travel as compared to men. Both these studies showed the negative psychological effects of travel and recommended that transport and urban planning should include women's concerns into their policies and should cater for the special needs of women in order to make travel a pleasant experience for them.

3.2.3 Institutional structure and women's travel

- ***'Gender-blind' transport policy processes***

Men's and women's travel needs are influenced by their roles and responsibilities in a society. Women's travel needs are directly linked to their "triple role" in a society. This discussion about women's triple role was first highlighted by Moser (1989, 1992). Women's triple roles include reproductive, productive and community management. Reproductive roles constitute both biological reproduction and social reproduction (child rearing, care giving to elderly and family maintenance); productive roles include work for money, such as working on a farm, in a factory, in a professional job, or selling

fruits and vegetables; and community management roles are the ones performed for the well-being of community, like provision of communal services and preparing feasts for important occasions. According to Moser (1989), these triple roles of women are not recognized in the planning process, which means that “the majority, if not all the work that they do is made invisible and fails to be recognized as work either by men in the community or by those planners whose job is to assess different needs *within* low-income communities” (Moser, 1989, p. 1801). It is important to note here that public transport often caters for those attending work for eight hours a day: home to work to home journeys, whereas women fulfilling triple roles often make multiple short trips.

This is reflected in the transport planning process as well, as Levy (1997) criticizes that transport planning in the past has ignored or overlooked the travel needs of urban women, which are influenced by their “triple roles”. She also makes an interesting distinction between travel pattern and travel needs. According to her, travel pattern should not be confused with the actual travel needs of women because “women currently travel using transport systems which are not concerned with their particular needs, they have to adapt their travel to the possibilities allowed by the available transport” (Levy, 1997, p. 106).

Many studies have highlighted that transport policy has ignored or side-lined the special travel needs of women. The transport policy has been blamed for being “gender blind” and unmindful of special transport issues and needs of women (Hamilton & Jenkins, 1989). In this way, this has resulted in women’s transport-related social exclusion (Levy, 1997). Giving the example of the UK, Hamilton (2003) argues that transport policy for the most part has remained unmindful of the travel needs of marginalized groups such as the women, elderly and poor. Instead of giving attention to their travel needs and investing in public transport systems, it favoured the ‘car-based’ orientation of the society. This is detrimental not only from an environmental perspective; it also triggers inequality within different groups which has serious implications for society as a whole. Hamilton (2003) further argues that apart from the poor wage structure and domestic responsibilities, “transport options also have a strong bearing on whether a woman can take up a job or not” (Hamilton, 2003, p. 54)

Though the structure of wages and working conditions for women at large are not at par with their male counterparts, there is a substantial increase in the number of women in the job market. As Schintler (2001) says that the workforce participation of women in the United States has increased 122% since 1969 which is in contrast to the men's workforce participation which increased only 47%. This increase coupled with the concerns for personal safety and the role of primary caretakers in households has resulted in varied lengths and frequencies of travel for women. In spite of these trends, she laments that the transport planning and engineering practices in the US and other developed countries have remained insensitive to the changing needs and roles of women. She highlights the need for an understanding of women's travel behaviour in order to have effective transport planning, which will ensure that the women needs and priorities are reflected in transport investment. This ignorance of women's travel needs in transport policy, according to Hamilton, Hoyle, & Jenkins (1999), has resulted due to the structural and inherent flaws in the transport policy development system, which includes; i) the scarcity of women in key positions in policy making in the transport system, and ii) the failure to incorporate the voices of women users in the planning process.

Another example of gender blind transport policy is that the public transport system is not designed for the needs and priorities of women. Transport literature in the developed and developing countries show that the automobility or car usage is predominantly a male form of transportation and women mostly rely on public transport modes (Mahadevia & Advani, 2016; Rosenbloom, 2010; J. Turner, Grieco, & Kwakye, 1996). Despite of this evidence the "public transport systems continue to be built around the needs of men without adequately addressing the needs of women" (Uteng, 2008, p. 77).

The data gathered for the transport policy purposes misses some of the critical aspects of women's travel, which results in the 'gender blind' policy. Transport policy is built on the 'quantitative' nature of data, and misses the qualitative information regarding people's attitudes, needs, and preferences (Rosenbloom, 2006). The qualitative nature

of information like attitudes, safety concerns, travel experiences and the underlying causes of transport disadvantage is more important and relevant as far as women and transport is concerned. These questions have rarely been asked in the transport policy development (Rosenbloom, 2010). The present study has looked into these qualitative issues and has highlighted how these kinds of attitudes affect women's travel patterns. This has been discussed in the findings and discussion chapters.

Even the physical condition of public transport and other facilities is not good in certain developing countries. It has been discussed earlier in the spatial structure of this chapter that women face different harassment related issues in the public spaces, which hinder their mobility. The public transport facilities are also the places of harassment for them. They are fearful of the crowdedness in public buses, which is the hallmark of many urban transport systems in certain developing countries. The attitude of drivers and conductors, who in majority of the cases are men, adds to the problems of women travelers. In the words of Tanzarn (2008, p. 165), "women also complain of sexual harassment from rude and/or smutty public transport operators. Of the 100 women who use *matatus*(informal public transport), 93 reported that they had been touched on different parts of the body by either the conductor or the driver".

In order to tackle the social exclusion of women in the public transport system, Hamilton & Jenkins (2000) present a gender audit system. A gender audit in public transport is a tool which could outline the travel pattern of men and women and can help design strategies for inclusion of women in the public transport. The authors argue that women's travel needs are quite different from those of men and mostly this difference is not being recognized by transport corporations. They have to manage multiple roles including child-care and sometimes care of adults, besides coping with the paid and unpaid work. Their situation gets exaggerated when there is infrequent or unreliable public transport, on which they traditionally have relied heavily as a group for daily travel. The situation is changing now as "Virtually all the recent increase in car-use is attributable to women" (p. 1799) which is alarming not only for the social exclusion that it is enforcing but also for environmental and commercial reasons.

Commercially, women are the prime users of public transport and it is not feasible for the public bus operators if they keep on excluding women.

Even the transport development projects have not considered their impact on women's travel and mobility. For example, Mahapa & Mashiri (2001) evaluate the impact of a road development project in Tshitwe village in Northern Province of South Africa. This project was meant to increase the economic, education and social opportunities of rural people by providing them with better infrastructure for transport. On the contrary, Mahapa & Mashiri (2001) found out that this 'sophisticated' and 'high tech' road development project did not benefit rural people at large and women in particular. This project did not cater for the travel pattern of women, which is generally to collect water, firewood and going to work in the subsistence farming. They emphasize that "a woman's day in Tshitwe consists of upwards of 18 hours of activities that sustain the household" (p. 373) and most of this time is spent on travelling, leaving no time for socio-economic activities. They further maintain that there is a heightened need for the reorientation of the transport projects to be sensitive to the needs of women and other excluded groups.

There are very few studies that have seen gender and transport issues in urban areas in developing countries. The few studies that have been conducted are predominantly from the perspective of the World Bank or other development institutions (for example see, Astrop, 1996; Gomez, 2000; Kudat et al., 1996; Paul-Majumder & Shefali, 1997; Shefali, 2000). All these studies have a concern that women have obstacles in assessing different transport means as compared to men. Mostly women have less access to motorized means of transport, they seldom use bicycles or other intermediate transport means, and they mostly rely on public transport or use walking. All these studies stressed the need for gender sensitive transport planning.

- ***Gendered travel needs and practical and strategic gender needs***

Many studies have highlighted that transport policy should be based on the travel needs of men and women. This demand was based on the fact that research from, as early as in the 1970s, stressed that women and men have different travel needs. For

example, studies by Rosenbloom (1978) and Giuliano (1979) were pivotal not only because they raised concerns regarding women's travel and mobility, but also these were the first studies to emphasise that women and men had different travel needs. Later on during the 1980s and 1990s, studies emerged mostly in Sub-Saharan Africa and financed by the World Bank (for example see, Ahmed, 2000; Barwell, 1996; Barwell & Calvo, 1989; Calvo, 1994; Doran, 1996; Howe & Bryceson, 1993) highlighting the need for incorporating a gender dimension into transport policy. These studies stressed the importance of fulfilling women's needs with regards to their access to emergency health care and reducing their travel burden (Riverson et al., 2006). Similarly, Grieco (2006) discusses the gender and transport relationship with reference to the higher rate of maternal mortality associated with constraints on their mobility. She criticises development policies at the international level which aim to reduce poverty in Africa without providing people, especially women, with an adequate transport means, critically needed at the time of birth and medical emergencies.

One detailed examination similar to this line of thinking was done by Fernando & Porter (2002). Their study '*Balancing the Load*' was an important one in the spectrum of women and transport. This study was managed by the International Forum for Rural Transport and Development (IFRTD) and it gathered case studies from 15 countries across Africa and Asia. The case studies looked into the uneven access of men and women to transport and highlighted the need for incorporating gender issues into transport-related projects and to make transport 'gender sensitive'.

At this point, it is quite useful to include some discussion on practical and strategic gender needs. These ideas are associated with Molyneux (1985) who first made the distinction between practical gender interests and strategic gender interests. According to her, practical gender interests relate to women's everyday roles in accordance with their perceived gender needs, for example shelter, food and clothing. On the other hand, strategic interests challenge the existing power relations and give women a chance to come out of their subordinate position in society. This includes demands for "abolition of the sexual division of labor, the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare, the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination,

the attainment of political equality, the establishment of freedom of choice over childbearing, and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women” (Molyneux, 1985, p. 233). In other words, it could be said that practical gender interests focus on the “condition” of women, while strategic gender interests are about women’s “position” in society (Kabeer, 1994; Young, 1988).

These ideas were further developed by Moser (1989) in order to be used in planning processes for women development. She called them as Practical Gender Needs (PGNs) and Strategic Gender Needs (SGNs). According to her, in the past, development practitioners and planning experts remained concerned to meet PGNs. This was because meeting PGNs was easier because it did not challenge the existing institutions and underlying gendered power structure in society. She further said that development projects can address SGNs while fulfilling practical or income generating needs, for example

Training of women in areas traditionally identified as “men’s work” may not only widen employment opportunities for women, but may also break down existing occupational segregation, thereby fulfilling the strategic gender need to abolish the sexual division of labor (Moser, 1989, p. 1804).

Transport can be used as a tool not only to fulfill women’s practical needs such as their travel related to household chores and caring for children and the elderly; rather a better transport system can also target women’s access to different socio-economic opportunities which can serve as an empowering strategy and a tool to fulfill strategic gender needs especially for low-income women, e.g. work and education (Christo Venter, Mashiri, & Buiten, 2006). Similarly, societal acceptance of women’s mobility, meaning they could travel freely without fear of harassment, is also a strategic gender need as it signals society’s acceptance of women’s equal status with men.

In summary, the above discussion has highlighted that transport policy for the most part has not accounted for the mobility and transport needs of women. These policies

have remained ignorant of the fact that women's travel needs arise from their different roles, which some regard as "triple roles" (reproductive, productive and community-related). The present study also looks into transport-related policy structure in Pakistan and their impact on women's travel pattern.

3.2.4 Women's Empowerment and Agency in Transport

It has been discussed earlier that social, cultural and religious values serve as a constraint on women's travel or mobility. Here it is important to mention that many studies have also reported that women are not passive victims, rather they have agency. These studies, by emphasising the agency of women, have highlighted how women have used public space in order to negotiate gender relations (Abisaab, 2005; Masood, 2018; Nagel, 2001; Srimulyani, 2008; Tanzarn, 2008). For instance, Abisaab (2005) noted how the public strike by approximately 144 Lebanese working women against the factory owners regarding bad working conditions challenged the existing notions of male superiority and gendered domain of public space. According to him, the women by occupying and claiming public spaces dominated by men "stirred up in both the onlookers and the media reactions and images ranging from feminine empowerment and heroism, to moral laxity" (Abisaab, 2005, p. 251). These kinds of acts provide a significant impetus to negotiate the prevailing gender stereotypes in a society. This is because the gender construct is not a static entity, rather it is a continually evolving concept which depends on a range of factors like education, income, religious affiliation, and global feminist discourses (Srimulyani, 2008).

In a similar vein, Masood (2018), by giving the example of female medical doctors, highlights how driving a private car can be a strategy for women's empowerment and negotiation of gender relations in public space in the city of Lahore, Pakistan. She employs Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad of 'perceived', 'conceived' and 'lived' mobility to highlight how women's mobility in Pakistani cities is restricted based on patriarchal values (perceived), and material provisions of transport services (conceived). According to her, women's driving (lived) can be empowering as "having a personal vehicle, and being able to drive it can significantly affect a women's career opportunities" (Masood, 2018, p. 189).

Women's mobility through the use of a private car can be a negotiating strategy for gender relations in public space as people get to accept the fact that women can also drive private cars, which is helpful in shattering preconceived ideas about women being weak and lacking independent thinking. However, the car, as described in this article, is an "extension of 'home,' an enclosed space on wheels that still maintains the logic of invisibility/ hypervisibility for feminine bodies marked for masculine gaze and surveillance" (p. 196). This means the car as a space of women's mobility, provides a limited understanding of the complex phenomenon of women's travel and their appropriation of public space in a patriarchal society, such as Pakistan. Similarly, the article does not tell us anything about women, who belong to other socio-economic categories and don't have access to a private car. In the Pakistani context, a vast majority of women who come out of their homes, don't have access to a private car, even if there is a car in the family. These women, working or homemakers, negotiate urban space by walking or using informal or other public transport modes, such as *rickshaw* and vans. These are the spaces where women most often interact with strange men and where gendered relationships are played out. This article excludes such women and their appropriation of public space for negotiation of gendered relations entrenched in Pakistani society. The present study, however, attempts to capture the complexity of this phenomenon by documenting the experiences of women belonging to different socio-economic categories, such as professional, administrators, business women, women working in informal sector, and students.

Law (2002) stresses the need for a comprehensive conceptualization of gender and its relationship with daily travel. She puts forward three different ways of viewing gender as far as mobility is concerned. Firstly, 'gender as a pattern of social relations' with the implication of gendered access to resources and distinct patterns of behavior based on this. Secondly, 'gender as a cultural system of meaning' which highlights the cultural meaning attached to different objects, spaces and activities, which are based on gender. Thirdly, 'gender as a component of personal identity' leads to a "sense that individuals develop of themselves, and the way that they incorporate mobility skills into that embodied subjectivity" (p. 443). She further says that transport or daily

mobility is not just the reflection of the gender relations in society, but also gives a space where gender relations are re-worked and re-formed. Hanson (2010) alternatively groups different studies on gender and transport into two strands. The first, mobility shaping gender, has given much attention to gender at the expense of mobility. In this tradition, according to Hanson, mobility is generalized in terms of public vs. private space or confinement/constraint vs. freedom, and “details about movement pattern or reasons for movement have received relatively little attention in this strand of research” (Hanson, 2010, p. 9). The second, gender shaping mobility, strand has taken simplistic view of gender but gives much attention to measuring mobility by employing large data sets and travel-activity diaries. She highlights the need of new studies to synthesize these two strands of scholarship. These two studies are helpful for the present study in that they give a broader meaning to gender and transport research by emphasizing the possibilities of changing gender relations through women’s mobility and travel.

Transport can also mean increased mobility for women and men. In gender and mobility literature, mobility has been seen as a source of transforming gender identities and subjectivities. In other words, mobility is empowering, and because it is empowering, “more mobility, especially for women, is a good thing” (Hanson, 2010, p. 9). For some writers mobility is empowering as it gives an opportunity to access different services and places of interest and to meet people (for example, Hanson & Hanson, 1980; Kwan, 1999). This has also the potential to change existing unequal gender relations in society (Tanzarn, 2008). As Mandel (2004) found, mobility of women’s wholesale dealers is directly linked with the more profitable strategies for livelihood generation. This is empowering because it can “provide them with opportunities to reconfigure the gender ideologies that shape their lives” (Mandel, 2004, p. 284). For Matin, Mukib, Begum & Khanam (2002) women’s empowerment comes through the fulfillment of their mobility needs which constitute the ability to “participate in political processes, income-earning opportunities, education and health services” (Matin et al., 2002, p. 149). Though this study highlights women’s travel needs, it does not bring into account the kind of gendered power relationships restricting women’s travel. It also equates empowerment with the participation of

women in different activities without deciphering how this participation will bring about empowerment.

Sometimes strategies of empowerment are not very obvious but still are relevant and effective, as Raju (2005) reports while evaluating a development project, meant to increase women's empowerment through their participation in civic activities. One of its findings was that the most empowering changes women reported were their ability to move out in the public space. They came out in the public space and talked to strangers which increased their self-confidence, a source for "power within" (Rathgeber, 1990), which challenged the gender stereotypes. Similar findings were also reported by Sundberg (2004) who studied Mayan women's participation in a conservation project in Guatemala. According to her, mobility increased women's level of confidence and self-expression, which is an empowering thing in all respects. She quotes one of her participants;

We women always occupy ourselves with the house, and only the men leave to work. And a woman can work like men, I mean we don't have the [physical] strength they have, but we have the capacity... At home, when you have finished the housework, you may want to go somewhere, but there is nowhere to go. If I go out in the street, people will say, 'that woman just wanders around.' ...But with this responsibility [in the Agrupación] I have somewhere to go (Sundberg, 2004, p. 59).

However, Gilbert (1998) warns that this line of thought that mobility is power and with the same token immobility is a lack of power, is too simplistic and misleading. She criticizes the feminist assumption of the unidirectional nature of power (more power means more mobility) on which the thesis of "women's spatial entrapment as disempowering" is based. She gives the example of African American women in Worcester, Massachusetts and says that for this group of women "containment" is empowering as this gives them an opportunity to become rooted in the place and develop strong social networks, which can provide them with support in many ways,

for example childcare and housing. She argues that “no spatiality is inherently with or without power” (Gilbert, 1998, p. 596) and power comes not from a single source but through the interaction of interconnected, transformative and spatially constituted social relations. This line of thinking is quite useful for the present study in which the interaction of social and spatial construction of gendered relationships is analyzed with particular reference to women’s transport and mobility.

The studies in this section have highlighted the importance of cultural and religious values as well as the income level in studying women’s travel. Some of the writers reviewed above regard that income levels and cultural and religious norms present real constraints on women’s mobility. Many other writers have emphasized that women’s travel or mobility can be a source of their empowerment. In their views transport gives an opportunity to women to access different services relating to education, employment, healthcare, and social meetings. This access and travel of women in public space in turn, can give them a chance to negotiate the gendered social relationship and claim some empowerment. This is useful for present study in order to see constraints to women’s travel and the extent to which women are overcoming these constraints.

3.3 Women, Gender and Development: Theoretical Frameworks

As all development projects and programmes “are situated within specific theoretical and political frameworks” (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 489), it is useful to review some of these frameworks, which might help us understand why women face constraints when it comes to accessing transportation. In this section, the theoretical frameworks often used to study women and gender in the field of development are reviewed. A framework is a “system of ideas or conceptual structures that help us ‘see’ the social world, understand it, explain it, and change it. A framework guides our thinking, research, and action. It provides us with a systematic way of examining social issues and providing recommendations for change” (Connelly, Li, MacDonald, & Parpart, 2000, p. 53).

3.3.1 Approaches to Women's Development

- ***WID (Women in Development)***

Women's concerns relating to development started to be discussed explicitly in the 1970s. At that time concerted research on women's development also emerged. Boserup (1970) wrote a path-breaking and influential study on the situation and position of women in the developing countries (Kabeer, 1994; Rathgeber, 1990). By giving examples of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America, Boserup (1970) highlighted that women in these societies played a central role in different economic activities such as agriculture but their role goes unrecognized. She criticized that development programmes not only ignored women but further marginalized them as they simply did not understand or acknowledge the role of women and division of labour in different economic activities. For example, rural development projects focused on cash crops which was predominately the area of men while women were excluded from these projects. For the first time scholarly attention was given to the "sexual division of labour and the differential impact by gender of development and modernization strategies" (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 490). So the aim of the WID approach was to integrate women into different development projects. For example, this could mean that transport is a means to integrate women into society by getting them to places of employment or helping them fulfil their reproductive roles, such as taking children to school or helping elderly and other household members to access healthcare.

Although the WID paradigm was useful in highlighting the needs and issues of women, it has some serious limitations. As WID was grounded in traditional modernization theory, it did not question the underlying causes of women's subordinate position, rather it stressed the need to incorporate women into development projects (Rathgeber, 1990). In this way, it did not confront the popular development discourse of the time and put emphasis on 'helping' women instead of analyzing and questioning the gender power relations in a society (Kabeer, 1994; Ostergaard, 1992; Rathgeber, 1990). In a similar way, the cultural aspects of women in developing countries, which sometimes gave women agency and control to solve their problems in traditional ways (Brydon & Chant, 1989; Moser, 1992), were not valued in WID paradigm and rather

seen as barriers to development and as sources for women oppression (Bhavnani, Foran, & Kurian, 2003; Chua, Bhavnani, & Foran, 2000)

There are a few different approaches which Moser (1989) had identified as fitting within the WID paradigm. These include welfare, anti-poverty and efficiency approaches.

The Welfare Approach

The Welfare approach was a common WID approach, which posited women as passive beneficiaries of development. Rooted deeply in modernization theory, this approach did not question the underlying social and structural reasons for women oppression (Brydon & Chant, 1989; Elson, 1991; Momsen, 2010; Moser, 1993).

The Anti-Poverty Approach

The advocates of this approach focused on the productive needs of women and made efforts to incorporate women into the income generating activities. This approach was politically safe as it did not question power relations in a society, and hence was popular with governments (Jaquette, 1990; Moser, 1989; Townsend, 1993).

The Efficiency Approach

This approach was used in the 1980s and early 1990s in relation with the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Popular with governments, this approach saw women as an economic resource and urged to integrate them into development system. Women were seen as having free time and potential to provide social services as an alternate to the redundant government services in wake of the SAPs (Momsen, 2010; Moser, 1989)

As far as transport sector is concerned, it has been dominated by the 'efficiency approach' in the past. This approach regarded women and other social groups as the recipients of top-down transport interventions which will increase the productive capacity of people. But recently there are voices that started to question "whether the efficiency paradigms underpinning much of the transport research will be effective in addressing socio-economic inequalities" (Buiten, 2007, p. 27).

- **WAD (*Women and Development*)**

The Women and Development (WAD) paradigm grew in the mid-1970s and tried to give a more critical view of development in relation to women. Drawing heavily on neo-Marxist development ideas and dependency theory, this approach questioned the integration of women into development, as was the case in WID, on the pretext that this will perpetuate existing inequalities in society (Rathgeber, 1990). This approach heavily criticized the idea of development and modernization theory and put class and capitalism into its analysis, as according to Saunders (2002, p. 8) “WAD is charged with a privileging of class over gender, since gender inequities are framed in terms of the accumulation process of global capitalism, rather than patriarchal domination *per se*”. A WAD approach to transport might then focus specifically on lower class/caste women, ensuring transport facilities offer opportunities for their integration in development.

Although WAD offered a more critical view of women’s position, it did not carry out a “full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women’s subordination and operation” (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 493). Similar to WID, the WAD approach put emphasis on the income generating activities or women’s participation in the development and market, which carry the risk of reinforcing capitalism and further weakening the position of women while increasing the time burden of such activities on them (Roberts, 1979). Another criticism is that development practitioners working both in WID and WAD tradition accepted the idea that development for Third World women meant to become ‘modern’ (either in liberal or Marxist terms respectively) (Parpart, 1995).

- **GAD (*Gender and Development*)**

Another approach - Gender and Development (GAD) – emerged in the late 1980s as an alternative approach in reaction to the WID approach (S. M. Rai, 2002). The basic shift in this approach was from ‘women’ to ‘gender’ as the unit of analysis. In the words of Rathgeber (1990, p. 494) “gender is not concerned with women *per se* but with the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities, and expectations to women and men”. In this approach, women’s subordination was not

primarily because of capitalism, as WAD would suggest, but due to patriarchy. Power structures between men and women and gendered social relationships are central to the analysis of this approach (Cornwall, 2000; Kabeer, 1994; Young, 1997). This is useful for the present research in order to know how the gendered social relationships come into play in the travel or mobility of women in Pakistani cities.

GAD rejected the simple dichotomy of private/public sphere and the idea that women should have only an economic role, as was the case in WID discourse; it instead focused on women's "triple role" and their practical and strategic needs (Moser, 1989, 1992). This has been discussed earlier in this chapter, however it is important to mention here that the present study also looks on the role of transport system in facilitating or putting constraints on women's mobility in Pakistan.

Under GAD, there is much talk of empowerment, which became popular in the development discourse since the mid-1980s. The empowerment approach emerged mainly from the writings of grassroots experiences of the Third World women (G. Sen & Grown, 1987). This approach intends to increase women's control over their own lives through their self-confidence and internal strength.

3.3.2 Post-development and gender

While GAD has its merits, a strong criticism of the GAD paradigm came from some post-development feminist writers. They said that GAD practitioners homogenize the Third World women in a particular way, stereotyping them as weak and vulnerable (Bhavnani et al., 2003). They further said that GAD tended to rely on the Western construction of patriarchy in which men and women are seen in binaries and it failed to grasp the complex relationship of women and men due to intersections of colonialism, class, race and ethnicity (Chua et al., 2000; Cornwall, 2000). Because of these binaries and the presumed construction of women's oppression and subordination, GAD discourse sometimes underplays the working together of men and women, indigenous voices, and familial and communal bonds in a culture where the power relations are constantly being reworked and negotiated (Bhavnani et al., 2003; Cornwall, 2000; K. Gardner & Lewis, 1996; Rathgeber, 1995).

In reaction to these criticisms, post-development feminist thinking emerged. Some regard that this can add value to the advancement of gender and development thinking because it “opens a consultative dialogue which can empower women in the South to articulate their own needs and agendas” (Parpart & Marchand, 1995, p. 19) and provides an opportunity to incorporate indigenous and “other voices” into development discourse (Rathgeber, 1995).

Post-development feminist thinkers criticized universalism or ‘grand narratives’, and stressed the value of identifying local needs and approaches involving empowerment. As Parpart (1995, p. 262) has suggested that

A postmodern feminist focus, with its critique of the modern and its focus on localized, subjugated knowledge/power systems, would encourage development planners to pay more attention to the concrete circumstances of Third World and minority women’s lives.

Similar ideas were also forwarded by some feminist writers (for example see, Bulbeck, 1998; Kandiyoti, 1988; Mohanty, 1988), who rejected the idea of ‘universal feminism’ and rather urged that there be recognition of the diversity of women in the postcolonial world. They advocated for identifying local needs and subsequent solutions to the problems faced by women. This thinking is quite valuable to the discourse on gender and development. It has given value and voice to the previously silenced women’s voices by acknowledging the power of discourse and fostering open and consultative dialogue among women (Parpart, 1993; Parpart & Marchand, 1995). For transport and mobility, this would mean that women’s agency is recognized and that they are involved in the process of change where their voices are heard and incorporated into transport policy and planning process.

3.3.3 Empowerment approach

At this point, the issue of power and empowerment becomes central to the discussion of women, gender and development. This power/empowerment issue has remained in gender and development discourse for quite a long time (some of the key writers

include, Afshar, 1998; Batliwala, 1994; Kabeer, 1994; Rowlands, 1997; G. Sen & Grown, 1987). One of the early works on this was done by Sen & Grown (1987). They regarded colonialism and neocolonialism along with patriarchy as the sources of women's oppression and called for efforts to challenge these oppressive structures at different levels simultaneously. They questioned the top-down policy approach to women's development. According to them, the gender power imbalance can be addressed through bottom-up collective organization. This is important because empowerment "is not a matter of few initiatives to "improve the position of women" while leaving power, authority and status firmly in the control of men. It is a matter, as with all oppressed groups, of empowering them to take control of their own lives, economically and culturally" (Barnett, 1988, p. 164).

The idea of power is central to the discourse on empowerment. Understanding and clarity of the definition of power is one of the key issues underpinning any discussion of empowerment (Parpart, Rai, & Staudt, 2002, p. 15). In this context, Rowlands' (1997) study is helpful as she provides an excellent orientation about different forms of power. In relation to the gender and development framework, she outlines four types of power, which includes:

Power over: It is a controlling power, which is exercised over other one, like power to dominate or subjugate other.

Power to: it is a generative or productive power. This can generate new actions and possibilities without domination.

Power with: This could be regarded as a collective or group power in which problems are tried to solve with collective action.

Power from within: this form of power is felt inside the person in the form of self-acceptance, self-respect. This, in turn, leads to respect for others and accepting them as equals (Rowlands, 1997, p. 13).

She further says that power has generally been understood as 'power over', which constitutes as "zero-sum", that is, "the more power one person has, the less the other has" (Parpart et al., 2002, pp. 9-10). According to Rowlands (1997), forms of power

other than “power over” can be useful in the empowerment agenda. Building on the Foucault’s ideas of power, that is, “it is fluid, relational and exists only in the everyday relationships of people, both individually and in institutions” (Parpart et al., 2002, p. 6), Rowlands argues that empowerment is not just the participation in decision making, rather “it must also include the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to make decisions” (Rowlands, 1997, p. 14). She further says that empowerment operates in three spheres: personal, which includes sense of self and individual confidence; relational, it is the ability to negotiate and influence any decision; and collective, in which individuals work together to make a significant impact. According to her, empowerment is a process and not an end product which consists of “increases in self-confidence and self-esteem, a sense of agency and of ‘self’ in a wider context, and a sense of *dignidad* (being worthy of and having a right to respect from others)” (Rowlands, 1997, p. 130).

Parpart et al. (2002), agrees with Rowlands (1997) that empowerment is a process in which women and men challenge the power relations, but they put more emphasis on the institutional and material context of power. According to them, all the empowerment strategies take place in some sort of institutional, material and discursive contexts. Women can attain empowerment through collective action but these actions could be facilitated or constrained by the structures of power. They believed that close attention should be paid to the “broader political and economic structures, cultural assumptions and discourses, notions of human rights, laws and practices in which women and men seek to survive and even flourish in marginalized communities around the world” (Parpart et al., 2002, p. 4).

Some other writers also emphasized the importance of using women’s agency, self-esteem and collective action as the means to empowerment. For example, Kabeer (1994) while criticizing the “power over” type of power, argues for the transformative nature of “power from within”. This form of power is rooted within the self and this self-generated power can inspire women to challenge the gender inequality and a “necessary adjunct to improving their ability to control resources, to determine agendas and make decisions” (Kabeer, 1994, p. 229). This could be possible through

the collective grassroots actions. Similarly, Kesby (2005) defines empowerment as a “non-linear process that involves an individual as well as a collective journey of awareness, politicization, reflection, and action for change” (Kesby, 2005, p. 2050). In the same vein, Scheyvens (2009) sees empowerment as “activation of the confidence and capabilities of previously disadvantaged or disenfranchised individuals or groups so that they can exert greater control over their lives, mobilize resources to meet their needs, and work to achieve social justice” (Scheyvens, 2009, p. 464). This relates to gender and transport thinking in that by activating their agency to make collective actions, women can exert more into public space. They can move freely and confidently which not only empower them individually but also help them challenge gender stereotypes in society through forming ‘self-help’ groups.

However, some authors maintain that empowerment has just become a buzzword especially in the present neoliberal age. For instance, Sharma (2008) maintains that empowerment is the new ‘coded’ word for ‘welfare’ as the development projects in developing countries only discuss material aspect of things without challenging the existing social, cultural and political structures which disempower women and other marginalized groups. According to her, empowerment is a “ubiquitous term and a buzzword in transnational development circles, whose meanings, deployments, and consequences are anything but self-evident” (Sharma, 2008, p. 2).

The economic empowerment programmes, such as micro-credit or financing, are good examples of neoliberal development. These programmes are useful in fulfilling immediate material needs of women but they do not challenge women’s status in a society. These programmes are criticised for overburdening women to empower themselves without questioning the underlying structural inequalities or “systematic oppressive forces” in a society which disempower women (Anderson, 2000, p. 227). In fact some of these programmes make women further disempowered by reducing the welfare support and replacing it with loans. Feiner (2011) stresses that these programmes are often enforced in poor countries that are under the pressure to enforce structural adjustment policies to their economies. This results into major cuts in welfare programmes for women. Women with families have to take small loans to

support their families, which they were taking before in the form of welfare support, resulting them indebted in ways they were never before (Feiner, 2011). Furthermore, these loans don't diversify women's labour, which results into women's adherence to traditional roles and furthering their lower status in a society (Kabir, 2001). Generally such loans fall under the control of male partners and women have little control on them, as Goetz & Gupta (1996) suggest in their review of credit programmes in Bangladesh that 63 percent of the female loan holders said having only partial, very limited, or no control over their loans.

Batliwala (1994) also maintains that the term empowerment has been equated with poverty alleviation, welfare and participation. She says that its precise understanding is important, according to her empowerment is "the process of challenging existing power relations, and of getting control over the sources of power" (Batliwala, 1994, p. 130), which are material assets, intellectual resources and ideology.

Sometimes the empowerment process does not seem very obvious and confrontational. On the contrary there are processes or mechanisms underway, which Scheyvens (1998, p. 235) regards as "subtle strategies of empowerment", which can also contribute to the empowerment of people. Using the example of Solomon Islands, she maintains that women have used creative initiatives which are subtle but effective in bringing about desired social change. Aware of the possible antagonism this approach might stir from the feminist action groups, she argues that "if women choose to support subtle strategies we should perhaps, rather than judge their efforts as conservative or as 'politically immature', consider why they support them and to what extent they are effective in implementing change to improve oppressive social relations" (Scheyvens, 1998, pp. 239-240). Similar assertions were made by Desai (2002) by giving the case study of slum dwellers in Bombay, India. She says that through subtle strategies in informal politics, women seek some changes in their personal lives. NGOs working in these slums don't necessarily understand the transformative potential of these strategies, but she is hopeful that realization of "power within" for women can lead to individual empowerment, which in turn can lead to political activism. Hence the specific cultural context and corresponding

empowerment strategies, including subtle strategies, are important in the discussion on power and empowerment.

3.3.4 Rights-Based Approaches (RBAs) to gender and women empowerment

The empowerment literature is quite important to the rights-based approaches to development. Human rights can be used as a strategy of empowerment. Lack of empowerment, that is marginalization or exclusion occurs because of lack of knowledge about one's own rights, lack of trust in authorities in relation to these rights and lack of access (economic and physical) to modern law. It is imperative henceforth that as an empowerment strategy the marginalized population should not only be enabled to demand their rights but also that the justice system be changed from a legal to more a social one in which the communities find solutions to different issues in accordance with their cultural norms (Sano, 2000).

An early precursor to the RBAs may be the equity approach. This approach stemmed from the early works of liberal feminists during the 1970s. It strongly focused on the women's individual rights and demanded for equity for women in the development projects through top-down legislations. Women, in this approach, were considered as a universal category and subordinate to men (M. Porter, 1999; Townsend, 1993). Although this approach was criticized as being a tool of western cultural imposition and was not supported by the Third World governments (Buvinic, 1983; Moser, 1993), this approach is related to RBAs.

The rights-based approaches have also historical links with human rights struggles of anti-colonialism as well as with human rights debates in the United Nations (Nyamu-Musembi & Cornwall, 2004a). The 1986 UN Declaration on the Right to Development was a major milestone in this direction. The Declaration states that:

The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person...[is] entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social cultural and political development, in

which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized (Molyneux & Lazar, 2003, p. 3).

It was not until the 1990s, however, that the strands of human rights and development came together and 'rights' were being explicitly applied in the field of development. According to Sano (2000), this was because of two major tendencies in the 1990s. The first tendency was the demands of developing countries for social provisions in the name of 'right to development' which was accepted and given international legitimacy in the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993. The second tendency was to give more emphasis on governance and democratization in development discourse. Here democracy was not considered as a form of government, but as a political culture or behaviour to protect the rights of individuals and groups. In the views of Uvin (2007), this happened due to the three main reasons:

The first was the end of the Cold War, which opened the door to greater missionary zeal. The second was the manifest failure of structural adjustment programmes, which came to be seen as caused by a lack of government accountability and prompted a major push for good governance and democracy. And thirdly, development thinkers always seek to redefine development as being more than economic growth: talking about human rights is one way to construct a more holistic definition (Uvin, 2007, p. 597)

Nyamu-Musembi & Cornwall (2004a) add an interesting point to the discussion regarding why, after the cold attitude by international institutions and governments of developed countries towards the 1986 UN Declaration on the 'right to development', these institutions and governments embraced the 'rights-based approaches' in the 1990s. This was because unlike the 'right to development' Declaration that put emphasis on global inequality and emphasised the role of developed countries for global development, the 'rights' discourse in the 1990s shun any reference of global inequality and "there is no conception of human rights duties beyond that of one's 'own-state'" (Nyamu-Musembi & Cornwall, 2004a, p. 11).

A Rights-based approach is generally contrasted with the needs-based or the service delivery approach. Though the service-delivery approach helped in addressing the basic needs of the poor in local conditions, it overlooked the issue of power and structural injustice in society. Streeten (1984) says that the basic needs approach does not mobilize the power of the poor to improve their situation. According to Manji (1998), NGOs through their espousal of politically 'neutral' strategies of development have contributed to the 'depoliticizing' of poverty. In this way, according to him, they have played the role of "reinforcing those social relations that reproduce impoverishment, injustice, and conflict" (Manji, 1998, p. 29). These NGOs have portrayed the poor as helpless and passive recipients of charity, which side-lined their search for rights and freedom from exploitation and oppression. He further says that rather than relying on service delivery, NGO work should be based on solidarity and rights of the poor in order to overturn the oppressive social processes in the society.

Thus rights based approaches to development emphasis on this point that development issues such as poverty should be framed in the language of 'rights' rather than as 'needs' (Schmitz, 2012), development should be considered as an 'entitlement' rather than as charity (Greedy, 2009), and governments and other development actors should bear the responsibility for guaranteeing rights to people (Nyamu-Musembi & Cornwall, 2004b).

The move away from needs or charity towards rights, duties or claims implies a mechanism of accountability. As (Uvin, 2007, p. 603) says that "if claims exist, methods for holding to account those who violate claims must exist as well". This is an important point because sometimes the rights of one group can be at conflict with the rights of others, which makes this terrain political in nature. According to VeneKlasen, Miller, Clark, & Reilly (2004), rights don't come in "neat packages" and the question, whose rights counts, becomes very important at this point. This question asks the rights and development groups to "examine the values and forces of power that operate to exclude certain sectors of society while privileging others" (VeneKlasen et al., 2004, p. 4).

Hence the issue of social exclusion and marginalization becomes central to the rights-based inquiry. There is an explicit emphasis on politics, power and exclusionary structures in society. As Mikkelsen (2005, p. 204) states “a rights-based approach holds that someone, for whom a number of human rights remain unfulfilled, such as the right to food, health, education, information, participation, etc., is a poor person. Poverty is thus more than lack of resources – it is the manifestation of exclusion and powerlessness”.

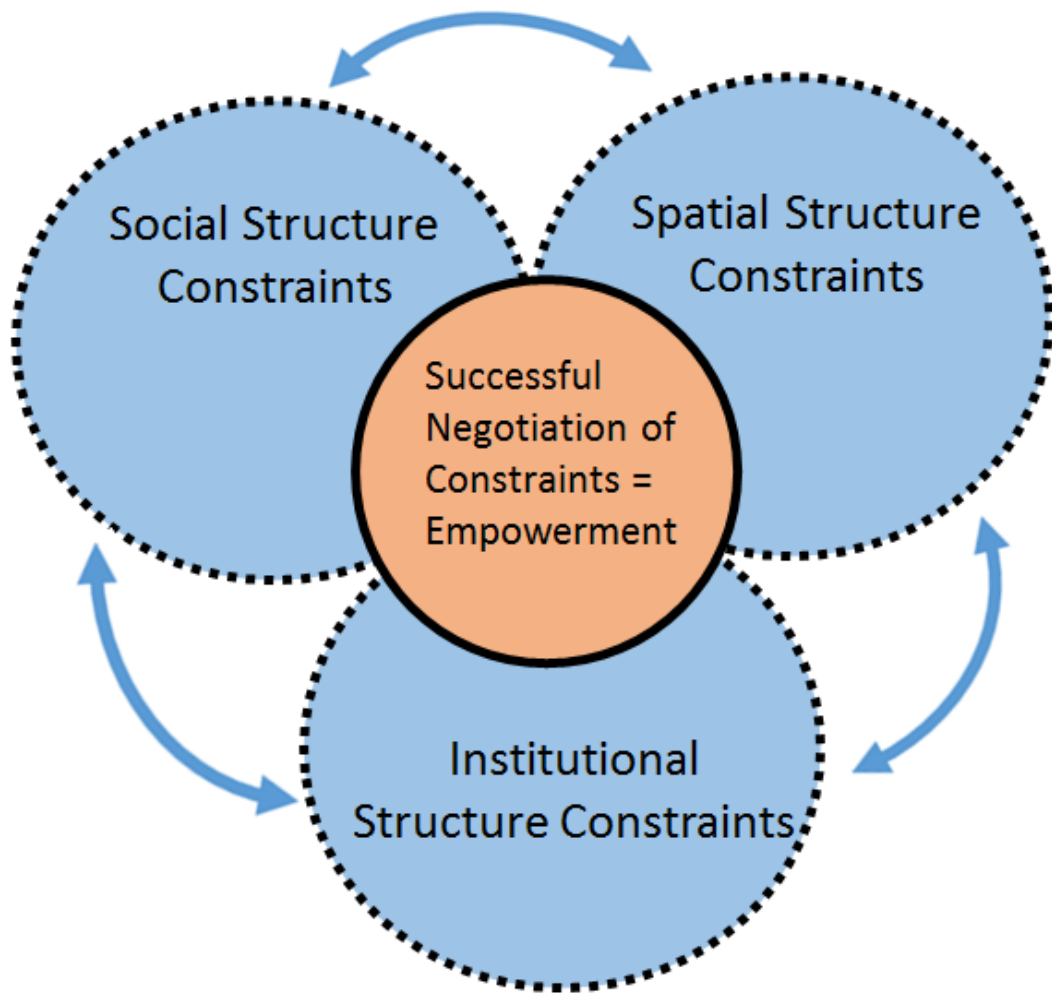
For the present research, the rights-based approach is quite useful in order to see how the different power structures, such as social, spatial and policy related, are contributing towards the transport related social exclusion of women in urban areas in Pakistan. In this context, the present study explores how women are coping with these exclusionary mechanisms and whether they are aware of their transport and mobility related rights and how these rights are being negotiated. The role of different non-government organizations (NGOs) and other pressure groups working for the development of women was also studied in this regard and it was seen how much these organizations were aware of gender and transport issues and what had they done in this regards. The present study has also explored the policy development process in Pakistan and the extent to which women and other social groups were included in the process.

3.4 Theoretical Framework to Study Gender and Transport

Situated in the broader framework of the rights-based and empowerment approaches, the present study takes some of the concepts used in these frameworks and applies them to gender and transport research. As discussed in the gender and transport section, transport has never been used as a domain where gender relations were analyzed in terms of the empowerment of women. Mostly in these studies, gender has been equated with women and there was no serious emphasis given to conceptualize gender in transport research. On the contrary, the present research argues that transport could be used as a place of analysis where the gendered power relations of society can be negotiated. Women in urban areas of Pakistan are discriminated against

based on patriarchal norms. They are also discriminated against from an early age, starting from the home and throughout their upbringing. On the one hand, these norms persist in society but on the other hand, these values are also changing especially in the urban areas due to the rise in literacy, information flows from the media and the economic needs of people. Asdar Ali (2010) reports in the context of Pakistan that “in recent years, because of economic pressures and the dissolution of extended families in urban areas, many more women are also working for wages than in the past. Women are leaving domestic spaces to work in the expanding service sector” (p. 315). In this context, there is hardly any academic study that has tried to examine the nexus of social change in gender relationships on the one hand and negotiation of these changing relationships in the transport system on the other. The present study contributes in this literature. The conceptual framework is shown in figure 3.1.

Figure 3. 1: Conceptual framework to study gender and transport



Source: Author

Figure 3.1 shows that there are a range of factors pertaining to social, spatial and institutional structures that serve as constraints to women's travel. In the social structure constraints, the exclusionary factors may include certain types of socio-cultural and religious values which obstruct women's travel. Therefore, this research will investigate the types of social, cultural and religious values affecting women's travel positively or negatively in Pakistan. This research question will be explored in Chapter Five and Six, which outlines the social context of women's travel in Pakistan and its impact on everyday mobility experiences in urban areas.

Figure 3.1 also depicts constraints pertaining to spatial structure in terms of regulation of female bodies in public space, women's fear and safety concerns in different urban spatial forms, and attitudes of drivers and conductors of public transport. The second research question, specifically, addresses the impact of spatial structure on women's travel in urban areas. By giving the example of low density Islamabad and high density Rawalpindi, Chapter Seven analyses these barriers to women's travel and outlines the gendered mobility pattern in public spaces of these cities.

The constraints around institutional structure are also specified in figure 3.1. These constraints may be about inclusion or exclusion of women from policy and planning processes and their travel needs, provision of transport infrastructure and services, such as bus stops, footpaths and public toilets, and gender blind transport policy. The third research question of this study looks into institutional structure constraints and their impact of women's travel. These are discussed in Chapter Eight of this thesis where a detailed policy analysis takes place.

Constraints in social, spatial, and institutional spheres may exclude women from the transport system and serve as barrier to their mobility. Despite these constraints, women in Pakistani society are coming out of their homes in order to attain education, employment and meet their social obligations. Thus figure 3.1 also shows that there are possible examples of women's empowerment, which come out of women successfully negotiating the social, spatial and institutional spheres. In this scenario, transport is giving women a space in which they are accessing education and employment, using public spaces and negotiating the gender power relations in this process, which might be empowering strategies for them. This also carries the potential that women might get awareness about their rights and form different groups for collective action. The present research explores how women are being excluded from the transport system through the exclusionary factors, as well as how they are dealing with these constraints and using their agency to change things in their best interests.

3.5 Conclusion

The present chapter has reviewed the relevant literature regarding women's transport issues in urban areas. It highlights that socio-cultural and religious values, spatial structure of built urban environment, and institutional or policy-making structures have an impact on women's transport. The thesis discusses these constraints in later chapters by presenting case studies of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, Pakistan. The thesis also considers women's agency to deal with these constraints. This chapter has also discussed the gender and development approaches: WID, WAD, GAD, empowerment, and Rights-based approaches to gender and development. By employing rights-based and empowerment approaches, a framework to study gender and transport is also outlined at the end of this chapter.

The following chapter explains methodology behind my research on women's transport issues in urban areas in Pakistan. It outlines the methods and strategies used to collect data. Following this, results of fieldwork are revealed in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the methodology adopted for this research. Methodology is the underlying philosophy and approach to one's research and includes various stages of data collection, and selection of tools for data collection. In this context, the chapter outlines the rationale for using a qualitative case study design, and discusses different data collection methods which I have used during fieldwork. The chapter also discusses ethical considerations, the process of selecting the participants for this study, and the rationale behind the selection of research sites, that is, Rawalpindi and Islamabad, and positionality/reflexivity of the researcher.

4.2 Rationale for Using Qualitative Research and a Case Study Approach

It is important to carefully consider and select appropriate methods for a particular study because, as May (2001) highlights, the selection of methods affects the outcome of the research. For the present study, qualitative research methods are used along with a case study research approach. Here a brief introduction to qualitative research and case study design, and their relevance to the present study, is outlined.

While quantitative research uses statistical analysis in order to measure numbers and ratios, qualitative research is used to explore the underlying causes of a particular social problem through 'how' and 'why' questions (Bryman, 2008). Many of the proponents of quantitative data regard it as objective, concise, and representative, whereas qualitative data is referred to as subjective, biased and non-representative (Overton & Van Diermen, 2014). Although objectivity can be achieved through quantitative data, use of solely quantitative techniques risks ignoring feelings and meanings attached to human thoughts, which are important in the understanding of social phenomena (Gilham, 2000). As Brockington & Sullivan (2003) note, qualitative research explores the "meanings of people's world – the myriad personal impacts of impersonal social structures, and the nature and causes of individual behaviour" (p. 57). The present study chooses qualitative research to explore gendered relations with

regards to transport in urban areas of Pakistan. These relationships are linked to social, spatial and institutional structures and involve 'how' and 'why' questions, which can be answered through employing qualitative data collection methods. The following poem came to my mind while I was talking to one of my friends on this issue.

Thinking out loud – qualitative research

When I declared my research methodology

Is going to be 'qualitative'

My hard core scientist friend asked

What? Do you too have 'methodology and methods'?

Qualitative? Say what?

How you measure?

How you authenticate?

How you repeat?

Keeping my burning 'self' on low flame

Showing I am very patient to his question

I smile

And tell

Do your entities really remain 'constant' when you mean that?

If you 'measure' everything 'accurately' how come you don't have 'accurate' results every time?

You do your best to maintain temperatures and pressures,

But you can't...

Do you measure anger, control, emotions, and feelings?

Do you see the 'individuality' of humans?

Do you see multiple selves within one?

An office self, a mother self, a husband self, a commuter self?

This is not the dilemma of qualitative research

That we can't get the 'authentic' findings

We just go and find...,

Compare and contrast

We see the beauty in individuality

*We see the differences
We don't measure them
In fact don't want to measure them
Experiences can't be quantified
Our labs are located in fresh air,
And we don't control*

Source: Author, 2017

In order to answer 'how' and 'why' questions, the case study approach is used because this approach aligns well with the qualitative nature of this research inquiry (Gray, 2004). The case study approach is valuable as it aims to "understand the phenomenon in depth, and in its natural setting, recognizing its complexity and context" (Punch, 2005, p. 144). The case study approach also provides an "opportunity for the intense analysis of many specific details" (Kumar, 2005, p. 113). In other words, case study is "the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances" (Stake, 1995, p. xi). In the views of Yin (2003, p. 13), a case study is an empirical inquiry that:

- Investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when
- The boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.

In case study design different data collection tools or methods can be employed including documentation, archival records, interviews, observations, participant-observation and physical artefacts (Yin, 2003, p. 86). As far the present study is concerned, different primary and secondary data collection methods such as structured observations, semi-structured interviews, mobility maps, and archival records were used. The details about each research method will be discussed later in this chapter. The application of multiple methods in my research was a useful way to achieve triangulation of data. Triangulation is a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning and verifying an observation through employing different tools

(Stake, 2005, p. 454). In other words, triangulation involves “the use of the different forms of data to address one issue, question, or phenomenon in the field...[and] questions raised or left unanswered by one method and data type may be answered by another” (Ball, 1997, p. 312). Before going further into the specific methods used in this research, I will discuss the research process: selection of participants, my positionality/reflexivity as researcher, use of female research assistants, and ethical considerations of the research.

4.3 Research Process

4.3.1 Positionality /Reflexivity

In a qualitative research process, it is important that a researcher reflects on his/her positionality with regards to the research and maintains an “informed reflexive consciousness” (K. R. Allen, 2000, p. 7). This is actually an acknowledgment that research “may influence aspects of the study, such as types of information collected, or the way in which it is interpreted” (F. Sultana, 2007, p. 376). This is useful in order to contextualize and minimize the subjectivity in data collection and interpretation or analysis.

I am a male doing research on a women’s issue, that is, transport and women’s social exclusion in Pakistani cities. I am aware that this relative position could serve as a facilitator to access people on the one hand but it can also form some barriers on the other hand. For example, Skelton (2001) says that during her fieldwork in the island of Montserrat in the Caribbean “some people would feel duty bound to talk to me because I was white and British, others would refuse to speak with me for those two same reasons; some men wanted to talk to me simply because I was white and female, some women would not talk to me for exactly those reasons” (p. 93). Though this example is different as she was a white woman working in a black community, as compared to my fieldwork in my home country, the point I want to make here is that I am aware that my relative position even in my home country can give me privilege to access certain people but on the other hand it can also serve as a constraint.

This very position of myself as a 'male doing research on women's issue' has been discussed in the literature. In fact this has remained a key methodological concern in social research: should gender determine if someone can carry out research with women in developing countries (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000)? Many researchers in the past have asserted that due to shared gender, women researchers have better insights into the lives of other women and they can take information more easily as compared to men (Kremer, 1990; Oakley, 1981; Reinharz & Lynn, 1992; Wolf, 1996). Finch (1993) highlights, women feel more comfortable talking to women researchers than to men. She maintains that there is always an additional dimension to an interview when a woman takes it. In her own words "from an entirely instrumental point of view as a researcher, there are of course great advantages to be gained from capitalizing upon one's shared experiences as a woman" (Finch, 1993, p. 172).

This standpoint was influenced by the stagnant boundaries of 'male' and 'female' within which much feminist thought remained entrenched until the last decade or two. In this dichotomy, all men were considered as 'oppressors' because "erections signify domination and nothing else. Men embody unmediated patriarchal oppression. To be a man means to be a oppressor" (Kimmel, 2010, p. 213). This was questioned by other researchers especially working in the 'Men and Masculinity' paradigm. They highlighted that men can serve as a valuable resource not only to do research on women's issues but also to change gendered and misogynistic perception in a society regarding women. Kimmel (2010) gives the example of a nineteen-year-old boy, who said in relation to his older sister's experiences that "I could barely believe the stories she told me, yet something deep inside told me that they were not only true, but common. I realized that we men are actively or passively complicit in women's oppression, and that we have to take an active role in challenging other men" (Kimmel, 2010, p. 225). I also feel a similar kind of assertion that in developing countries, where there are rampant examples of women's oppression and gender inequality, men should take action to change the situation of women. In the present research there is a belief that a better transport system can provide women with an opportunity to change their status through increased chances to take part in social and income generating activities.

Rather than relying on essentialist characteristics like sex and nationality, Scheyvens & Leslie (2000) stress that issues such as “how well informed, how politically aware and how sensitive the researcher is, to the topic in question and to the local context”, are more relevant to see the suitability of a researcher. If these characteristics are found in a male researcher, he should be able to carry out research on gender issues. Sometimes it is advantageous that men do research on gender issues. This is because women can openly talk when they think that talking to a male researcher can be fruitful in that the researcher might help them to overcome some of their disadvantages (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000). Similarly a male researcher might be in a better position to openly see (while interviewing women and then discussing and observing the males’ responses) the gender politics and conflicting relationship of men and women in a society (Berliner, 2008; Gutmann, 1997; Lugo & Maurer, 2000).

During my fieldwork, I felt it was easier for me (being a male researcher) to access men who had power over transport, such as drivers, conductors, representatives of different transport-related workers’ unions, and policy-makers in different government departments. Their views were very important not only to understand the transport-related problems women faced in urban areas in Pakistan but also to find out men’s standpoint regarding women’s travel in public spaces. This was helpful to find out patriarchal values and men’s perceptions regarding women in general and their travel or mobility in particular. Male research participants were very comfortable and open with me while sharing their views regarding women’s travel. It was also acceptable for them that I sat with them while travelling in public transport and observed men and women in public places.

Besides these positive assumptions, the relative social and cultural values of each society also play a significant role in determining whether a man can access and do research with women. In some cultures access to women by a male researcher is relatively easy. In other cultures, the gender norms of communities prohibit cross-gender interactions (C. Warren, 2000; Wax, 1979). However, Berliner & Falen (2008) maintain that one should not give up on doing research on women even in “those

cultures where the genders are strictly segregated and essentialism appears extreme” (Berliner & Falen, 2008, p. 139). They point out that in these segregated cultures men should find ways to access and interview women, for example, collaborating with male and female fieldworkers, gaining access through friends and relatives, or using the accounts of other female researchers.

As far my research went, I hired two female research assistants to help me access and interview female participants. This gave some authenticity to my research as far as gender and cultural issues were concerned. As Falen (2008) notes that for his research, he had to hire a female research assistant in order to interview women in Benin, West Africa: “when discussing my work, I rarely fail to mention my *female* research assistant, as an authenticating force, giving my work some imaginary gendered stamp of approval” (Falen, 2008, p. 168). The female research assistants were also very important in accessing female research participants who otherwise were reluctant to talk to a male researcher. The details about their recruitment process and their value to this research are explained in 4.3.3 in this chapter.

4.3.2 Selection of participants

Participants were selected through the purposive sampling technique. This is a type of nonprobability sampling in which a “researcher makes a judgment on whom to include in the sample” (Overton & Van Diermen, 2003, p. 43). Unlike random selection of participants (as commonly used in probability sampling and in quantitative research), purposive sampling selects participants based on their significance to generate “explanations for the ways in which interesting or high-performing cases differ from other cases” (Henry, 2009, p. 79). Similarly, in order to recruit relevant voices into the study, the snowball method was used as a subcategory of the purposive sampling (Trochim, 2006). Overton & Van Diermen (2014, p. 45) elaborate that snowball sampling “involves finding and selecting one person and then asking if he/she knows others that suit your criteria...you can then find this next list of people and ask them for others, so your sample should keep expanding”.

Women, being the main focus of this study, were divided into four different categories to ensure a spread of participants according to their level of income and education.

These categories were:

- Professionals (e.g. doctors, engineers, managers, teachers)
- Administrators (e.g. women working in clerical positions, call centre workers)
- Business women (e.g. beauty-parlours, shops related to women's clothing and marriage photographs)
- Women working in the informal sector (e.g. vendor women, domestic workers)

This list was made before the start of the fieldwork with the intention that it could be altered according to the situation in the field. I included university students as the fifth category during the fieldwork as their information and experience with regards to travel in Islamabad and Rawalpindi was very informative. I conducted 52 in-depth interviews from women in all the categories mentioned above. In order to make the data representative, women residing in different geographical locations were selected for interviews. Relevant women participants were selected on the basis of the snowball technique. I contacted my friends and acquaintances to ask if they knew any woman who could share their transport-related experiences from any of the above mentioned categories. As I recruited two female research assistants, their own experience not only as users of transport services but also their awareness and networking among women in the twin cities was very useful. They were instrumental in identifying and recruiting relevant women for interviews.

As far as the selection of informants (participants) from government departments and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) was concerned, a list of relevant government institutions (at the federal, provincial and local level) and NGOs was developed before the start of fieldwork. This list was updated as I got new information during the fieldwork. The relevant persons in these departments/organisations were contacted through emails and/or by phone. I sent them the consent form and information sheet about my research and requested a suitable time for interviews. The details about interviews are discussed in the methods section of this chapter.

4.3.3 Female research assistants

My study required a detailed examination of women's transport-related issues in the 'twin cities' in Pakistan. For this purpose women from different segments or categories (as mentioned earlier) needed to be recruited as research participants. Due to the socio-cultural and religious values in Pakistan where strict segregation between different genders is observed particularly at public places, it was not possible for me, being a male, to access and interview female participants. For this purpose, I employed the services of two females noted above. I had a few contacts with teachers and staff at the Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad from where I did my Masters. I requested them to recommend 3 or 4 female students who had just completed their studies, were not working at that moment, and would be interested to take part in a women's transport-related study. I discussed my research including fieldwork plan and ethical considerations with potential research assistants and selected two among them based on their ability to understand my study, their day to day knowledge about the twin cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad and its transport system, and their willingness to work with me on this study. The research assistants were local residents of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. This was very helpful as their local connections helped me in recruiting relevant research participants. I employed them for two months and they were remunerated Rs. 30,000 each/month (NZ\$ 400), which was at par with an entrant level position in a development organization in Pakistan. I had a few training sessions with them in which I explained my data collection tools: semi-structured interviews, mobility maps, and access and control profile to them and discussed how to collect information/data through these tools. Most of the times I accompanied them for interviews, but there were times when it was not feasible for me to go with them due to social barriers in which cases they conducted interviews independently. However, we discussed the findings of those interviews afterwards and when required, they conducted follow-up interviews. This arrangement was communicated with them before the start of the data collection and they agreed to this. This process worked well for all of us.

4.3.4 Research ethics

Tertiary educational institutions like other professional research organizations have developed standard ethical procedures for conducting social research. The aim of the ethical procedures is to minimize harm and maximize the welfare or ‘sum of the good’ of all individuals, groups and institutions involved in a research process (Israel & Hay, 2006; Whiteford & Trotter II, 2008). In other words, this is about “building mutually beneficial relationships with people you meet in the field and about acting in a sensitive and respectful manner” (Scheyvens, Nowak, & Scheyvens, 2003, p. 139). Massey University has a comprehensive procedure for scrutinizing research projects in-line with its ethical guidelines before their approval for implementation. The Massey University Human Ethics Committee classifies research projects as high and low risk. If a project is classified as low risk, it can be approved after the internal departmental review. On the other hand, if a project is high risk then it goes through the full ethics committee review. The present study was classified as low risk and therefore was approved after the review of the in-house departmental review.

Some of the common ethical issues identified by different researchers (for example see, Israel & Hay, 2006; Kumar, 2005; Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Scheyvens et al., 2003; Whiteford & Trotter II, 2008), which were addressed during my fieldwork, are briefly discussed here:

- ***Informed consent***

Informed consent means that a person freely shows willingness to participate in a research project after fully understanding the study. This implies that the participant has a thorough understanding of the purpose and process of the research, methods being used, potential risks, and the possible outcomes of the research (Israel & Hay, 2006; Scheyvens et al., 2003). I prepared an information sheet containing the purpose of research and the rights of participants, and a consent form to be signed by participants if they freely and willingly agreed to participate in my study. We (I and the female research assistants) showed the information sheet and consent form to the participants who were literate and not wary about signing the forms. This included people working in government departments and NGOs, academics, and educated women and men. In other instances, when people were not literate or educated

(drivers/conductors of public transport, men and women as users of transport system, and women belonging to low-income groups), we verbally communicated the purpose of the research and their rights as interviewee, and took their consent verbally. We were very careful in communicating the information with clarity and simplicity as “effective communication is vital to participant’s comprehension of information during the consent discussion” (P. A. Marshall, 2006, p. 25).

- ***Confidentiality***

The researcher should maintain privacy and confidentiality of his/her research participants so that they are not being identified. During my fieldwork, I treated each informant’s personal information as private and confidential in order to protect their identity. This was important because “interviewees might be reluctant to reveal details about themselves if they think the information could be freely disseminated to third parties” (Israel & Hay, 2006, p. 78). I communicated clearly with the research informants that their names will not be revealed in any way and that I will use pseudonyms in writing up my thesis. However, there were a few participants who wanted to be identified in the research, in some cases even with their position/designation, and they were asked to sign the consent form for this. Apart from them, in order to protect all informants (and RAs) from any possible negative associations or harm, I have used pseudonyms in this thesis, because this is for a researcher to “decide that disclosure of their identity is inappropriate in terms of future harm” (Banks & Scheyvens, 2014, p. 168).

- ***Avoiding harm and doing good***

Whiteford & Trotter II (2008) discuss three types of harms; physical, social and psychological, which participants of any social research might face. In this study, I recognized before the start of the fieldwork that some of the aspects of my research were sensitive keeping in view the patriarchal nature of society where women were dependent on men. There were reported instances of physical harm/violence by men towards women if they are seen with other men. Being a male researcher, it was my primary responsibility to make sure that no such incident occurred. I made sure that before interviewing (with the help of the female research assistants) that the family

members of the female participant would be aware of what she was doing. In other instances, where it was not possible to conduct interviews in their homes, I (or the female research assistants or both) conducted interviews in a culturally appropriate way at the place of their choice and comfort.

As far as the psychological harm is concerned, Kobayashi (2001) maintains that research “involves an ethical commitment, not only in the larger sense of making the world a better place but in the more immediate sense of understanding and taking responsibility for how one sets in motion the complex emotions that flow back and forth in the course of a research encounter” (p. 60). I understood that my study was geared towards collecting experiences of women regarding their travel, which could trigger emotions of participants associated with different travel-related events, keeping in view the gendered stereotypes relating to women’s travel. There were a few instances when female participants became very emotional (a couple of them even started crying) while recalling their experiences of ill-treatment by husbands and in-laws, physical harassment in public places, and life spent as widows. In all of these instances, female research assistants were very helpful and they supported and consoled them. We also provided with them a list of women support centres in the area in case they wanted a formal support system. We also followed up on these participants to check whether they were doing fine.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

The aim of this section is to discuss data collection methods used in this study. The present study employed structured observation, semi-structured interviews, mobility maps, access and control profile, and secondary methods for data collection. Here a brief description about these methods and their operationalization in the present study is presented.

4.4.1 Structured observation

In fieldwork there is always an opportunity for observing different aspects of relevant phenomena. In contrast to mere watching, observations in the field are “planned, methodically carried out, and intended to extract meaningful interpretations of the

social world” (Singleton & Straits, 2010, p. 362). In the present study, the method of structured observation was used during fieldwork. This method “entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors, and artifacts (objects) in the social setting” (C. Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 139). Some believe that although observation provides a nuanced and contextualized understanding of the research topic, it does not give a “complete picture of people’s beliefs, experiences, and social relations”(Chabot & Shoveller, 2012, p. 106). However, the method of observation provides another source of evidence in a qualitative research and the “complete” understanding of a research phenomenon can be made by applying other methods in conjunction with the observations.

Additionally, Yin (2003, p. 93) exerts that in order to increase the reliability of information “a common procedure is to have more than a single observer making an observation”. As far the present study, the female RAs also made observations regarding different transport related issues and later on we shared and discussed our information with each other. This increased the reliability of information. In structured observations, it is always a useful technique to develop some sort of ‘observations schedule’ before starting the fieldwork. In this way, the researcher remains focused on what to observe and also keeps a check on his/her own observational behaviour to some extent (Gomm, 2004). As far my research was concerned, I made an observation schedule showing time and date, themes to be observed and a column for observer’s comments in front of the observation or description of an event (this can be seen in the Table 4.1). In the views of Marshall & Rossman (1999, p. 108) “observer’s comments are often a quite fruitful source of analytic insights and clues to focus data collection more tightly. They may also provide important questions for subsequent interviews”.

Through this method, issues, such as women’s travel patterns, their use of different transport modes, problems faced while travelling, interaction with strangers in public spaces, attitudes of men (particularly drivers of public transport) towards women were systematically observed and noted down. The findings from this method were very useful in providing additional information which would be hard to collect through

interviews alone. Information like waiting time at bus stops, attitude of men (including drivers/conductors) in public transport, behaviour of men towards women in public spaces, was adequately collected through this method.

I conducted structured observation at public places, bus stops and while travelling in public transport. I roughly divided Rawalpindi and Islamabad into different geographical areas based on economic condition or availability of public transport services in these areas. This was useful in order to find out how women in different geographical areas were coping with various constraints on their travel. Structured observation was done early-on during the fieldwork and it helped me to find some important information which became basis for many questions for subsequent interviews. This was helpful as many qualitative researchers “combine naturalistic observations with qualitative interviews. They observe people to see what they *do*. They interview them to discover *why*” (Gomm, 2004, p. 219).

Table 4. 1: Schedule for observing women’s travel pattern in Islamabad and Rawalpindi

Schedule for Observations		
Date _____		
Time _____		
Location/Area _____		
Topics/Themes to be observed	Description of the event/observations	Reflections/Comments
Bus stops		
Is there sufficient public transport (mini buses, vans etc.) available at the stops?		
How often does a bus comes to a bus stop?		
Do women travel alone or with someone?		
How do the male passengers behave with females at the bus stops? - Do they stare, pass verbal comments or physically touch women? If so, how do women react to these? - Do they give preference to females to ride on the bus?		
Do women receive different gestures from male passengers if they are in group or with males?		
How does the conductor pick up the passengers? - Does he gives preference to male passengers over women or vice versa?		

- Does he physically touch females while picking them up? -		
Do drivers give passengers (particularly women) time to sit properly in the bus/van before moving the vehicle?		
Travelling in the public transport		
Space in the vans/buses		
Is the bus/van over-loaded?		
Is the radio/tape recorder on in the bus/van? (high volume, low volume) The decency of the song (some songs are considered vulgar in our culture) Does the driver switches to any particular song if any female passenger sits in the front seat?		
Does the driver fix his mirror to any female sitting in the back seat?		
Do women sit freely in the front seat with the driver or squeeze towards the door to maintain some distance from the driver?		
Does the driver touch women sitting in front seats on the pretext of changing gears? If so, how do women react?		
Do women passengers stand in the bus if all seats are occupied?		
How do male passengers react to females standing in the bus? Do they offer them seats if seated? Or if standing, do they go near them to stare, comment or touch?		
Do women travel alone or with other women or males in the buses?		
Public places (markets, parks etc.)		
Do women move freely in the public places? In what environments do they feel more comfortable?		
Do women behave differently when they are alone, to when they are with other women, and with male members?		
How do men behave with women in public spaces? - Do their behaviours differ towards a lone woman as compared to women in a group? -		
Do women use public places after dark?		

Source: Author

4.4.2 Semi-structured interviews and key informants

Interviews can be structured, semi-structured or open ended. Structured interviews are often used for quantitative analysis and lack flexibility as the researcher has to use same set of questions each time, semi-structured interviews are usually used for qualitative analysis as the researcher can go beyond the answers of the respondents giving him/her a flexibility to the conversation (Gray, 2004).

As the present research is qualitative in nature, the semi-structured interview method is used to collect data. This method is also referred to as in-depth and loosely structured forms of interviewing (Mason, 2002). According to Fontana & Frey (2005, p. 697), “interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow humans”. This method of interviewing is conversational in nature and allows the researcher to explore, in detail, the topics of interest. While a degree of systematisation in questioning is maintained, there is strong emphasis on how participants frame and structure their responses in the conversation (C. Marshall & Rossman, 1999). In the words of Yin (2003, p. 89), these interviews are “guided conversations rather than structured queries”. For the present research, eight-seven interviews from different categories of respondents were collected. The following table 4.2 shows the details.

Table 4. 2: Total number of interviews conducted during the fieldwork

S. No.	General categorisation	No. of interviews
1	Women (all categories)	52
2	Men (drivers/conductors)	08
3	Government Institutions	16
4	International/National NGOs	11
Total		87

Source: Author

Women, being the main focus of this study, were divided in five different categories based on their educational and economic levels. Fifty-two interviews were conducted

from women in all five categories. The details of these categories and interviews conducted are shown in table 4.3.

Table 4. 3: Number of interviews from each category of women’s respondents

S. No.	Women’s categories	No. of interviews
1	Professionals (doctors, engineers, managers and teachers, lawyers etc.)	10
2	Administrators (women working in clerical positions, call-centres workers)	17
3	Small business women (beauty parlours, professional photographers, grocery shops)	08
4	Informal sector (vendors, domestic workers)	12
5	Students	05
	Total	52

Source: Author

As these interviews were semi-structured and conversational in nature, many women respondents shared their personal stories that were linked to various dimensions of their lives including transport and mobility. Although the interviews were conversational in nature for maximum collection of information, I had prepared interview guides in order to guide the conversation. For this purpose, three interview guides were prepared: the first was for the general public (including women travellers), the second was for policy makers working in different government departments at the federal, provincial and city levels, and the third was for officials working in international and/or national NGOs.

In the interview guides, the broader areas that were covered but were not limited to:

Women/General public /Users of the transport system

- participant’s experiences of different modes of transport and transport options
- socio-cultural and religious values and their relationship with women’s mobility
- the importance of a better quality transport system for a better quality of life for women

- women's fear of using public space and specific modes of transportation and its link with urban form or physical structure of the built environment
- women's agency and its manifestations

Policy-makers in the government departments

- the policy development process and (lack of) realisation of women's transport issues
- mechanisms to make transport policy participatory
- incorporation of the voices or concerns raised by general transport users especially women in transport development policy
- transport disadvantaged areas due to lack of transport services
- government's priority setting (investment in building of roads and infrastructure or providing people with better quality public transport system)

People working in NGOs

- women's development-related initiatives in Pakistan
- role of women's travel or physical mobility in their development
- were there any NGOs working on increasing women's mobility through better transport and awareness raising?
- different constraints faced by women while travelling in urban areas
- how can women lobby for their rights in demanding better transport services

Key informants were also identified on the basis of their profound knowledge about the social setting, their keenness to share information and their ability to understand the area of research. Key informants are persons with whom a researcher has developed some degree of acquaintance during the course of field work and they are cultural insiders, good observers, reflective and well articulate (Russell, 1998, p. 166). I selected key informants from government departments, NGOs, and academia with specialist knowledge of transport policy and women's travel issues.

4.4.3 Mobility maps

Mobility maps are one of the many data collection techniques that can be used in participatory research. Participatory research is commonly referred to as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and has been popular in the development field research since 1980s and 1990s (Brockington & Sullivan, 2003). The main crux of participatory research is to give participants a voice which can be regarded as a means of their empowerment. In other words it believes in the plurality of knowledge and in particular “those who have been *most* systematically excluded, oppressed or denied to carry specifically revealing wisdom” (Fine, 2008, p. 225).

Commonly used methods in the participatory research include social mapping, resource mapping, wealth ranking, mobility mapping, body mapping, social network diagrams, matrix ranking and scoring, seasonal and social calendars, time transects, casual flow analysis, focus group discussion (Beazley & Ennew, 2006; Brockington & Sullivan, 2003). ‘Mobility mapping’ is used to know the mobility of men, women and children: the places they visit, means of transport, and the purpose of their visit. In this kind of mapping “participants individually draw a visual map where they go every day/week/month in the past year etc.” (Beazley & Ennew, 2006, p. 194).

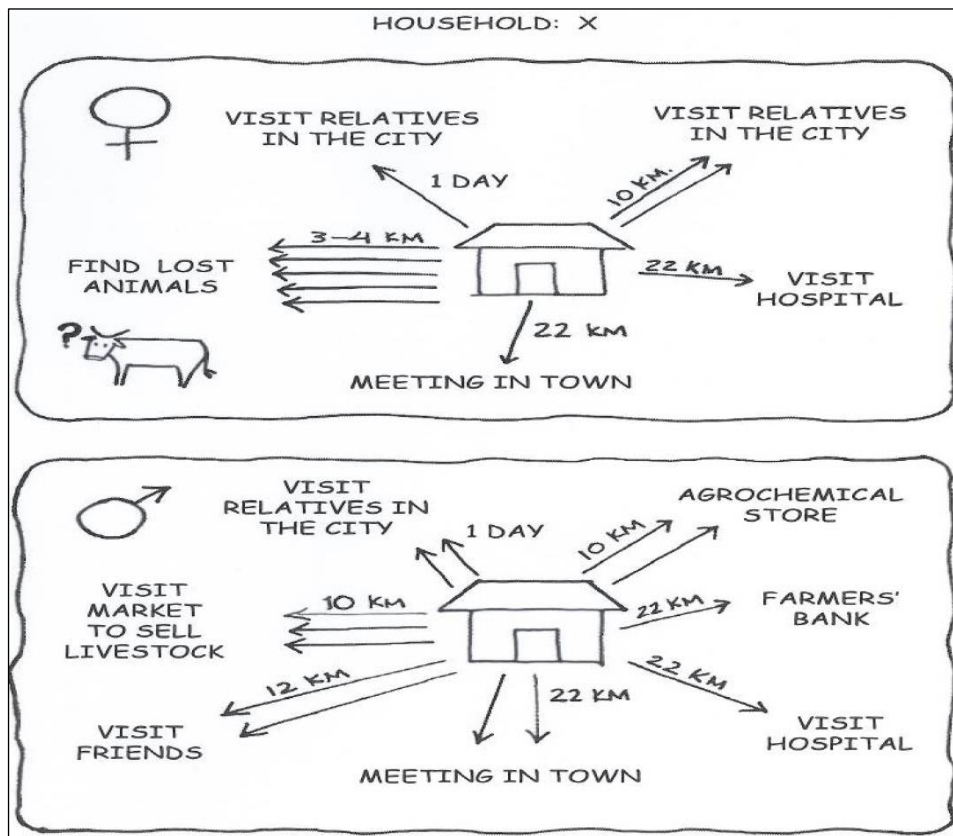
Alexander et al. (2007) presented different participatory diagramming techniques in their article. One of these techniques was participatory mapping, which was carried out by one of the co-authors, Friederike Ziegler, among older people in County Durham, UK. Owing to the age of her research participants, instead of asking them to draw maps, she provided them with a ‘sketch or base map’ showing roads and buildings. On this map, she asked them to add different places they visit and to put ‘real time’ pictures for better illustration. The sketch of the map is shown in figure 4.1.

Figure 4. 1: A mobility mapping exercise conducted with elderly people

Source: (Alexander et al., 2007, p. 118)

Geilfus (2008) highlights, mobility mapping exercises are more useful when this is used to compare and contrast the activities of men and women. In drawing a mobility map, the researcher should ask participants to draw locations they visit frequently (for example school, market, hospital etc.) by keeping their household at the centre of the drawing. The distance can be depicted by placing them closer or further from the house. Then participants are asked to draw arrows from their houses to each location; more arrows should be drawn for locations visited more frequently. Geilfus (2008, p. 136) shows the following drawing of mobility maps of men and women in a single household.

Figure 4. 2: A mobility mapping exercise conducted with farmers



Source: (Geilfus, 2008, p. 136)

Similarly, Walker et al. (2005) applied this method to see the mobility patterns of men and women in rural Lesotho. They found out marked differences in the mobility pattern of men and women. As men in the villages were primarily responsible for livestock, and buying and selling of different products in the market, their map followed a “vertical pattern closely tied to the existing track and road” (p. 24). On the contrary, women were responsible for collecting water and firewood, cooking and caring of children. Their interaction with the livestock was also minimal as they were forbidden by culture to enter livestock pens. Due to this, their map followed a “horizontal pattern of movement (perpendicular to the main road), closely tied to their productive and social activities” (p. 25).

For the present study, I also used mobility mapping technique for data collection. I asked the participants to describe their typical weekly travel or mobility pattern: where did they go and how often, what modes of transport did they use, and who

accompanied them during the trip. Men and women of the same household were asked to draw these maps. Women were approached with the help of a female research assistant. In cases when men or women were not comfortable in drawing, I and my RA drew maps after their dictation. As the mapping exercise was conducted both from men and women of the same household, they were not allowed to see each other's maps

ISOFI (NY, p. 15) has outlined five guiding questions that should be asked from women during the 'women mobility mapping' exercises.

1. Go unaccompanied without the permission of her husband, father, or other male relative.
2. Go unaccompanied with the permission of her husband, father, or other male relative.
3. Go accompanied without the permission of her husband, father, or other male relative.
4. Go accompanied with the permission of her husband, father, or other male relative.
5. Go for an extended period of time (e.g. visit to her family's home).

These guiding questions were very relevant to my study. I asked the same set of questions from men and women participants when they were drawing their weekly mobility maps. Through the mobility mapping exercises, the similarities and differences between women's and men's travel patterns across different socio-economic classes were drawn. Six (3 each of men and women) mobility maps were drawn, which will be discussed in chapter 6 (spatial structure) of this thesis.

4.4.4 Access and control profile

In addition, access and control profile, as a method, was also used. Access and control profiles have been used in different gender-analysis frameworks especially the Harvard Analytical Framework (HAF). Gender analysis frameworks have been used in the development research since 1980s and the aim of these frameworks is to provide data

collection tools which can get sex-disaggregated data, which can further be used to inform gender-sensitive development policy and practice (H. Warren, 2007).

Through employing this tool, the present research investigated women’s access to and control over the household resources, particularly related to their mobility, such as cars or other transport modes at home, and public transport means. This was useful in order to know the role of women in decision-making regarding their travel and the choice of different transport modes. This is shown in table 4.4.

Table 4. 4: Access and control profile around transport

Resources/Assets/Benefits	Access (who can use them?)		Control (who can take decision about them?)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Bicycle				
Motorcycle				
Car				
Van				
Using taxi car				
Using public transport				
Visiting relatives				
Visiting friends				

Source: Author

4.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis and data collection went side by side during my fieldwork. This is generally the case in qualitative research as this process is iterative where the researcher moves back and forth between data collection and analysis (Mason, 2002; O'Leary, 2010). I audio-taped most of the individual interviews and started transcribing them during the fieldwork, as Ezzy (2002) notes that researcher loses valuable

information if data collection and analysis is not done side by side. From the data, key themes were identified and classified into different categories. Later, through the use of concept mapping, a table was prepared containing all key information for better synthesising.

4.5.1 Discourse analysis (of policy)

The research also uses discourse analysis (of policy) to investigate institutional barriers to women's travel. Discourse analysis is an umbrella term that includes different qualitative approaches to the study of language, and because of that there is no single definition of discourse analysis (Lester, Lochmiller, & Gabriel, 2017). However in broader terms, discourse analysis studies language as related to social practice (J. Potter, 2004). It not only studies the discourses but also specific social construction and institutional context in which these discourses are developed (Hajer, 1995). In the present study, a lot of policy documents and reports related to transport, gender and social development were collected during fieldwork. In Pakistan there are three levels of governance structure: the federal government, provincial government and local (city) government. The federal level departments for transport include: Ministry of Communication, Ministry of Railways, Ministry of Planning and Development, and Ministry of Finance. At the provincial level, there are departments of Planning and Development, Transport, Communication and Works, and Urban Policy Unit. At the city or local level, the district government and development authorities are responsible for provision of transport infrastructure and services. As far as women's development is concerned, there is a National Commission on the Status of Women at the federal level, which was established in 2012. At the provincial level, there is department of Social Welfare, Women Development and BaitulMal, which looks after women's development related issues in the province. The policy documents and plans, related to transport and women's development, from the above mentioned ministries and departments were collected. These were critically reviewed and then analysed in order to see how these documents addressed women's transport issues, particularly related to their travel needs in Pakistani cities.

Besides, policy and document analysis, the discourses of policy-makers and government officials were also noted during the interviews. Both the discursive practices in their conversations, as well as discourses in policy documents are discussed in Chapter Eight of this thesis in order to see how women's transport is seen as a 'non-issue'. The discourse around women's transport is ensued by the broader policy discourse of transport as a gender neutral field where gender does not play any role. Transport has been portrayed as a 'technical' area where the role of policy-makers and planners is to 'build roads and put public transport on roads'. There is no regard for the issues such as differences between men's and women's travel needs, and qualitative aspects of travel such as safety and security concerns, attitudes of people, and purpose of journeys. These issues are discussed in detail in Chapter Eight.

In addition, the reports and publications of different international and national NGOs working on urban development, gender and development and transport in Pakistan generally and in Islamabad and Rawalpindi particularly were also collected. These reports and documents were analysed keeping in view the discourses used regarding women's transport in these documents. This has also been discussed in Chapter Eight.

4.5.2 Triangulation

In order to minimise researcher bias and cross-check and validate the information, triangulation of methods was applied as noted earlier. Triangulation is the "practice of employing several research tools within the same research design" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 145). The information gathered from interviews, observation, mobility maps and access and control profiles was collated and different cross-cutting themes emerged which supported each other in the findings. This also gave multiple meanings and interpretation of data on some issues.

4.6 The Research Sites

Islamabad and Rawalpindi were selected as the case for the present study. These two cities are referred to as 'twin cities' in Pakistan. Islamabad and Rawalpindi are adjacent to each other and people commute within these cities on a daily basis. Here, some of

the basic facts about these two cities are presented and then the rationale for selecting them is presented.

According to the 1998 census report (the last government census), the total population of Islamabad was 0.805 million with the annual growth rate of 5.6%, which was the highest in the country (Government of Pakistan, 1998a). The present day population of Islamabad is estimated to be 1.4 million (United Nations, 2016). The literacy rate of Islamabad is 87%, which is also the highest in the country (Government of Pakistan, 2007). This could be due to the fact that this city attracts mostly the educated class of the country because of the concentration of service sectors in the city. Owing to being the capital city, Islamabad hosts big markets as well as educational institutions. Women not only study at these educational institutions but they also make up part of the workforce, mostly in the service sector.

Rawalpindi is popularly called *Pindi* in the local language. It is the fourth largest city in Pakistan after Karachi, Lahore and Faisalabad. During the construction period of Islamabad (1959-1969), Rawalpindi served as the national capital. Rawalpindi is the military headquarters of the Pakistan Armed Forces. The total population of Rawalpindi was 1.89 million in 1998 (Government of Pakistan, 1998b), and was estimated to be 2.6 million recently (United Nations, 2016). This indicates that it is a more populous city as compared to Islamabad. The literacy rate in Rawalpindi was 70% in 2006, which is higher in comparison to the overall literacy rate in the Punjab province, which is 44.09% (Waqar, 2006).

Figure 4. 3: Map of Pakistan showing case study sites



Source: Retrieved from <http://www.wordtravels.com/Travelguide/Countries/Pakistan/Map>

4.6.1 Rationale for selecting the case study sites

The two cities have been selected for the following reason.

Being twin cities, Islamabad and Rawalpindi cannot be separated as far as people's movement in these cities is concerned. People travel within and between these cities for the purposes of jobs, education, shopping and meeting social obligations. For instance, some people reside in Rawalpindi but they work in Islamabad and vice versa. Similarly, as Rawalpindi is considered a bit cheaper for shopping, many people from Islamabad visit markets in Rawalpindi for this purpose. So for the purpose of my research, it can be said that mobility of people including women is largely patterned around travel within these two cities and if I select only one city then a true understanding of the phenomenon is hard to achieve. Because of this, it is important to study both these cities in unison.

Despite the fact that these two cities are called the “twin cities” and are hardly separate, there are significant differences between them, which make them interesting locales to make comparisons regarding gender relations and the transport system. One of the differences is the spatial construction of these cities. While Islamabad was built on modern town planning principles of low density urban population and mixed land use, Rawalpindi is a historical city which was built on the lines of strong social networks and higher urban density.

Similarly, the intensity of social, cultural and religious beliefs regarding women and their mobility could be different. As mentioned above, Rawalpindi is a historical city and people have affiliations based on kinship, class and caste. Based on personal observations, Rawalpindi is similar to other cities in the country where there are strong patriarchal norms and women are not treated as equals and are considered inferior to men. On the other hand, people have settled in Islamabad from different parts of the country. Consequently, social ties are not based on kinship and caste, rather they are more contractual in nature. Also, Islamabad is considered a forward-looking city in the eyes of Pakistanis, which means it is more open to social change such as women’s participation in different social and income earning activities.

Furthermore, the physical built environment and institutional structure in these cities is different. Owing to being the capital city, Islamabad comes under the federal administration and hosts all government ministries including the Ministry of Communication, National Commission on the Status of Women, and Planning Commission. The city is managed through the Capital Development Authority, which looks after the affairs of Islamabad alone. Conversely, Rawalpindi comes under the administrative control of the provincial government of Punjab, and with the local or district government system, namely Rawalpindi Development Authority (RDA) also present. Thus different institutional arrangements for these cities could impact on policy and planning processes regarding transport and women’s mobility.

It was also interesting to see how some of the similarities and differences between these two cities are linked to women’s travel. The ‘twin cities’ provided me with an

opportunity to study different social, spatial and institutional structures and their impact on women's travel in one setting.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has described the rationale for using a qualitative case study approach to study women's transport-related experiences. It has also demonstrated the research process: reflecting on my positionality as a male doing research on a gender issue with women, recruitment of female research assistants, selection of participants of this study, and ethical considerations regarding confidentiality and consent of research participants.

The selection of appropriate data collection methods is imperative to reliability of any research. This chapter has highlighted the selection of methods, such as structured observation, semi-structured interviews, mobility maps, and access and control profile, and their relevance to collect data on women's transport-related social exclusion in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. As the nature of this research was qualitative and it was aimed to collect experiences, feeling and emotions related to transport, these methods provided sufficient information for analysis and triangulation.

The synthesising of data comes in the form of findings. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight are findings chapters covering social, spatial and policy dimensions of this research. However, before discussing them, the next Chapter (Five) presents the context of socio-cultural values and women's position in Pakistani society.

CHAPTER FIVE: SOCIO-CULTURAL VALUES AND THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

5.1 Introduction

Socio-cultural and religious values strongly influence women's position and status in Pakistan. Although there are variations in the country, generally Pakistani society is male-dominated and women are considered to be weak and lagging behind men in different spheres of life (Malik & Courtney, 2011). As Dr. Mahbub ul Haq, who was a world renowned development thinker and had "pioneered the human development paradigm and founded the global Human Development Report" (Clark, 2010, para 3) had said, "while growing up in South Asia is a perpetual struggle, to be a woman in this region is to be a non-person. Women bear the greatest burden of human deprivation in South Asia" (quoted in Saiyid, 2000, p. xv). A report on the country's gender profile highlights that the status of women in Pakistan is the lowest in the world. The report takes into account different international measures, such as the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), Gender Related Development Index (GRDI), and Global Gender Gap (GGG) and explains that Pakistan is among the bottom countries on all of those lists (Sustainable Development Policy Institute, 2008). For example, the latest Gender Development Index (GDI) places Pakistan at 147 position (United Nations Development Programme, 2016), and Global Gender Gap (GGG) places Pakistan at the second last 143rd position (World Economic Forum, 2017). These indices highlight the low socio-economic status of women in Pakistan.

This chapter provides contextual background and discusses the social and cultural values pertaining to women's role and status in the country. It starts by outlining a brief overview of women's development history in Pakistan. Then it discusses the role of *purdah* and women's categorization into binaries of traditional and modern. It also explains how women's bodies are restricted in public places. At the end, the chapter discusses the honour-related crimes against women when they do not conform to social norms.

5.2 Women's Development in Pakistan: A Brief Overview

Despite strong patriarchal values and norms, women have remained in the national development discourse since the Pakistan's independence in 1947. In her speech at the Town Hall, New York as the wife of then Prime Minister of Pakistan during their first visit to the United States and Canada in 1950, Begum Liaqat Ali Khan talked about the situation of women in Pakistan (B. L. Khan, 1951). She lamented that women in Pakistan as compared to men were disadvantaged in all aspects of life. Women were responsible for looking after the house and children and were not supposed to be involved in any income generating activities. As a result they could not fully participate in the national life. Despite this grim situation, Khan highlighted that there was a welcome change as young women were coming out to help refugees through the newly-formed forum of Pakistan Women's Volunteer Service (PWVS), which was organized by Begum Khan herself. After six months of PWVS, it was renamed the Pakistan Women's National Guard in January 1948 and later to All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) in 1949 as a non-governmental organization when the settlement of refugees was over. The purpose of APWA was to provide adult literacy centres, primary schools, and industrial homes for widows (B. L. Khan, 1951).

APWA started to expand its area of operation during the 1950s by criticising the unequal status of spouses under the family law and demanding a ban on polygamy in the country. It succeeded to some extent by bringing about changes in family laws in 1961, which provided different safeguards to women in their marriage (S. Ali, 2000; K. Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The Family Laws Ordinance was considered as "the first attempt by the state to provide women some form of economic and legal protection from their husbands' unbridled libidinal capriciousness by regulating divorce and polygamy" (Weiss, 1994, p. 416). At that time, women's issues were discussed with regards to social welfare, social service, family planning, and employment generation. For example, the discourse at that time was that women's health was important as they were responsible for taking care of the whole family (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1957).

This discussion around women's development carried on in the national discourse smoothly during the 1960s and 1970s. Infact the era of Prime Minister Zulifqar Ali Bhutto (1971-77) saw a marked increase in women's participation in politics and trade union activities and there was a more empowering attitude towards women (Weiss, 1994). This was also reflected into the constitution of Pakistan, which was adopted in 1973 in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's era, generally regarded as a liberal period (K. Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). In the 1973 constitution of Pakistan, women were promised equal rights as citizens of the country. Article 25 states "All citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection before the law" (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2010, p. 15). Similarly article 34 states "steps shall be taken to ensure the full participation of women in all spheres of national life" (p. 18).

This promise of women's equal rights and empowerment was not fulfilled. As Critelli (2010) analyses, the equality stated in the constitution was undermined by the discriminatory laws and customary practices of the governments that followed. A major setback was received during the military regime of General Zia ul Haq when he took over political control of the country on 5 July 1977 and started the process of "Islamization" with the initiation of a series of "antiwomen laws that were based on a conservative interpretation of religious teachings that were out of step with many of the advances that had been made by women" (Critelli, 2010, p. 239). He imposed a new set of standards for morality on society, particularly with regards to women. Several directives of 'standard' women's behaviour were issued: women newscasters had to cover their heads while appearing on air, women teachers and other government employees should also wear *chadder* (cloth) over their heads, joint male-female stage shows were banned, women were not allowed to take part in physical sports, and attempts were even made to ban male gynaecologists (Goodwin, 1995; Weiss, 1994). State media projected the image of a good women as "domestic or domesticated, and blamed 'other' publically visible women (particularly working women) for the disintegration of family, of moral rectitude and values as well as for corruption and other social ills" (Shaheed, 2010, p. 859).

These discriminatory laws against women, however, triggered women's activism in the country, which was also inspired by the global women's rights and development campaign in the 1970s. Different organizations and pressure groups, such as Shirkat Gah, Women's Action Forum, and Pakistan Women Lawyers' Association (PWLA) emerged in order to protest against these laws (Jahangir, 2000; K. Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). Other nongovernment organizations and human rights groups, importantly APWA which was the only long-standing women's organization, also raised their voices for women's rights and advocated for legal reforms and development programmes for women's uplift in society (Critelli, 2010). However some writers believe that these movements for women rights were disengaged with the reality of poor women because these were established and controlled by the elite or bourgeois women who have little link with the realities of working-class women in Pakistani society (B. Ali, 1988; Sumar, 2002).

Zia's government made two attempts in order to see how to improve the status of women: 1) it created the Women's Division in January 1979 and 2) established a Commission on the Status of Women in 1983. The purpose of the Commission was to ascertain rights and responsibilities of women in an Islamic society, and advise federal government on measures to provide education, health, and employment opportunities for women. It published a report entitled "Report of the Commission on the Status of Women in Pakistan" in 1986. This report stated that Islam's vision of women is "enlightened and progressive", but the actual status of women is "at its lowest ebb...they are treated as possessions rather than self-reliant self-regulating humans" (Pakistan Commission, 1986, p. 3, quoted in Weiss, 1994, p. 430). Although the Commission was formed by the government, it condemned some of the existing policies of the government regarding women, and as a result the findings of the Commission's report were not released to the public (Weiss, 1994).

After the death of Zia in 1988, the people of Pakistan elected, for the first time in its history, a woman Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, in 1989. Although she could not change the laws made during the Zia era, as this required two-third parliamentary majority which she did not have, she did try to provide an enabling environment to

women in the country. The very fact that a woman was heading the government had “instantly eased the hitherto oppressive environment” (Shaheed, 2010, p. 860). The Women’s Division was upgraded to Ministry of Women’s Development (MoWD) in 1989 as a principal institutional structure to promote the incorporation of women into the planning and development process (Ministry of Women Development Social Welfare and Special Education, 1998, p. 59). Since then, the MoWD has conducted many women’s welfare projects but they did not look to address women’s position in society.

Similarly, there were no serious efforts made to promote women’s status or rights in the country during the governments of Nawaz Sharif (1990-93 and 1997-99) (Shaheed, 2010). In October 1999, General Pervez Musharaf established military government by ousting the government of Nawaz Sharif. One of the most important projects of the Musharaf government with regards to women’s development was the establishment of the National Commission for the Status of Women (NCSW) in 2000. The main objective of the Commission was the emancipation of women through equality and Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. The commission examined and reviewed different policies, laws, rules and regulations affecting the status of women in Pakistan. These will be discussed in chapter 8 on institutional structure and its impact on women’s transport.

5.3 *Purdah and Sanctity of Home (Chadder and Chaardiwari)*

The Pakistani society places emphasis on the sanctity of ‘*chaddar and chaardiwari*’ (veil and home). A strong “inside/outside” dichotomy exists, whereby women are considered to belong to “inside” or at home. This is embodied in the institution of *purdah* (literally meaning curtain), which entails the physical separation of women from men, and their confinement to the sphere of household (K. Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987; S. Rai, Shah, & Ayaz, 2007). Under this discourse women are only safe when they are wearing a veil and they confine themselves to the boundaries of their homes. This cultural narrative is reinforced also through conservative religious interpretation severely limiting women’s mobility outside their homes. Women in most Muslim majority countries, in general, are subject to segregation based on religious reasons (S.

Ali, 2000; Kazemi, 2000), which results in their exclusion from the public realm and restricting their opportunities in social, political and economic spheres (Bari, 2000; Syed, Ali, & Winstanley, 2005).

Rouse (1996) highlighted that after the end of Muslim rule in the sub-continent, under the British regime “Muslim identity and respectability were seen to reside in the ‘protection’ [read: segregation and seclusion] of women” (Rouse, 1996, p. 50). There was a ‘consolation’ in the knowledge that the strength of Islamic social order is in the stability of family unit and control of women (Jalal, 1991). On the other hand, Qadeer (2002) explains that *pardah* or *burqa* in the South Asian context was not confined to Muslims alone but Hindus and other religious groups also observed this. This was a cultural element, which kept evolving and changing over the period of time. He refers to *hijab* (head covering only) as its modern form. *Purdah* is often linked to chastity of women and also considered to serve as a guard or shield against the unwanted. Women’s chastity is important as in women’s body resides honour of the family, which is closely tied to her “sexual purity” (Haeri, 2002, p. 35).

This has ramifications for women’s mobility outside the spheres of home and accessing basic education and health services. For example, Mumtaz & Salway (2005) used data from the Pakistan wide Family Planning Survey, as well as ethnographic data from one village, and highlighted that women’s mobility outside their homes was restricted. In their survey, only 18% of the respondents said that they had travelled alone in the past four weeks, while the majority of respondents said that they needed the company of other adult to travel outside. Their study highlighted that women mostly travel out of necessity,

A statement every woman made as a matter of routine is ‘*mai kидde nai jandi*’ (I never go anywhere). Further probing usually elicited an admission of travelling out, but only to attend *wya ya maatam* (wedding or funerals). Such mobility was represented as an unavoidable *majboori* (necessity) (p. 1758).

5.4 Categorisation of Women into ‘Good’(Traditional) and ‘Bad’(Modern)

As bearers to the family’s honour and reputation, females must abide by the social rules and norms. Based on their behaviour they are categorized into the binaries of ‘good’ and ‘bad’. This categorisation can be seen in Pakistani television dramas as highlighted by Talib and Idrees (2012). They elaborate that Pakistani television dramas reinforce gender stereotypes by placing women into binaries of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern (professional)’. While traditional women stay safe at home, professional women are at risk of rape, abduction, abuse and harassment. For example in one drama *Chehray*, a professional student, Vaneeza, was kidnapped and forced to marry to a politician. Furthermore, they highlight that professional or ‘mobile’ women are shown as villains. In these dramas traditional housewives are shown as submissive and the ones who save their families by virtue of sacrifice. On the contrary, professional outgoing women do not care about family and are shown as self-centred and unethical, which leads them to ruin family life and end up living an isolated life. So good women are “demure, passive, dressed in a manner that the culture deems modest, and keeps men at a distance...[and bad women are] assertive, mobile, do not conform to the larger cultural definition of modest dress, interact with men, and feel they have a right to be in control of their bodies” (Ahmad, 2010, p. 6).

Women in public are stigmatised and since this stigma affects the whole family, so male family members would want to restrict a woman’s decision to go out at particular times. This has implications for women’s participation in different activities in urban areas in Pakistan. These values when coupled with complex realities of urban life make it challenging for women to travel in cities especially in developing countries where “traveling to work can mean greater anonymity, public exposure and crowding with strangers” (Field & Vyborny, 2016, p. 15).

The categorisation and distinction of home and outside and the association of women with home was found even the policy-making levels in Pakistan. For instance, the Punjab Government recently launched a programme in one thousand primary schools where each girl was given four hens, one cock, and a cage to apparently teach them kitchen and poultry skills. The head of the Punjab government’s livestock department,

Naseem Sadiq said “we preferred girls’ schools for this project to boys because girls, mostly, have to deal with the kitchen and they are more responsible and caring than boys” (The Express Tribune, 2016, para 5). This shows how people at decision-making places are insensitive to women’s needs and reinforce gender stereotypes in Pakistani society. These kinds of programmes have deep implications in a male-dominated society where women need to confront the cultural binaries to come out of their homes and even do something very trivial in public spaces. In this patriarchal social environment “it’s the mind-set that needs to change, not drilling down of the notion that women cultivate, prepare and serve food while the men, observe, indulge and rate it” (Sarwari, 2016, para 5).

5.5 Social Norms to Use Bicycles or Motorcycles

Women in Pakistan were typically not encouraged to ride a bicycle or motorbike. It was considered culturally inappropriate for women to ride these modes of transport in general (Anis, 2011). Women’s behaviour in public and in private spheres is regulated and girls are constantly taught manners about sitting ‘appropriately’. In Pakistani society it is inappropriate for a girl or a woman to sit in a way that her legs are open. This socially sanctioned rule of sitting makes it practically impossible for women to ride a bike or motorbike, which requires sitting with one’s legs in an open posture. Although she can be a passenger behind a male driver, she must sit with both legs on the same side. This can be seen in figure 5.1.

Figure 5. 1: A woman sitting as passenger on a motorbike in Islamabad



Source: Author

The restriction on women's ability to ride a motorbike does exclude women's mobility choices in cities in Pakistan. For example in Islamabad and Rawalpindi, men were seen in great numbers riding motorbikes. In fact the narrow streets and alleys of Rawalpindi, where small cars can hardly fit, are best suited for motorbikes. There is a continuous growth in motorbike usage in Rawalpindi and Islamabad (Bureau of Statistics, 2013). In this situation of motorbike usage and growth, excluding women from riding motorbikes impacts negatively on their mobility. Hoodbhoy (2013b) sees it as a structural issue where patriarchal forces have worked against women and hindered their usage of motorbikes.

If women are allowed to ride motorbikes just as men do, this would increase their mobility as well as their choices in life (jobs, shopping, friends, etc.). Greater independence, in turn, would seriously challenge the system of patriarchy. In a patriarchy the father and other males rule over the women of the family, or male bosses rule over their women employees. Putting limits on the

woman's freedom to travel was, therefore, invented by men to preserve their power (Hoodbhoy, 2013b, para 9).

The cultural restriction to use a particular mode of transport can be found in many other countries. For example in the case of sub-saharan Africa, Bryceson & Howe (1993) highlighted that women were reluctant to adopt new technologies in the transportation system, like handcarts and motorbikes, which were introduced by different development organizations. This was largely due to the social and cultural norms which held that such modes were not a proper behaviour for women. In Iran, a group of women were reportedly arrested for riding bicycles. They were arrested because they violated the new government's directive barring women to ride a bicycle in public places, and they were made to sign pledges not to repeat this act of violation (Dearden, 2016). Although it is not illegal in Pakistan for women to ride a bike or motorbike, they are not seen riding them in the streets of Rawalpindi or Islamabad or in other cities of Pakistan in general. Nonetheless there are some sporadic initiatives in the country where women are encouraged to ride bikes or motorbikes. One of such initiatives is Women on Wheels (WoW) of the Special Monitoring Unit (Law & Order) of the Punjab Government. This was started in 2015 and women (working women and university students) were selected to be given motorbike driving lessons and then later to be provided with motorbikes (scooties) on subsidised prices. The first batch of female trainees successfully completed their training and participated in a rally in Lahore on 30 July 2016 (DAWN, 2016). There are some other related projects started by different NGOs which are discussed in Chapter Eight.

5.6 Gender Discrimination Starts at Home

The social and cultural norms including the ones surrounding transport and women's mobility are enforced at an early age. Children are considered to carry the reputation of family, so they are groomed and 'protected'. The concerns regarding their upbringing are stronger for females as they are considered to carry the 'honour' of the whole family. This has implications for their travel as well. As they carry the family reputation "their mobility is guarded closely to avoid any fallout that may bring disrespect to the family" (Ul Haque, 2005, p. 3).

The discrimination between girls and boys starts from the young age in Pakistan. Boys are generally more valued and desired as compared to girls (Haque, 2002; Malik & Courtney, 2011; Ul Haque, 2005; UNICEF, 2006). While boys can visit many places alone, girls need to be accompanied almost everywhere outside the home. Sultana (2005) highlights, there are stark differences in the treatment of girls and boys which is reflected in their daily activities in the same household in Pakistan. In her own words:

Young boys spend very little time in household chores; instead they spend considerable time in leisure activities. In contrast, young girls participate in domestic work and have less time for leisure. Boys spend double the time at school as compared to girls...girls are overburdened with household chores, which hamper them from attending school (M. Sultana, 2005, p. 5).

Ul Haque (2005) highlights, attitudes and behaviours of family members, especially of the parents, are very important in influencing adolescent children's thinking and aspirations. Most parents make a clear distinction about the roles of girls and boys, and communicate with them from an early age. For example, parents aspire that their children should do "good jobs" and this is different for boys and girls. Boys should do government jobs (non-teaching), while teaching is the best option for girls. Similarly, Sultana (2005) stresses that girls are overburdened from a very young age through their involvement in household chores and they spend less time in leisure as compared to boys. Generally, they are not involved in the decision-making process especially for their own marriages. She highlights that only 10% of young females who expressed their opinion about their own marriages were listened to by their family (M. Sultana, 2005, p. 5). Similarly Siddiqa (2013) highlights, while boys enjoy some kind of freedom in making decisions and are also consulted in some cases for their marriages, girls on the other hand are rarely asked to speak their minds. This could be because of the assumption that females are weak, emotional, short-sighted, illogical, and need protection (Siddiqa, 2013). However, these things are changing, especially due to

females' increased literacy, labour force participation and involvement in the decision-making processes at the household level.

5.6.1 Girl babies are not welcomed

This discrimination goes way back at the time of pregnancy. Researchers have found female sex-selective abortion in many parts of the world especially in Asian countries, such as India, China, South Korea, Nepal, and Vietnam (Frost, Puri, & Hinde, 2013; Guilimoto, 2012; Hesketh & Xing, 2006). There are many reasons for this sex selective abortion or 'female gendercide' (The Economist, 2010), such as high social value of male children, need of boys for hard labour historically, inheritance rules which allow only sons to receive land, family lineage only through sons, and expensive dowry tradition where bride family bears the expense while groom would be a potential boon (Barot, 2012; Hesketh & Xing, 2006; Miller, 2001; Nagpal, 2013; The Economist, 2010).

There is not much literature or data available regarding sex-selective abortion in Pakistan; however, anecdotal information and media reports suggest that this is prevalent in society (Qayyum & Rehan, 2017; Zaidi & Morgan, 2016; Zakaria, 2015). Besides, the media reports also highlight that mothers are stigmatised, beaten and/or divorced in cases where they give birth to two or more female children (Islam, 2014; Tariq, 2013; The Express Tribune, 2012, 2013). All this suggests that female babies are not welcomed. This is evident from the way of greetings at the birth of new-born babies in Pakistan. The birth of a boy is charmed and praised with honour and dignity, while girls are a kind of 'okay'. "It's a girl". In Pakistan, this statement scares most families regardless of their socioeconomic and educational backgrounds" (Sarfray, 2017, para 1). People would say 'God's will' and '*koi batt nahin*' (never mind, with a gesture of pity) on the birth of a girl. Malik-Hussain (2014c) shares her experience of being greeted by her relatives on the birth of her third girl child:

"Koi baat nahin" became a full-blown pity party...The language people use to describe having baby girls is rarely ever positive. What does "koin baat nahin" mean? That's what you say to someone who missed an O level A by a one percentage point, or dropped five hundred

rupees somewhere, or who fell down and skinned their knee (Malik-Hussain, 2014c, para 1).

This unwelcomed attitude towards females in Pakistani society is reflective in their travel pattern as well. Callum, Sathar, & Haque (2012) in the context of rural areas of Pakistan, highlight that a vast majority of parents would not allow their 15-year-old unmarried girl to go alone to school, while in contrast they would allow the same aged boy to go alone. They elaborate that females' restricted mobility is a major constraint to their empowerment. For them "the need for an escort...[in the shape of]...chaperones to commute to schools" (Callum et al., 2012, p. 12) is a significant deterrent to females' education and/or employment. Although they feel that girls in urban areas face less restriction and "are almost on a par with boys" (Callum et al., 2012, p. 6), this phenomenon of "escorting females" was also found in cities of Pakistan including in Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

5.7 Regulation of Female Bodies in Public Spaces

As mentioned earlier that female bodies are regulated in certain ways in patriarchal societies like Pakistan. This regulation comes with limiting females' abilities to do certain things in public spaces and also associating certain traits to them. Women must confine to these norms lest they will be considered as *awara*, *besharm*; the terms which are generally associated with immoral behaviour of women, thus ultimately labelling them as prostitutes. This has direct relevance to women's travel in Islamabad and Rawalpindi as physical travel happens outside home in the public sphere where all these norms come into play. This includes their dressing, talking and even gazing in a certain way in public spaces.

For example, one of the universities in Islamabad, National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), put a ban on female students to wear jeans and tights in the university premises. According to a newspaper report, NUST management said that "students have been [only] instructed to wear 'decent' dresses" (Junaidi, 2013, para 2). The report further states that seven female students were fined Rs.500 to Rs.1000 for wearing jeans and tights and not wearing *dupata* (veil). Another such incident

happened at one of the prestigious private sector universities, Institute of Business Management (IoBM), Karachi where a visiting faculty member was stopped and refused to enter into the building by the 'security head' of the institution on the pretext of not wearing the 'right' dress. She posted her picture wearing the same dress on her Facebook post, which can be seen in figure 5.2.

Figure 5. 2: The visiting faculty at IoBM, who was refused entry to the institute



Source: The Express Tribune (2017)

These seemingly small incidents tell a lot of things about women's oppression and their limits in making different choices in life. Wearing a particular dress by female students or by female faculty members, even at one of the top science and technology universities in the country, depicts women being reduced to sum of their clothing

choices. As Zakaria (2013, para 9) highlights, “women swathed and scaffolded in black and peering from slits are good and moral; women wearing jeans undoubtedly impure. Feminine morality in Pakistan is a product of fabric; the more equal, the better”. Women’s attire and the restrictions on their choice to wear a particular set of clothing illustrate how they are regulated in public spaces, which definitely have implications for their travel in urban spaces. Their maneuvering in public spaces, walking, cycling or using public or private modes of transport is also regulated. For instance, as mentioned in the previous section, women were not culturally allowed to ride a bike or motorcycle in public spaces in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. This regulation of public space for women encompasses many different aspects of their everyday lives.

Related to this, for example, is Anar’s (2017) story about her experience of being a female and smoking in public places in Pakistan. She highlights that whenever she smokes everyone looks at her in a strange way; a few even approach her and inform her about her serious transgression. She tells of one encounter with an older ‘fatherly’ man giving her advice in that “I am a girl and I am smoking. He isn’t concerned for my lungs. ‘It doesn’t look good, a respectable girl like you smoking’...It is my image he is worried about and is adamant to protect” (Anar, 2017, para 17).

She further highlights how people in government institutions, such as police behave when they figure out a woman smoker. She narrates her encounter with women police at the railway station in Lahore, Pakistan:

“Cigarettes.”

“Don’t you know it’s illegal for women to smoke?”

“Where does it say that?”

“Don’t be smart with us. It’s not allowed.”

“Anyways we are not planning to smoke. We just came to buy tickets.”

“Take these two for a body search.”

Almost an hour later, my friend and I are shaken, bruised, and humiliated by the policewomen’s behaviour...they took away our

money and the bottles of lotion and oil they found in our bags. We were slapped every time we told them we were not, in fact, sex workers...The policewomen's logic, as they explained it: They had significant evidence that we indulged in 'immoral' activities. The contents of our bag, the hickey on my friend's neck, the clothes we were wearing" (Anar, 2017, para 24-27)

These examples highlight the stigma and behaviour of men against those women who do not confine to the socio-cultural norms in public places in Pakistan. These women are stereotyped and harassed in so many different ways. The findings of the present study also confirm these misogynistic and patronising attitudes of men towards women and have been discussed in the findings chapters.

5.7.1 Verbal comments and harassment

This regulation of women in public spaces of Islamabad and Rawalpindi came in many different forms. Harassment in the form of verbal comments and physical touch was one of the common ways through which women were excluded from participating and travelling in these cities. As will be discussed further in Chapter Seven, all the female respondents of this study said that they have been physically touched by a male, including driver or conductor of public transport, at least once in their travel life in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Mumtaz et al. (2003) discuss the plight of Lady Health Visitors (LHVs) who attend women patients on their visits to rural areas in Pakistan. Mostly LHVs go alone, and often they have to face harassment issues in public spaces and in public transport. The study quotes one LHV saying "when I leave home to come to the Basic Health Unit I need to travel by local transport, and there are men who offer a lift or pass comments. I feel so bad and insulted that when I reach the Basic Health Unit I misbehave with [mistreat] my patients." (p. 264). Similarly, the news of women's harassment in public spaces including their use of public transport are common occurrence in Pakistani electronic and print media (The Nation, 2009).

Like Islamabad and Rawalpindi, passing verbal comments, unwanted sexual advances and harassment of women in public spaces was common in different cities of the

world (for example see, Hamilton et al., 2002; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2010; Mitra-Sarkar & Partheeban, 2010; Seedat et al., 2006; Smith, 2008). Fayer (1997) highlights in her study that public space in Puerto Rico is dominated by men and in this space women are being harassed through the act of *piropos* - the customary public verbal comments made towards women. In the context of India, Seedat et al. (2006) found that sexual harassment by a single male or group of men was common. The common way of harassment was through lascivious stares, suggestive remarks, and physical advancement. Due to this, women felt humiliation, fear and intense mistrust, which lead to their restricted mobility. In the same Indian context, Anand & Tiwari (2006) also make similar exertions with regards to women walking in the streets or using public transport. Ali (2012) highlights the harassment issue in Karachi, Pakistan by quoting the story of one of his female respondents who complained about the harassing attitude of drivers and conductors. She said:

Even the bus drivers when they see women together, like when we were returning from work and laughing about something, say 'should we turn the bus round and go somewhere?'. How dare they? When we admonish them they say, 'well our women are at home, why are you out?'. They have no *sharam* [shame] (K. A. Ali, 2012, p. 12).

Although the above story is in the context of Karachi, the attitude of drivers and conductors in Rawalpindi and Islamabad is no different as will be shown in Chapter Six. These harassment issues negatively impact on women's transport and result in their restricted travel in cities across Pakistan.

5.7.2 Fear and safety concerns in public spaces

One of the consequences of harassment in public places is the instilment of fear or safety concerns among women, which have detrimental impact on their travel. As will be discussed in Chapter Seven, women are rarely seen accessing and using open spaces, such as parks or footpaths because these places are occupied by men mostly, and women felt very reluctant to go there. People make it uncomfortable for women to be in public spaces as if they "don't belong there" (Malik-Hussain, 2014b). This

explains largely “how you get a city where there is one woman to 50 men out in public on a good day” (Amjad, 2015, para 22). Zakaria (2016, para 4) also highlights, “there is no corner of Pakistan that is not populated by men who stare”. Staring is so prevalent that men even did not realise it was wrong. Many male respondents just brushed it aside in a laugh as if this was not an issue. In the words of Zakaria (2016, para 5):

Men stare and stare and stare — old men and young men; bearded men and clean-shaven men; the supposedly religious and the avowedly secular. Staring at women is indeed the glue that binds the male species of the subcontinent together.

Besides the prevalent ‘staring’ phenomenon, incidents of harassment and violence particularly against ‘bad’ women occur in many cities in Pakistan including Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Human Rights commission of Pakistan (2015) in its annual report mentioned that Police had caught a man in Sahiwal district in Punjab who admitted stabbing 50 unaccompanied women in public places because “they were spreading vulgarity in society”. The report further mentioned that he did this under the influence of local clerics who sanctioned his act as “very noble, moral and religious”. The accused had reportedly told investigators that “my attacks have controlled vulgarity in Cheechawatni [Sahiwal]...fearing my attacks, women now keep away from roads” (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 2015, p. 119).

The fear and safety concerns are based on women’s everyday experiences of harassment in public spaces and their perceived perception and danger based on media reports (Sur, 2014). This is a pervasive element of urban life and reflects deep gender-based inequalities in urban centres (Tacoli & Satterthwaite, 2013). A pioneering work on women’s restriction in the public spaces was done by Gordon and Riger (1989). In their ‘constriction of activities’, they highlight that fear of crime “shrink the scope of women’s choices about their lives by restricting their movement through time and space” (Gordon & Riger, 1989, p. 122).

Sur (2014) highlights in relation to women's safety in the city of Kolkata, India that they are constantly negotiating their safety in public places. There is a "constant monitoring, a constant need to avoid intrusive attempts onto their bodies and to remain safe" (Sur, 2014, p. 212). Sometimes this is not that women get the actual harassment but the fear of it also creates anxiety and guides their behaviour in public. This becomes part of women's identity "forged by the awareness of sexual violence which assign them a priori victim status as to be aware of the potentiality of victimization is to accept oneself as weak and passive" (Sur, 2014, pp. 212-213).

This 'priori victim' status is very damaging to women's social and psychological well-being. It connotes that women have resigned to their social position and perceived themselves as weak, which impacts on their everyday life, especially their travel and access to public spaces in cities. The incidents of harassment are oppressive and produce feelings of exclusion, they discipline women, label them as belonging to private sphere, and give conditional access to the outside world when they can demonstrate a clear purpose (Phadke, 2005; Phadke et al., 2011). This purpose can vary based on the accepted socio-cultural norms. In Islamabad and Rawalpindi, engagement in purposeless fun or traveling without socially accepted reasons were perceived as frivolous and something which could invite trouble.

5.7.3 Non reporting of incidents happened in public spaces

Non-reporting of harassment related incidents is a common practice in Pakistan. Some studies in other parts of the world also highlight that non-reporting or under-reporting of women's abuse is an important problem, which is more so in developing countries as compared to the developed ones (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, & Watts, 2005; Naveed, Azim, Bhuiya, & Persson, 2006; Usta, Farver, & Pashayan, 2007). One of the reasons of not reporting the harassment cases in Pakistan is because of the notion of female modesty and inhibition embedded in the culture (F. Ali & Syed, 2017). People will generally blame women for not adhering to the social norms and becoming the victims of harassment for "being at the 'wrong place' at the 'wrong time'" (Sur, 2014, p. 213).

The attitude of people in these cases is generally of 'putting the blame' on women. This may be because harassment in public sphere or violence against women is seen as "natural" and linked to the social beliefs and attitudes (Gracia, 2004). Malik-Hussain (2014a, para 2) in the context of Pakistan sheds light on this issue:

When women come out into the public sphere, be it for work, study or play, the attitude is that they have automatically exposed themselves to all kinds of inappropriate behaviour because they are bringing it upon themselves. Who told them to come out of their *chaadar* and *chaar deewari*? Who asked girls who love sports to seriously pursue their passion? Who asked for girls to go to medical school? To drive alone? Women in public places automatically become public property.

Similarly, women do not report incidents of harassment or abuse to authorities. In Pakistani culture, as mentioned earlier, honour and shame is associated generally with women's sexuality, discussing or reporting issues of harassment publically or to the authorities can bring shame to the family. Some studies in the broader South Asian context reveal that women do not report the abuse, harassment or domestic violence because of the fear of family honour and stigmatization, fear for children, and fear of exaggerating the abuse (Naved, Azim, Bhuiya, & Persson, 2006; Raj & Silverman, 2007; Siddiqui, Hamid, Siddiqui, & Akhtar, 2003).

In the Bangladesh context, the main reasons for women to not report the incidence of violence and harassment included the fear of jeopardising family honour, damage to victims' reputation, fear of repercussions, and hopelessness (Naveed et al., 2006). Similarly in a survey of 298 industrial workers in Pakistan, most of the women respondents did not approve reporting violence to the police, parents, or friends because it would be too embarrassing for them and could damage their reputation (Siddiqui et al., 2003). Similarly, Anderson et al. (2010, p. 1966) highlight in the context of domestic violence in Pakistan that "women who report violence risk their reputation and bring dishonour to the family".

Another reason for non-reporting of violence and harassment is the mistrust of the authorities in Pakistan. They regard these issues as 'minor incidents' which need no investigation. This lack of institutional support discourages women from reporting. Some other studies also highlight that unhelpful nature of authorities (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, & Watts, 2006) and a general mistrust in the form of lack of institutional support and unfavourable legal system (Bettencourt, 2000) are the main reasons for women's non-reporting. According to Andersson et al. (2010), Pakistani women are unlikely to report to police because "police may side with the abuser, or that they may even face abuse from the police themselves" (p. 1980).

This mistrust of authorities and reluctance to share incidents with family members not only imparts feelings of helplessness and exclusion among women, it contributes towards their restricted travel and use of public spaces in cities. As a consequence women showed disinterest with the laws made at the national level for safeguarding their rights and improving their position in society. For example, a law against the sexual harassment of women at work place including public places, such as bus stops, parks and markets was passed in 2012, but when asked about this law, a large majority of respondents were not aware about it.

5.8 Nonconforming to Social Norms Leading to 'Honour-related' Crimes

As mentioned earlier women are considered to carry the honour of their families. They have to conduct themselves in a way that does not compromise this honour; otherwise they are being blamed for bringing dishonour to their families and are subject to 'honour-related' crimes. Travel or mobility is one such thing that has the potential to disturb a lot of people in society and threatens the family 'honour'. A recent case of the murder of Qandeel Baloch, a social media sensation, by her brother has some similarities to this point. The case of Qandeel Baloch shows the struggles of an ordinary village girl braving all social odds, becoming a social media celebrity and then paying the ultimate price of this rebellion in the form death by her own brother. Her brother confessed to the murder in police custody by saying that she was bringing 'bad name' to the family.

Qandeel was dubbed as 'Pakistan's Kim Kardashian' because of her provocative images on social media and unapologetic sexuality (Kreps, 2016; Mohsin, 2016). She belonged to a poor family from a rural background in the south Punjab. She was uneducated and married at the age of 17 to a man who she alleged to 'beat her regularly'. She remained in this troubled relationship for a few years before getting a divorce. After the divorce her own family abandoned her because they were against her getting the divorce. Consequently, she struggled to find any work or place to live. She worked as a bus hostess (conductor) for an intercity bus transport company (Sindhu, 2016). This was a very desperate but courageous act because transport sector was dominated by men and working there was not easy. Bus hostesses are generally face harassment by male passengers.

Qandeel also experienced these issues and even changed her name (her original name was Fozia Azeem) in order to hide her identity. She later went into the show business industry and started posting her 'controversial' videos through her social media accounts. When her real identity was revealed she hinted about her struggles and encouraged other women through her messages on Twitter (this can be seen in the figure 5.3). In an interview she highlighted her story as:

I wanted to study and do something in life. My dreams were big. I was not born to spend my whole life as housewife and *paun ki jooti* (literally meaning the shoe of the foot. This term is traditionally used to refer wives in rural areas, which implies that wives are not of more value than a shoe). Now when I have become something [successful] everyone is interested in me. Why [did] they [including the Media] did not come to rescue me when I was getting [a] divorce and struggling to get education and to start a career (24 News, 2016).

Figure 5. 3: Qandeel Baloch message on her twitter account



Source: <https://twitter.com/QandeelQuebee>

Qandeel Baloch’s murder created a fearsome debate in electronic and print media in Pakistan. This highlighted that an ambitious woman can be labelled as deviant and can meet a fate like Qandeel. The editorial of one of the daily newspapers opined that “Qandeel’s death left a message to all the women in our country, that a man can get away with anything he does but a woman is at her best, submissive, otherwise, her existence is liquidated” (The Nation, 2016, para 1). There were people in the media who, while condemning the act of violence, sympathised with the murderer by implying that she was also not doing ‘right’ things and that she deserved her murder. Nonetheless, it triggered a debate around honour killings and crimes committed against women in general.

One of the things highlighted was the loopholes in the legislation to punish murderers of these crimes. Since the perpetrators in most of the honour-related-crimes are male relatives of victim (fathers, husbands or brothers), they get away with murder. This is because in the *Qisas* and *Diyat* law (which is part of the criminal law in Pakistan) “a

relative of the heir could pardon the killer via blood money...[and in the case of honour killing] the killer was often a father or brother – and thus related to the victim’s ‘heir’ – Pakistan witnessed the gross spectacle of brothers pardoning brothers and fathers pardoning sons” (A. R. Khan, 2016, para 6). Introduced during Zia’s regime as part of the overall goal of Islamisation, this law is regarded as an instrument to create structural discrimination against the poor and marginalised including women. Because of this, there is less than one percent conviction rate in cases of violence against women including honour killings (Bari, 2016).

This has also been highlighted in the Oscar winning documentary *A girl in the river: The price of forgiveness* by Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy. This is the story of Saba, a 19 year old girl from Gujranwala (Punjab), who was shot and dumped in a river by her own father and uncle on the pretext that she married the person of her own choice. She survived the assault by managing to get out of the river and accessing a nearby hospital. The bullet pierced her cheekbone and made a permanent scar on her face. Police caught her father and uncle a few days after the incident. Not willing to forgive, Saba had to bend under the pressure of her husband’s family and other community elders (all men) to forgive the tormentors. Her father, like the brother of Qandeel, was not ashamed of his act. In his own words:

Everyone says I am more respected now. They say I am an honourable man. It [trying to kill Saba] was the proper thing to do. I have another daughter. Many people from my clan ask me to give her hand in marriage [because] they think I am an honourable man. In my next generations, no daughter would dare to do such a thing which Saba did (Obaid-Chinoy, 2016).

The Pakistan Human Rights Commission’s (2016) annual report highlighted that in the year 2015 alone, 1,096 women were murdered in the name of bringing disrespect to family’s honour, the majority by immediate family members. The predominant causes of these events were alleged illicit relations, domestic disputes, and exercising the right of choosing a spouse. This annual number would actually be much higher since such crimes often go unreported or misreported as accidents or suicides. In response

to the debate triggered by these incidents, the joint parliament of Pakistan unanimously approved the honour killing and anti-rape bills on October 6, 2016 (Bilal, 2016). While the anti-rape bill has been praised by civil society and rights organisations as, for the first time, it accepts DNA tests as a primary evidence and binds courts to give a verdict in three months' time, however, the anti-honour killing bill has received mixed reactions. The proponents of the bill say that it is a step in the right direction as "under the new law relatives of the victim would only be able to pardon the killer if he is sentenced for capital punishment. However, the culprit would still face mandatory life sentence of twelve-and-a-half years" (Bilal, 2016, para 3). On the other hand, critics of the bill say that as an honour murderer is liable to a least minimum punishment, if he denies the claim of honour to escape the penalty he would be tried as normal murder, which is still a pardonable offense. According to them, now "in order to secure a life sentence, the burden falls on the prosecution to prove that a murder was an 'honour' killing" (Yusuf, 2016, para 4). This means that the intimate details of slain victim's lives will be up for scrutiny in the courts.

5.9 Conclusion

The chapter has shown that lives of ordinary women in Pakistan are regulated through various social and cultural norms. These norms are patriarchal in nature and ultimately restrict women's movement and travel in general. This was also noted in the Islamabad and Rawalpindi context, as will be shown in the following chapters. A strong "inside/outside" dichotomy exists, whereby women are considered to belong to "inside" or at home, and their movement is regulated.

This regulation comes with limiting their abilities to do certain things in public spaces and also associating certain traits with them. Women must be confined to these norms lest they will be considered as 'immoral' and subjected to social stigma and various 'honour-related' crimes. These social values are fundamental in restricting women's travel and excluding them from different activities. The next chapter discusses the findings related to the impact of social and cultural values on women's transport in Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

CHAPTER SIX: IMPACT OF SOCIO-CULTURAL, AND RELIGIOUS VALUES ON WOMEN’S TRAVEL IN URBAN AREAS

6.1 Introduction

“Aurat ko jooti ki nook pe rakhna chahye (A woman’s place is at the feet [of her husband]) - my husband mostly says this cultural quote whenever I do things my own way. It is not that he punishes me or physically abuses me but whenever I do things against his wishes, he utters these kinds of quotes and even cracks jokes in which women are portrayed as less intelligent, emotional, and the cause of all the trouble in this world”. Mehwish was a little anxious at the start of the interview and often looked at the door of her small room, which opened into her house. She had converted this small room into a ‘beauty parlour’ and women from the same neighbourhood in Sadiqabad, Rawalpindi, came there for a makeover. Now, when we had spent more than half an hour talking with her, she seemed to be opening up to our questions. One of my female research assistants knew her through her friend, who introduced her to us. After consultation with her husband, she gave us time for the interview. She continued that her husband never stopped her from doing anything but never helped her either. It was her responsibility to do household things like cooking, cleaning, sending her 6 year old boy to school, besides working in her own beauty parlour: “when there are no customers, I go in my home and cook or clean or do some other household things. I wish I could sit and relax for some time”. On top of that she has to travel in Rawalpindi and Islamabad in order to buy products from supermarkets and occasionally to makeup females in their homes (on marriage or other occasions). This was when she was unable to perform her household ‘duties’, and this caused tensions and arguments with her husband. She said that “travelling itself is a hell of a task in this city and I cannot speak of the problems I face on the road because my husband will taunt me and will say ‘don’t do it’... ‘don’t do it’ is the solution to all my problems in the eyes of my husband”.

This story depicts the everyday struggle women have to undergo in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. There were cases worse than this where women were beaten and

physically abused for not conforming to social norms. Mehwish said that her husband was not so bad as he only quoted cultural sayings like this “in ko bahir na janey do warna yeh sir pe char jayain gee (don’t let them [women] go out of the homes otherwise they will get out of hand)”, sometimes even in a joking way. However there were cases where women were treated very badly indicating these social norms still persist, which impact significantly on women’s travel in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. This case relates to this chapter, which presents key findings of this research to address the first research question: how do socio-cultural, economic and religious values affect women’s travel in Rawalpindi/Islamabad in Pakistan?

The findings of this study highlight the influence of socio-cultural and religious values on women’s mobility in urban areas of Pakistan. The chapter discusses the major findings with stories of women’s experiences in relation to different themes, such as cultural prejudices around women’s mobility, attitudes of drivers and conductors, fear of harassment, attitudes of male family members, and the institution of *purdah*. It also looks at women as agents of change, demonstrating that in some ways women are successfully challenging socio-cultural and religious values. The chapter highlights that on the one hand women face social issues and barriers to their mobility in the urban areas, but on the other hand some of them are also shattering some social norms and finding their way out.

6.2 Socio-Cultural Norms and Women’s transport

Women in Pakistan are not a single, homogenous group. They are extremely diverse and their lives are structured around and influenced by a range of factors, such as class, ethnic and religious affiliation, family orientation, education, and location of urban or rural setting (Bari, 2000; Critelli, 2010; K. Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The prevalence of social norms outlined in the previous chapter can be noticed in urban areas of Pakistan, but at the same time these norms are changing. In this section, I will present the interaction and interface of these social values with women’s travel in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. This interface is important in order to understand the preferences women make in their everyday life relating to employment, education and meeting social obligations. For example, Ali (2013) while discussing the employment-

related issues of women in Pakistan, quotes one female respondent saying “the issue of transport is of such significance that females may ignore a better job opportunity and go for a lesser value job just to avail transport facility provided by the organisation [...] When I was looking for job I was looking for pick up and drop off (called ‘pick and drop’ in Pakistan) facility in particular. I think that is the biggest problem” (F. Ali, 2013, p. 305). This section relays the findings of the research in the form of different case stories of women as well as general discussion about the issues.

6.2.1 Cultural prejudices and women’s mobility

- ***Mobile women as “bad” women***

In Pakistani patriarchal society, women have been categorised into ‘good’ and ‘bad’ and each category carries certain characteristics. Good women are “demure, passive, dressed in a manner that the culture deems modest, and keeps men at a distance...[and bad women are] assertive, mobile, do not conform to the larger cultural definition of modest dress, interact with men, and feel they have a right to be in control of their bodies” (Ahmad, 2010, p. 6). One of the important characteristics of a ‘bad woman’ mentioned above is being mobile. From this viewpoint, all women coming out of the home and travelling can easily fall into the category of ‘bad’ women. The following two stories of women will elaborate this point showing how women are judged harshly for taking on work and needing to be mobile.

Nasreen Javed, 40 years, small business woman

I am a home-based worker and sell candles and other household decorations. My husband died three years ago and I became the sole breadwinner of my 2 children. I have courageously faced the bad attitude of my relatives. They believe I should not go out to work, without even realising how much hardship I was facing. I work all day long and sell products at cheap rates. Some people, like our neighbours, are really supportive. They take care of my children when I go out to buy or sell products. Going out is another struggle. Men do not respect women anymore, even though I observe *purdah*, they

stare and pass comments and make my life difficult. I avoid going out as much as I can because I am a female, widow and single mother, which means I am easy prey for people to label me as a 'bad' woman.

Gulshan Dilshad, 32 years, married, sales girl

I got married at the age of 18 and my husband, Imtiyaz, had a small business of *Arhat* (buying and selling grains). I always dreamed about studying and then working in an office but my parents married me off when I finished my high school. They didn't want to refuse a good proposal because they have other daughters to marry off as well. After almost 10 years of marriage we had three children. Unfortunately my husband's business was in debt so he started part time work at another shop in the afternoons, but whatever he was earning was not enough to run a family. Once I was shopping with one of my 'rich' friends when I happened to meet a boutique owner who had just opened his shop and was looking for a lady salesperson. I explained to my husband that they were offering Rs. 15,000/month and also giving a pick up and drop off service (called 'pick and drop' in Pakistan). This pick and drop service was handy because otherwise it was not possible for me to change two vans and then walk for half an hour to reach the shop. My husband was a bit reluctant, not because he did not want me to work, but was worried what other people would think about this. Ever since I started working in the boutique my neighbours have stopped visiting us. They thought I was involved in a *du number* business (red light profession) as every evening one car picked me up and then dropped me home late in the night. I can't stop working because now I am earning Rs. 25,000/month and also involved in designing of dresses. I cannot remove their suspicions about the car that comes to pick and drop me, and I don't want to go in public transport because that is more humiliating, people stare at you, the driver touches you, and you wait for a long time at bus stops.

- ***Women's travel as a necessity not a desire***

From the above stories, it becomes evident that certain stereotypes exist in low income urban areas of Pakistan, which prohibits women's mobility in certain ways. Some other women respondents shared that if a woman goes out for socially accepted reasons, such as education, healthcare and work (as per social norms) then this is a routine and people do not consider it bad. However, if she goes out without any reason as mentioned above, it is considered unnecessary in Pakistani society. As one respondent said,

If a woman goes out and travels out of necessity then it is fine, but if she goes out not for her needs but for her wishes and fun then this leads to problems in society. No one likes an *awaragard* (wandering) woman (Amber Hameed, 33 years, Govt. employee)

This implies that a woman does not have the luxury to enjoy her life with her own individual freedom. Some other respondents said that sometimes nonconformity leads to domestic violence and physical abuse. This was true for women going outside in public places without asking for permission from male members of household. One female respondent who was a medical doctor said:

I know many women who are victims of domestic violence, mostly home makers but some working women as well. And you know for what minute issues they were beaten? Issues, such as going on the roof of the house, going out for shopping with a friend without asking permission from husbands, and travelling in a taxi alone instead of using public transport (Seerat Zaman, 45 years, medical doctor).

Such horrendous abuse occurs because of the social belief that the sexuality of wives is to be guarded and watched for because this has the potential of being corrupted which would put shame upon the honour of a man. For example, travelling alone in a taxi provides freedom to a woman, but the woman could be interfered with by a

stranger (the taxi driver). These incidents can generally happen when women are of the same socio-economic class as taxi drivers. Taxi drivers generally belong to the lower income class.

6.3 Women as Drivers of Private Cars

There were quite a few women respondents who had the access to a family car. This information was collected through the access and control profile. Out of the total 52 women respondents, 10 had access to a family car and could also drive. Mostly these women were professionals, such as medical doctors, lawyers, and university teachers. These women do not have to face the kind of transport-related issues which other women face, including long waits at bus stops, physical advancements by drivers/conductors, and an uncomfortable public transport system; yet they have their own share of problems. Their problem starts from the very thing others think of as a luxury, that is, the car itself – who will drive the car, who will be dropped off at their office first, and can a female drive the car while her husband sits in the passenger's seat? These questions were the key issues for this group of women. The following story highlights some of the underlying tensions of car ownership, and social norms associated with the female driver.

Uzma Tahir, 40 years, professional

I work as a Project Manager at an International NGO. I have 20 years work experience in development sector. I got married in 1997. I thank ALLAH always for not having babies, because in my situation it could be more difficult to raise them without a father. Yes, I had to divorce my husband who was not a good match to me or I was not a good match for him, who knows? It does not matter how educated are you. Actually what matters is how have you been socialized, what is your family background. Educational degrees and money is not a guarantee of a happy life. I have two master degrees, and then I did MS. I was thinking of doing a PhD but then family circumstances worsened so that I could not go for it. Then I started working in a private organisation, and then just kept switching organisations and

gained experience. Now I have just returned from Australia after attending a workshop.

I really like your area of research, and I never came across any research on this area in Pakistan. I really appreciate you for choosing such a good topic, actually I have become really sensitive because... directly or indirectly, I will relate the reason of my divorce to your research topic. As I mentioned before I got married in 1997 and we were living a good life with small, usual fights that are part of every family. But I did not have the idea that my husband was really concerned seriously with some of the things that really did not matter to me. It was my driving to my office that he never liked. I never understood why his mood suddenly became off [negatively] in the mornings when we would go to the office together. He was a doctor in CMH and I always dropped him first and then went to my office because his office comes first and then mine. And he never drove the car before, because though he learnt driving he was not very confident. I used to drive a car at my parents' home. It never came into my mind that my driving could lead to my separation with my husband. But this is how it all had happened. Things slowly got worse and he started saying to me openly - do not drive because my friends think you are overriding me, and my family thinks that this is men's job that you do. He asked me to sell the car or leave it in the garage until he became a driving expert. But I said 'no' I am used to driving to the office and to the market, and I have never travelled on public transport so it is not easy for me. I suggested to him that 'I can help you in learning driving and once you start driving I will stop'. But he made it an ego issue and became very irritated. He started abusing me even in front of my family, friends and colleagues. You can't feel that he is a medical doctor, a well-educated person. We got separated and after a few years of separation he married another woman. Then finally I lodged a *Khula* (woman's way of asking for divorce)

application in court and got it after three years. Now I live with my parents at their home and I am happy and satisfied now. This life is far better than that abused life. I do not know when we will be civilised enough to think that women are also human beings.

Besides these family-related issues, women drivers also have to face the annoying and unwanted behaviour of male drivers, such as drivers of the public transport and private cars. These were some of the common responses:

Sometimes, when I am driving alone, other cars follow me and give beeps which is a kind of frightening but anyways I have to travel (Najama Rashid, 33 years, teacher).

I have experienced annoying behaviour of drivers of public transport while I am driving my own car. They don't give way to female drivers and also make sudden brakes in front of women's cars (Tahira Iqbal, 40 year, medical doctor).

Male drivers sometimes tease by driving zigzag in front of me and give wrong indicators. But I am so busy that I don't think of these kind of things (Hamida Alia, 45 years, computer engineer).

6.4 Attitudes of Drivers and Conductors and Male Passengers

6.4.1 Physical touching

The bad attitude of drivers, conductors and male passengers was reported as one of the primary reasons why women feel hesitant to travel through public transport. It was a remarkable finding that all the female respondents who travelled on public transport said that they had been physically touched by either the driver or the conductor. Even newspaper articles reveal that women passengers suffer more problems than men due to the insufficient and poor transport system as well as disrespectful behaviour of male passengers and drivers (DAWN, 2011; Warraich, 2010). One female respondent said that

If few girls are sitting in a van, drivers put loud music and vulgar songs. There used to be some men who asked drivers to stop the music but now no one cares. We cannot ask drivers to stop the music as this might give a wrong message about our modesty (Najma Saith, 35 years, clerk in a government organisation).

6.4.2 Flirting with and stereotyping women

It was also observed that most young females tried to avoid any kind of conversation with the opposite sex in public space. They are expected not to talk and avoid any glance at stranger men. There is a phrase in *Punjabi*, which is the common language spoken in Rawalpindi and Islamabad, *hass pai te pass gai* (if she smiles, she wants you to flirt with her). This phrase was often used by drivers and conductors. During the interviews they quoted this phrase a number of times while talking about their experiences of flirting with female passengers. They said that if a girl gives a little bit of smile in response to their conversation or physical touch, this is the starting point of any relationship. Many women said that often drivers and conductors and other men, misread their intentions when they smiled and would start teasing them. One female respondent said that “I was thinking about a pleasant incident in our class and started to smile while recalling it. I was not aware that the driver had said something to me, when I realised he already had put his hand on my leg. I was shocked and immediately get out of the van”. Another female gave her complete story in which she became the victim of such miscalculations:

Faiza Ambreen, 36 years, housewife

I am a mum of four, two girls and two boys. My husband is an engineer. I am a very bold and straight forward woman; you might have an idea by now through the way I am making conversation. There was an incident that I am going to share with you and I am pretty sure that will help in your research.

I was enrolled in Masters, but could not complete it as a regular candidate but did it as a private candidate after my marriage. I used to take one van from the *chowk* (square) of our street until the National University of Modern Languages (NUML). You know what, if I missed the university bus then either I had to stay at home or change three vans to reach university and by then miss two classes. NUML is very far from the city and no regular public transport goes there. I was living at Kurri Road with my parents at that time. I was leaving my home daily around 6:30am to catch a van which would drop me at bus stop around 7:15am. Otherwise I had to miss the bus. Anyways, I was daily travelling in different vans but I always preferred sitting in front seat. I never noted that it was almost a week that I was getting the front seat very easily. Interestingly, it was the same van. I noted it the first time when the driver spoke to me after a week or so, he said that I have repeated the same dress that I last wore on Monday. Oh my God it was very shocking to me. I asked how did he know? He replied that I was travelling in this van from the last 10 days. And he then explained that he did not let any other female sit in the front seat because he knew that it was time to pick me up and he left the seat vacant for me. It was a surprise for me, a bad surprise, but I kept silent.

Next day I was not feeling well so I took leave from the college. And when I went to the bus stop the following day, he was there waiting for me, he opened the front seat gate and asked me to “come and sit in”. I sat in the van just to avoid other people watching all this, because this stop was very near to my home. You know what, I decided that it is okay to talk to him for a while, it will not make any difference to me and I will be getting a front seat every day without waiting and I will not miss the university bus as well. So daily I was just coming in his van. He kept on talking during the travel, I sometimes replied to him and sometimes kept quiet. He thought that

I was a moody person. But somehow he decided to propose me, Oh my God, my wrong decision. I should not have travelled in his van from the day he was keeping the seat reserved for me. Anyways, when he proposed to me I straight away told my mother, my other blunder, and she stopped sending me to the college.

After some days the van driver came to our home and asked about me. My family abused him and threatened to call police if he did not leave. All the neighbours also watched this and this incident broke my father's trust in me and then he decided to marry me off to my cousin (my husband now). We have a good relationship and now I drive my own car. I have decided that I will never let my girls travel in public transport and I will teach them driving as well.

Although the above story seems very uncommon and exceptional, fake friendships between females and van drivers are not uncommon in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. This is due to the fact that only two seats in the front are reserved for females and during the peak hours women don't find any vacant seats. But if you become a 'friend' to a driver, he will make sure that the seat remains vacant until your bus stop. As seats are in the control of the driver and conductor, they decide which passenger sits where. This becomes irritating for some, as one respondent said that:

Once me and my friend were travelling from F-10 to Quaid-i-Azam University in a van, the conductor started teasing us. This was a long route and he asked us time and again to change our seats. We were sitting in the front seat and were made to move back to the back. Then he asked us to go back to front seat. We repeated this exercise four times. This was so annoying and difficult for us because sitting in the front seat is not easy as you have to slightly jump to get in (Jamila Ishtiaq, 26 years, student).

When talking with drivers of public transport, four out of eight said that they can judge a woman from her outlook what kind of woman is she, whether a 'good' or 'bad' one. So the people who are responsible for taking women from one place to another were stereotyping women on the grounds of mobility and the way they dress up and how they look like. This seems that stereotyping women on the basis of physical appearances and labelling, which was common during the 1970s and 1980s when the state media projected the image of a good women as "domestic or domesticated, and blamed 'other' publically visible women (particularly working women) for the disintegration of family" (Shaheed, 2010, p. 859), still continues to exist.

Some women respondents further said that not only drivers and conductors of public transport harass them, but male passengers as well. Men rush to try to catch vans at bus stops and in this process sometimes bump into women. One female respondent said that

In mini buses, women's compartment is very small and that too is occupied by men most of the time. Sometimes conductors ask them to vacate but during rush hours men become annoyed to spare their seats for women. They talk loudly and negatively about women, for example, "what is the need for women to travel?" "all the jobs are taken by them and men are unemployed" (Nasreen Ahmed, 45 years, school teacher).

There was also a feeling among women that mostly they go out because of need, and men make "use of this women's *majbori* (need). The male passengers and drivers treat woman as *shughal* (fun) and don't realise the tough circumstance she might be in" (Alia Malik, 37 years, nurse).

6.5 Safety Concerns and Fear of Harassment

Safety and fear of being harassed in public space were very important concerns for women respondents. These concerns were raised mostly by working women including students, professionals, administrators, and women

vendors. All of the women respondents agreed that these concerns impact on their decisions to travel in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. In extreme cases, women had to quit their jobs or studies because of the concerns related to harassment and safety. The following case highlights this point.

Mubeen Khan, 28 year, computer operator

I am a computer operator. I am happy that I have something to share with you. I hate public transport, all kinds of public transport. I think all women who go out should have their personal transport. Women are subject of men's discussion in our society, I am talking about this in negative terms, and what if men see a woman alone availing the public transport?...Oh My God, Allah save us from dirty eyes of men. You know I used to read in newspapers that taxi drivers kidnap girls, I always had a thought that these incidents were newspaper-based only, just to sell their newspapers they do 'juicy' stories.

But this happens. Allah saved me from getting raped, really, really because I trust Allah that He won't get me spoiled, He will never leave my side in bad situations. That day was so horrible, even now when I recall it, I start trembling. Let me explain: I used to travel in small suzuki (a minni-van used as an informal transport with the capacity to carry 10 passengers) from my home to the main bus stop. There I changed to a van or to a shared taxi or sometimes to university bus to get to my office. One day we had a farewell party for one of my colleagues who were going to the USA for studies. So all of us were well dressed up, like you know as in parties. I was wearing a scarf (head covering) and a nice outfit with a light touch of makeup. I noticed that day four boys were following me when I was walking to my office from the bus stop. You know women do have a sixth sense to feel someone's intention. Anyway, I was not scared as this was happening from the last few days. The only change was four boys instead of two on that day. This made me scared and when I was

walking to the office, I noticed four boys in a car approaching towards me from behind. Oh my God...I started screaming loudly and started running. Thank God by that time my office guard saw me running and he fired in the air. The boys left but I never went to the office again. I did not even share this incident with any of my family members because they would not let me go out of home again.

This incident caused Mubeen (in the above story) to leave her job. Although she found another job she never used public transport to go to her new office. Her new office was near to her home and her father or brother transported her in the family car.

This story is not uncommon in women's discourse on fear and safety while travelling in urban areas of Pakistan. There are different manifestations of this issue. The following are some excerpts from interviews of women respondents showing women's fear and lack of sense of safety in Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

Humaira Ali, 25 years, Student

It is very humiliating for girls to travel in public transport. Sometimes it serves as a major location to flirt with and exploit females. One day I got off the van, a car stopped near me and the driver of the car said he can give me a lift. I said I don't need it but he insisted and said that he can daily give me pick and drop facility if I will be his friend. This friendship was having a relationship for sex purposes only. He then said that if I will not accept his offer he will kidnap me. I ran from the spot and could not go to my office for three days. Then I asked my father to drop me, although I don't like to bother my father in his old age.

Kousar Tabassum, 28 years, receptionist

Once I was walking to Bari Imam from my home (QAU colony). One person gave me a lift and said he will drop me at Bari Imam. He was very handsome and good looking. I said ok. He did not stop the car at

the Bari Imam stop. I asked him to drop me there but he took me to Awan e sadr (next stop), then I opened the door of car and started shouting. He then stopped the car and I went out.

Naveeda Faheem, 23 years, student

I go by van as I can't afford to go in a taxi and also don't have a car. I have to face different kinds of problems while travelling in vans. Boys follow when they see a single girl. Once a boy started following me on his motorbike, even when I sat in the van he came along my side and gave gestures and asked me for my contact number. Then he said *otar jao mein hun na* (connoting a famous dialogue of the hero in a hindi film, meaning get out of the bus and I will take you where you want). The driver of the van noticed, he stopped the van and started beating him. The police came and then they settled the issue. I was so frightened to see all of this. But still I have to travel on vans as there is no other way I can go to my office.

Rahima Shah, 37 years, beautician in a parlour

I run a small beauty parlour. Once I was running late at the parlour, which was located in a street in G-7/3, so I hired a taxi. After a short time the driver called someone and told him to meet him near the place of my beauty parlour. I became suspicious because that particular street was a little lonely and not busy. I asked driver to drop me first and then meet his friend. He insisted that he had to drop something to him on the way but I said you drop me first and then do whatever you want to do. But he didn't listen to me and took another direction. I became more worried and opened the door in the middle of the road. Anyways he had to stop in order to avoid an accident. I got out of the taxi and went back home by walking. It was a fearful experience.

Although these stories were mostly reported by young-aged women belonging to the middle classes (students, clerical-level jobs or small business women), nonetheless, this phenomenon was reported by many women in this research. All the women were very scared while recalling these incidents but importantly, they said that these incidents were good for their future dealings with men in public areas. They said that they were more confident now as compared to before these incidents. Furthermore, they noted that behaviour of men was not always bad. One female respondent said that she was helped by a male on her way back from her office. The person gave her lift in his car and also gave some food, which her children ate happily. Some van drivers also looked out for them as mentioned earlier in the case of Naveeda.

6.6 *Purdah* and Women's Travel

As noted in the previous chapter, *Purdah* is considered to protect women from the eyes of men, and serve as a deterrent to harassment. Variations were noticed among different classes of women in this study regarding their views on the importance of observing *purdah*. Mostly women from the professional class were of the view that *purdah* is not necessary. Two of the respondents from this class said that:

It doesn't really matter if you cover properly or not. I know many friends who do *purdah* and cover properly but men tease them as well. Sometimes, they are teased more as men are curious to see their faces (Nida Mirage, 33 years, College teacher).

Purdah cannot change the mentality of sick people, they do their bad acts to both, women in *purdah* and without it (Shugufta Ibrahim, 29 years, IT specialist).

Similarly, respondents from the low-income group were also not strict advocates of wearing *purdah*. However they all did observe a loose kind of *purdah*, where *chadder* (a long piece of cloth) generally is wrapped loosely around their head, neck and upper body. One of the respondents from this group said that "*jis ne haram khori karni hai os*

ne purdah nae daikhna” (whosoever wants to do bad, will not bother that you are wearing *purdah* or not).

On the other hand, the respondents from the other groups, such as administrators and small scale entrepreneurs swayed towards observing proper *purdah* in order to keep themselves safe. According to them, this is not only a social protection but also a religious obligation. Some other from these groups and a few student respondents felt that these requirements are restrictions. The following story highlights this point:

Noureen Rani, 22 years, Student

I live in Westridge, Rawalpindi. We are four siblings, three boys and one girl (myself). My father works in a bank and my mother is a house-wife. My mother is not educated and therefore she wants me to complete my Masters. But whenever I go out she asked Ahmed, my younger brother, to accompany me even when the place I am going is not far from our home. It is not that she does not trust me, but she thinks that this modern age has so many evils and if a girl is going alone people think that she is not of a good character or there is no one who cares for her.

In childhood we were living in a small town in Sialkot, where I finished my intermediate. There the school’s wall was adjacent to our home and I never had a transport problem and I never needed someone to accompany me. I always covered myself with the normal college scarf and none of my family members ever objected about my movements.

But ever since we have shifted to Westridge, Rawalpindi my mother gives me a big shawl to cover myself well whenever I go out. Once, you know it was very embarrassing, really embarrassing, I fell on the road because I could not see properly. Thank God my brother was with me then so he helped me to stand up, otherwise it was in the middle of road and vehicles were passing fast, I just had a narrow

escape from an accident. Even whenever I remember it I felt that I could have lost my life that day.

Now I study at Fatima Jinnah Women University, I am doing a BSc in computer science, but I don't think with such restrictions I would be able to do Masters. I would prefer to stop my studies and stay at home to help my mother with household chores. In future if I get married to a good person then I might decide to continue my studies and then maybe I will work too. I pray that I marry to a person who has his own car, so that I don't have to wait at the bus stops and also don't need a brother to accompany me everywhere. I wish I could have an independent life in future.

6.7 Attitudes of Family Members, Especially Males

6.7.1 Protection of females and their safety concerns

The case study mentioned above of Noureen Rani highlights the point that family members are very much concerned about the safety and security of their females. Most of the respondents said that their family members (including male and female) were worried about their safety, but also added that they let them go if someone goes with them, who can be a male member of the family or a couple of female friends. There were very few instances where respondents could go alone when and wherever they wanted to. According to some male family members, they were worried about the safety of their females because of the wide-spread problems, such as men's bad attitude, harassment at public places, lawlessness, terrorism, and inability of the state institutions to protect the public. So in these circumstances, men feel they need to take care of the women. Having said this, females think this an extra burden on their families and want more independence. One respondent expressed,

I work in a call centre. Sometimes I have to work till late in the night. In this case not only me but my family also get worried for my safety. I come by van and my father picks me up from the bus stop. Sometimes I seriously think that I should quit the job as there are so

much problems in travelling and in public places. Sometimes if my duty is in the evening then it is an added worry in finding a transport and asking my father to wait at the stop (Hadiya Mohsin, 26 years, call centre operator).

6.7.2 Double burden

Another dimension of the role of families in women's mobility can be seen in the double burden of women. This means if a husband and wife are both working in offices, it is the wife who has to look after the household chores including cooking and taking care of the children. One respondent said,

If we come home together from the office, my husband says he is tired and sits on the sofa and watches TV, but I put my purse on the table and go straight to the kitchen. You can imagine how it feels like (Nabeela Mailk, 31 years, university teacher).

In the above case, Nabeela was struggling to balance her work and household roles; there were few other respondents who said that because of these burdens it was becoming impossible for them to continue their jobs. In those circumstances they had to quit their jobs to do household chores. When there was a clash between their job and household work, families preferred their women to stay at home and showed little interest in their jobs.

6.8 Awareness about Rights and Reporting of Incidents

Most of the respondents were not aware about their rights in general. Forty five of the total fifty-two (almost 90%) female respondents were not aware of the law against sexual harassment. This law was passed in 2012 and covered sexual harassment of women at the work place and public places, such as bus stops, parks and markets. Regardless of their awareness about the law, the majority of respondents (80% of the total female respondents) said that they did not report any incidents of harassment, in public places or while travelling, to the police or even to their own family. The following stories are relevant to this discussion and sheds light on this topic.

Rohi Naz, 31 years, vendor

I am a regular traveller in public transport (van) because I cannot afford to travel in a taxi. I am used to verbal comments and physical touches of men while waiting at bus stops, travelling in vans, and walking on the street. I don't get bothered about these things [however] one day when I was about to take a van from Aabpara market stop [in Islamabad] one man groped my chest. It was so intense and painful that I started shouting at him, but he ran away. One policeman was standing there at some distance [there is police station by this bus stop]. I went to him and he asked if I wanted to report this incident. He showed a very cold response and asked silly questions: did you know the man before, what was his name, where can we find him? This was very stupid. Rather than finding the person and doing his duty, he was asking all the questions from me. I was so disappointed that I did not report the incident.

Marium Gul, 28 years, Student

I do my best to avoid men in public places. I try not to even make eye contact with strange men. Once there was a boy in our neighbourhood who used to annoy and tease me by passing verbal comments. I told my parents and brothers about him and they just went straight to his home and beat him. Also, my family asked me to stay home. They did not let me go to college for one year. After one year of consistent requests they let me join my college again, but they asked me to only travel in a taxi. Now I try to avoid men as much as I can and if something happens I don't tell my family.

These two cases highlight women's predicament about reporting an incident to authorities or to their family members. When I asked a police officer (referring to cases like Rohi Naz's mentioned above), he admitted that it was hard for police to trace these minor incidents of harassment. For him, this does not constitute any strong case

for harassment of women. Harassment, for him, was where sexual attempts of rape or rape itself were committed. According to him, these minor incidents cannot be traced because of lack of police resources. According to him, “we are already so over stretched. These incidents can only be dealt with by awareness raising and education”. Many respondents said that they cannot report cases against drivers/conductors as they mistrust the institution of police. Although, there were a few women’s police stations in Islamabad and Rawalpindi, most of the respondents regarded female police as indifferent as their male counterparts. Further, women respondents also said that they cannot speak out about incidents in their homes either. This was because their family members might become furious and put a ban on their travel. This was what happened in Mariam Gul’s case (mentioned above).

Summing up the above discussion on women’s transport, it becomes evident that women do face constraints on their travel in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. These constraints are largely due to the socio-cultural norms pertaining to women, which have repercussions for their mobility. While documenting these constraints on the one hand, the present research also considers women’s agency and the strategies women have employed to defy these norms. The next section discusses some of these strategies and the relevance of these strategies to women’s mobility in Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

6.9 Women’s Success Stories

6.9.1 Leading women in the transport sector

Despite the constraints discussed above, there are many instances where women are exerting themselves in all spheres of life and they can be seen more frequently in the public arena. For example, women’s labour-force participation has increased from 16.0% in 2000 to 24.9% in 2017 in the country (The World Bank, 2017). This increase is due to many factors, including an increase in the literacy rate, awareness about women’s rights, economic pressures and introduction of many women-friendly policies and laws (F. Ali, 2013). The increase of women’s labour force participation could also be seen in sectors which were traditionally considered as ‘male-only’ professions, such as the transport sector. Here, two stories of female professional drivers are discussed:

Zahida Kazmi, 60 years, Female taxi driver

I am the first female taxi driver in Pakistan. My husband died in the 1971 war with India. My children were very young and I wanted to raise them well. I started knitting and stitching clothes from home. Meanwhile, I also learned driving by requesting lessons from some family members. Then I joined a driving school as an instructor. My brothers and sisters were very well-off and they said that I should give my children to relatives as I was poor. They were right because some days we ate old bread and even had to sleep without eating, but I decided to raise them on my own.

The Prime Minister initiated a scheme to give taxis to deserving persons if they could pay easy instalments. This was named the 'Yellow cab scheme'. I wanted to get a taxi as I knew about driving and thought I can earn a living through taxi driving. But I had to give 18,000 rupees as a starting fee. I never had 18,000 rupees. I borrowed money from a trader on the pretext that I will return the money on a monthly basis (he gave me money with interest charges). I gave the 18,000 rupees to a manager here and he wrote my name on the top. He was a very nice man; he registered my car without charging extra money. When I took the car, I had no money at all, not even to put petrol in the car. He gave me 50 rupees to put some petrol in. I took the car home and my children were very happy to see the car. I got a Public Service Licence (PSL) after taking the taxi in 1992.

Once the Deputy Inspector General (DIG) Police saw me on the road and he became angry. His name was Abdullah Khan Niazi and he asked the Police to present me to him. In his office he asked 'why you are driving a taxi? A woman cannot drive a taxi'. I was fearful but said 'sir, you give me enough money for my 6 children, I will sit in my house and will not drive'. He was clueless after my answer. He let me

go but asked the police to inquire about my reputation in my neighbourhood. My neighbourhood said that I am very modest woman and just doing this work out of necessity. The people in my neighbourhood were very nice to me. They treated me as one of their family and also babysitted in my house when I was at work. Some cooked food for my family as well. This was a huge favour to me from my neighbours and I still admire them. Anyway, after his satisfaction, DIG-police allowed me to work as a taxi driver and also promised to help me in case of any trouble on the road. A few times, the traffic police stopped me just to annoy me and demanded bribes. I called DIG and asked the police to let me go. He was a really cooperative and nice person.

Later I started working at the airport. The manager at the airport was also cooperative. He preferred me when referring passengers to a taxi. I was earning good money and I returned all the instalments of the car in three years, instead of the prescribed 5 years' time. I was even made the chairperson of All Pakistan Yellow-Cab Association at that time. The attitude of other taxi drivers was not good at the start but later on they realised my situation. Apart from the drivers, most passengers never accepted me as a driver. They thought taxi driving was not right for women. Even some passengers proposed to marry me and said they will look after my children. Once I took an old man from the airport to a drop off in F-8 sector in Islamabad. He sat at the front seat with me. Usually I ask male passengers to sit at the rear seat, but as he was an old man I thought he would be of no trouble. He started to sympathise me about my tough circumstances that compelled me to work as taxi driver. I thought he was talking like this because he felt bad about my situation. But then he proposed to me. I was stunned to hear this. I stopped the car and dropped him at mid-way.

Overall, my experience as a taxi-driver is full of struggles and hard-work. I never gave up what I wanted to achieve. At the end of the day, this is my life and I believed I made right decisions. I never looked back when I started this profession and today I also own a taxi, though this is a bigger one. I am satisfied that I was able to send my children to school and now they are all married and leading a good life.

Asma Younas, 45 years, Female driver at Save the Children

I had some idea of driving but never thought to become a professional driver. I learned driving while I was in Karachi at my parents' house before my marriage. After marriage I came to my husband's house in Islamabad. We had very tough financial circumstances as my husband was not earning much and our family was growing. One day I saw a car of one of the driving schools in Islamabad. I just thought that it could be a profession for me as I know driving and I can work as an instructor. At that time there was not many women in this field even as instructors. I contacted the driving school and they agreed to hire me as an instructor. This was because the driving school was looking for a female instructor as many of their female clients demanded this. Although my husband had reservations that this was not a proper job for females, I convinced him by saying that I only have to teach females. He agreed in the end because my job could ease our financial difficulties. Over the period of time, I became very popular among the females of the city who wanted to learn driving. Sometimes, I taught driving to five females from a single household.

As the demand increased so did my work. The job was becoming very tough. I was instructing from morning till evening with very limited breaks. Meanwhile, my husband saw an advertisement in a newspaper regarding a female driver for UNICEF. He said 'why don't

you apply for this position?’ They offered a better salary and outlook so I applied. There were some 40 females who took the test, but only 2 were selected. Although I was not selected, I was happy for these two females as they were my acquaintances. Unfortunately they had to quit their jobs due to bad behaviour of male drivers and also due to regular travelling and longer stays in other cities.

Meanwhile, Save the Children also advertised for a female driver. This time I was selected out of 25 candidates. I have worked for them for the last 6 years. I did face a lot of difficulties in the start. The attitude of male drivers was not friendly rather it was hostile at times. There was only one rest room for drivers and I had to share it with them. They were not conscious of the fact that a female was sitting in the room. They smoked there and talked in very rough and bad language with each other and sometimes cracked vulgar jokes loudly. May be they were thinking I am not a modest woman as I am working in a male-dominated profession. There was absolutely no precedence of a female driver working in any organisation in Pakistan. This was very bad time for me. I started to avoid the rest room and stayed in my car as if I was waiting for a passenger. Our manager realised the situation and asked me to sit in his office during my free time. He was really a nice man and treated me as his daughter. Over the period of time, the male drivers have also accepted me as a driver and never bothered to tease me anymore. The attitude of other officers and staff members was very nice. The female staff was cooperative and demanded from the office that I should work with them. Male officers said that they found it hard to convince their family that they were travelling with a female driver. Some said that although their family understands, people in their neighbourhood gossiped about their traveling with a female. They could not believe that any organisation would hire a female as a driver.

I think our society has not accepted women in the role of a driver. Driving is still considered as a male-only field. Whenever I tell people that I am a driver most of them look at me in a pity and say to others '*Bechari...driver hai*' (Poor girl she is a driver). They think I am so helpless that I have to join this field. I always remember a woman who came to learn driving when I was instructor at the driving school. She was in full cover and belonged to *tablighi jamat* (sect of Muslims who preach Islam in a certain way-orthodox sunni). She said '*ap aurat ho ker driving k peisha mein hain?*' (you are a female and still you joined the driving profession?). I said 'your husband demanded that his wife should learn driving from a female instructor, how can you learn driving if I am not here to teach you?' She became silent and never talked to me on this issue again. Similarly, some people do appreciate that I am working as a driver, but in the same breadth they say '*koi aur nokri dhondi thi?*' (Have you searched for any other job?).

My family and husband supported me throughout my career. However, I have to look after my three school going children (2 boys and 1 girl) and have to cook for them. I am happy whatever space my husband has given to me for my own life. I believe women can do what men are doing. Every job is good if you do it in a proper way. I think there is a lot of potential for women to work as drivers. If women will start working as drivers, society will also accept this after some time. I myself convinced a lot of females to learn driving. They were poor and now they are working as instructors in different driving schools. They are earning a good amount of money to look after their families. Even at Save the Children, I taught driving to many women. Some of them are coming to the office on their own cars. Now I feel good in my role.

These two stories of women working as professional drivers in different capacities are very inspirational to a lot of women respondents of this research. Most of the

respondents (including drivers and conductors) were aware about the story of Zahida Kazmi and they applauded her courage and consistency in working in a male-dominated profession. One of the female respondents said that “we always make ideal those who are very high achievers in life, such as scientists, leaders, writers. Ordinary people struggling and making their everyday lives are no less than heroes. Zahida is inspiration to me as she fought hard in a male-dominated society”. Inspired from these examples, one of the national NGOs in Islamabad had started a ‘car-van leadership’ project in which they recruited women from low income households to give them professional driving training. They invited Asma and Zahida to give these women ‘ted’ talks on women leadership. They were thinking to link the trainee women to different organisations where they can work as professional drivers. The details about this project are discussed in Chapter Eight of this thesis.

6.9.2 Presence of women in public space

In the present research, almost all the respondents said that despite the problems they face outside in public spaces and while travelling, they feel more confident than before after going outside and travel by their own. They said that if they exert themselves they can make their family members agree on any issue, and this was not possible even few years ago. According to them, reasons for this change are economic. At present times, in most of the households, men cannot on their own meet the needs of the family and they really need help financially and women are providing this assistance. This is a great opportunity for women because most of the patriarchal values in Pakistan rest on the assumption that men are the breadwinners and should be given preference.

The following quotes are of a range of women when they were asked about their feelings regarding mobility, and its relationship to their empowerment.

If women feel problems while traveling outside, they have to face these for their better future because this is the only way they can become self-confident and stand on their own feet (Ishrat Rizvi, 34 years, receptionist).

A woman cannot become independent, confident and empowered unless she travels and goes out. Women living in their homes are like the ones living in a bubble. They don't really know the life outside of their homes (Aneeqa Riaz, 40 years, medical doctor).

Women should go out and work. This increases self-confidence and motivates them to solve problems by themselves. They feel independent and worthy of living (Beenish Hamid, 28 years, beautician).

Going out and travelling alone make women empowered. Circumstances might change and God forbid if one's husband dies, then she would be already trained how to act and work in worse circumstances (Dildar Rehman, 33 years, Govt. employee).

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted that in the patriarchal society of Pakistan, women face strong social values and norms that inhibit their ability to fully participate in the social and economic life of the country. These problems include misogynistic attitude of males including the drivers and conductors of public transport, social norms pertaining to women going out, safety and fear of harassment, teasing behaviour towards independent women and restrictions imposed in the name of female segregation. From the discussion it becomes clear that women in Rawalpindi and Islamabad are not only facing societal attitudes but have to tackle structural inequalities in the form of a bad transport system and mistrust of state authorities.

Besides these problems, there is promise as many women working in the urban areas of Rawalpindi and Islamabad seemed highly motivated and eager. Almost every woman interviewed for this research said that women should travel and instead of staying home should participate in public life. They also said that this is not an easy task, keeping in view the socio-cultural and religious values of people as well as the

misogynistic attitude of men in the public areas. Another important point to note is that they said travelling and also confronting problems head-on made them feel independent and empowered. Although full empowerment is difficult to achieve as whatever income they earn mostly goes into male hands in families, the social values are changing subtly in favour of women because of economic pressures.

In addition to socio-cultural values, the spatial structure and design of the built environment also impact on women's travel in cities, as shown in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: IMPACT OF SPATIAL STRUCTURE ON WOMEN'S TRAVEL IN ISLAMABAD AND RAWALPINDI

7.1 Introduction

This was her idea and she herself volunteered for it. She wanted us to see and experience that the city was not designed for women. Hameeda was very outspoken about women's travel issues and appreciated our research. She asked us to come to a restaurant for the interview when it was her off-day from the call centre where she had worked for the last 2 years. We were sitting in a restaurant at Murree road in Rawalpindi that she said "let's sit in the park outside and you can observe [what happens to us] yourself". She went with my research assistant in the Liaqat *bagh* (park) and asked me to observe from some distance. Both, my research assistant and Hameeda were wearing a headscarf over their dresses. They sat on an empty bench under the shade of a tree. It was around 30 degree centigrade in the month of April. There were many men in the park, sitting, resting and a few, sleeping. I did not see any other women in the park at that time. I observed that almost all the men sitting in the park looked at them in a strange way as if something unusual had happened. Some passers-by made verbal comments as well. After some time we started walking along Murree road. Hameeda said, "I don't know if the city is designed for men or women but at present men don't give any space to women. You look at parks, footpaths, bus stops, buses, vans, and you will realise these are all men's property. Women can only walk through them, use them but they are not for them. There is no place where I can just sit, relax, and be myself". While we were walking on Murree road, she mentioned another dimension that "you will not even find any public toilet in Rawalpindi or in Islamabad for women. Sometimes I feel that women do not exist in the eyes of men. They are just a by-product". After the interview I reflected and realised that I never thought about these issues before, especially the public toilets. I intentionally searched for toilets and found a few but these were so filthy, dark and surrounded by men that no woman would dare to go there.

The above issues raised by Hameeda during her interview highlight that the spatial structure and design of a city, along with socio-cultural issues, has an impact on women's everyday life including their travel. This chapter addresses these concerns with regards to women's transport in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. By doing so, it presents the findings in addressing the second research question, which is, how does spatial structure, such as urban form and characteristics of the built environment, impact positively or negatively on women's transportation patterns? This chapter highlights that urban form, that is, structure and facilities of areas/suburbs in a city setting, has varying influences on women's travel. This influence results from a range of factors, such as quality of facilities for pedestrians, availability of and access to public transport, the nature of public spaces such as bus stops and parks, and safety and security concerns.

The chapter starts by providing an overview of the spatial structure of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Then key features of transport planning in terms of spatial structure, such as roads and flyovers, walking spaces, and nature of public transport, are presented. Travel patterns of women and men based on their experiences is discussed in the next section. The final section outlines a few cases related to people's agency in terms of creating innovative solutions to transport-related problems.

7.2 Spatial Structure of Islamabad and Rawalpindi

Islamabad and Rawalpindi are referred to as 'twin cities', as they are adjacent to each other and people commute within and between these cities on a daily basis. However, their spatial structure is different. While Islamabad was built on modern town planning principles of low density urban population and mixed land use, Rawalpindi is a historical city which was built on the lines of strong social networks and higher urban density. In this section, the basic facts about these cities and their respective spatial structure features are presented.

7.2.1 Islamabad

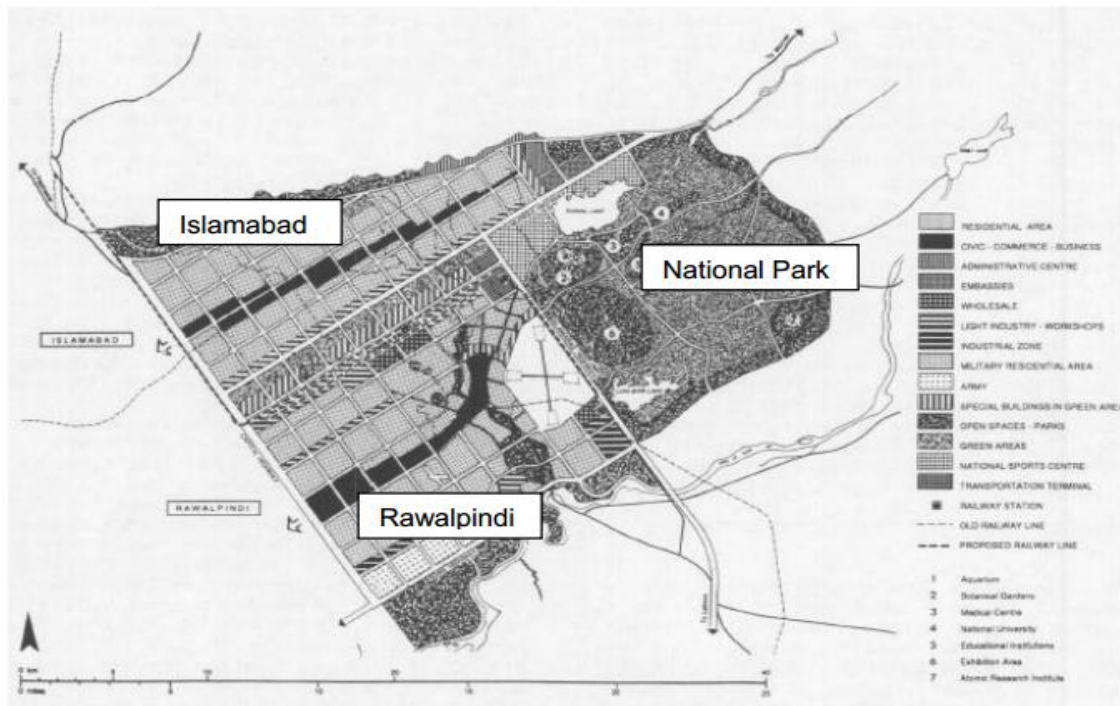
According to the 1998 census report (the last government census), the total population of Islamabad was 0.8 million with an annual growth rate of 5.67%, which was the

highest in the country (Government of Pakistan, 1998a). The present day population of Islamabad is estimated to be 1.4 million (United Nations, 2016). The literacy rate of Islamabad is 87%, which is also the highest in the country (Government of Pakistan, 2007). This could be due to the fact that this city attracts, mostly, the educated class of the country because of the concentration of public service jobs. Owing to being the capital city, Islamabad hosts big markets as well as educational institutions. Women not only study at these educational institutions but they also make up part of the workforce, mostly in the service sector.

Islamabad is one of the examples of modern urban planning undertaken shortly after the formation of the new state of Pakistan. A Greek architect-planner, C.A. Doxiadis, was entrusted with the responsibility of designing and implementing this project. According to Daechesel (2013), this project was a result of years of lobbying work by Doxiadis in Pakistan, in which international players, such as Ford foundation, were closely involved. The plan was initially envisioned in accordance to 'Ekistics' or 'science of human settlements' (Daechesel, 2013, p. 90).

Doxiadis used two planning principles to design the capital city. One was the separation of communities of different order or 'scales'. In Islamabad's case, he proposed to divide the city into different 'sectors', self-sustaining and rectangular in shape, each inhabiting 20,000 – 40,000 people surrounded by fast roads (Islamabad the capital of Pakistan, n.d). The second famous principle of 'dynapolis' was the placement of the city centre in an expanding axis (also known as the Blue Area). In this principle, the sectors were "grouped at a single distance alongside this axis, meaning that while the centre itself grew into a certain direction, new sectors could be added without increasing the distance between them and the centre. This would ensure that a city like Islamabad would be immune to gridlock even as traffic density increased" (Daechesel, 2013, p. 96). (Please see figure 7.1 for the original master plan of Islamabad).

Figure 7. 1: Original master plan of Islamabad 1960

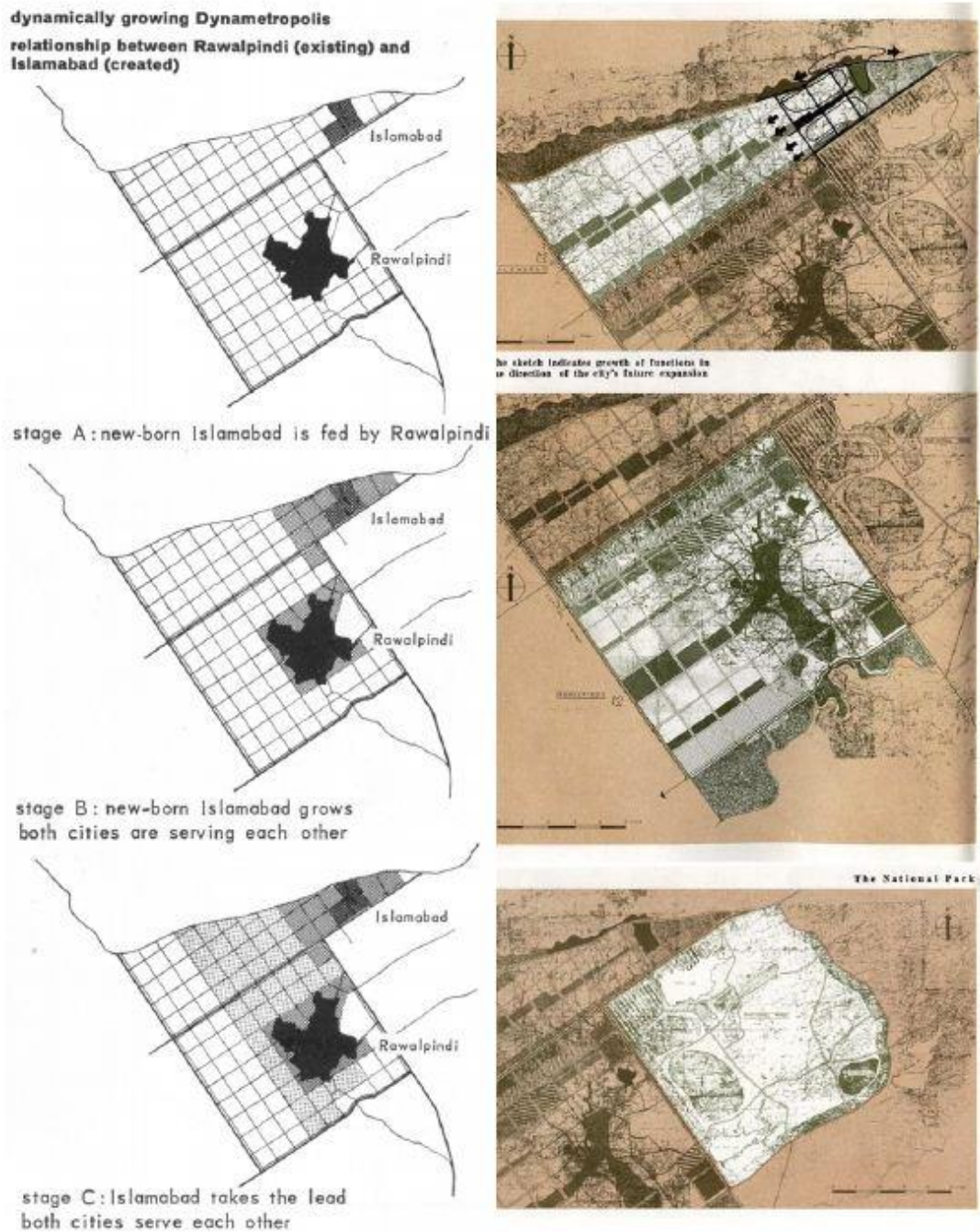


Source: (Doxiadis, 1965)

Although Doxiadis himself insisted that Islamabad was to be a city for everybody, he soon “became complicit in hiding the fact that Islamabad was little more than a large colony for government functionaries” (Daechesel, 2013, p. 100). It could be said that Doxiadis’s ekistics philosophy was ‘misplaced’ when it entered into the Pakistani context, and it became as “Pakistan Ekistics”, which stands out as a “true and faithful representation of what post-colonial development planning was all about” (Daechesel, 2013, p. 103).

It is important to note that Doxiadis included Rawalpindi in its initial plan as an auxiliary city meant to develop alongside the capital city. It was also envisioned to provide for the needs and support to Islamabad while it was being formed, the role that Rawalpindi still performs by providing affordable amenities and residences to those working in Islamabad (Moatasim, 2010). The relationship between Rawalpindi and Islamabad, as envisioned by Doxiadis, can be seen in the figure 7.2.

Figure 7. 2: Three parts of the metropolitan area and their dynamic growth



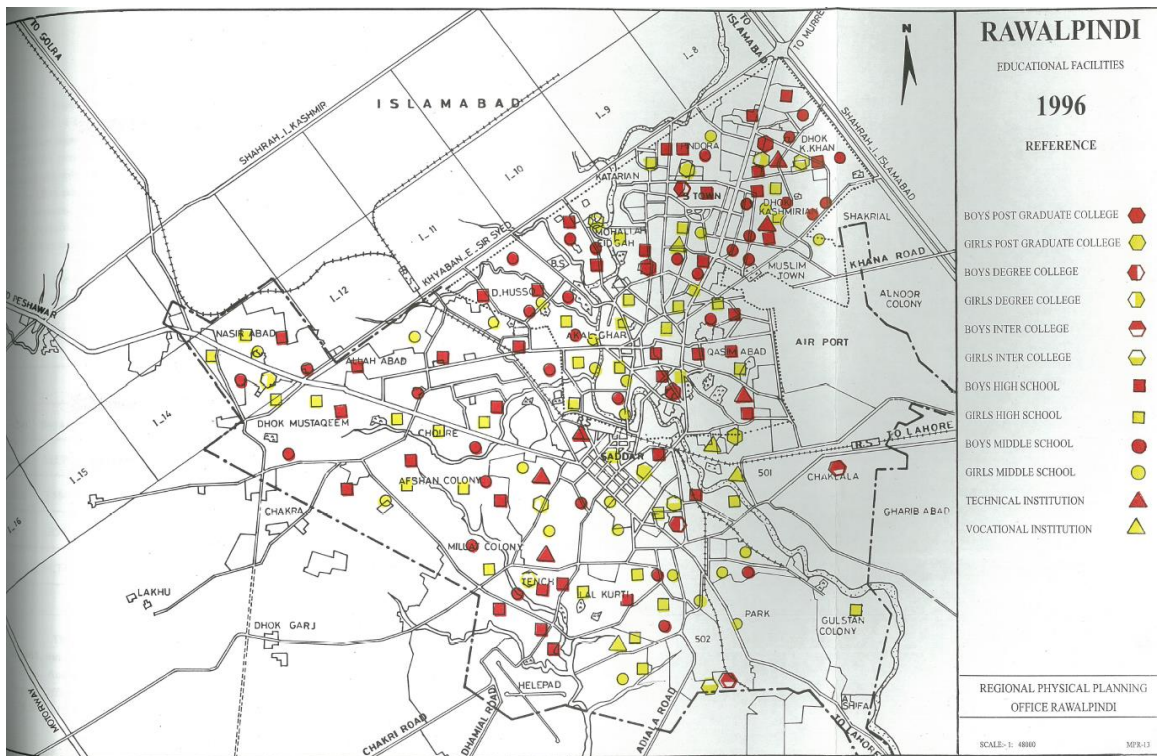
Source: (Doxiadis Associates, 1964, p. 467)

7.2.2 Rawalpindi

Rawalpindi is popularly called as *Pindi* in local language. The total population of Rawalpindi was 1.8 million in 1998 (Government of Pakistan, 1998b), which, presently, is estimated to be 2.6 million (United Nations, 2016). During the construction period of Islamabad from 1959 to 1969, Rawalpindi served as the national capital. Rawalpindi is

the military headquarter of the Pakistan Armed Forces. The literacy rate in Rawalpindi was 70.5% in 2006, which was higher in comparison to the overall literacy rate in the Punjab province (44.09%) (Waqar, 2006), but lower than Islamabad. This might be due to the fact that educational institutions are available with easy accessibility for boys and girls. Figure 7.3 draws attention to this.

Figure 7. 3: Educational facilities in Rawalpindi

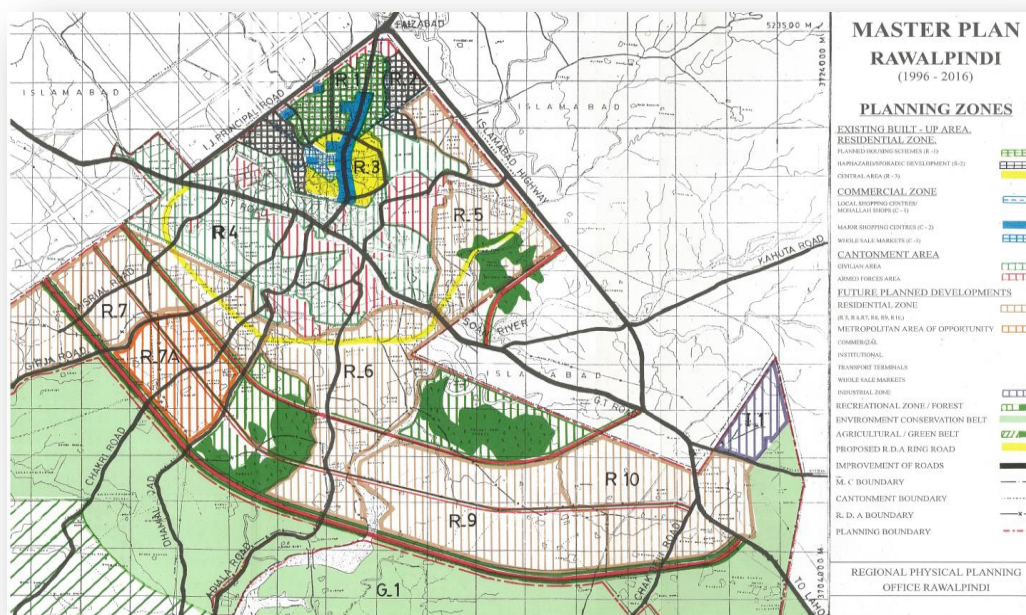


Source: (Housing and Physical Planning Directorate, 1998)

Rawalpindi is a historical city. It was a small town or a large village before the 1870s, located strategically on roads linking the Khyber Pass and Kashmir with the cities of Lahore and Delhi. At the end of nineteenth century, it became the military centre of British colonial forces for the northern areas. After the formation of Pakistan in 1947, Rawalpindi became the military headquarters of Pakistan’s Armed Forces. Because of this, Rawalpindi has dualism in its spatial construction: “the traditional city and the exotic cantonment, unplanned bazar in the old city, tidy rectilinear regimentations for the civil lines and the military” (Specht, 1983, p. 37).

Rawalpindi is rich in traditional, cultural and social values of the Potohar/Punjab region. Being a historical city, it developed organically. However, some attempts have been made to develop a master plan for the city in order to guide its development. According to the Rawalpindi Master Plan (1996-2016), mixed land use is predominant in the central areas of the city, consisting of Raja Bazar, Iqbal Road, Circular Road, Kashmir Road. This is also the main shopping areas of the city. There is no segregation of non-compatible land use related to the transport system, thereby creating congestion, traffic hazards and environmental problems. Due to the concentration of commercial activity and linear growth, issues include inadequate parking places, and poor accessibility due to encroachments on roads and footpaths. Further to the north are planned housing schemes, namely, Saidpur Road scheme, Satellite Town and Khayaban-e-Sir Syed. This is the only area where land use and building control regulations are followed to an extent (Housing and Physical Planning Directorate, 1998). The cantonment area is in the southern side of Murree road and main railway track, connecting the city with Lahore. There is mixed land use in the area but its intensity is comparatively less than the older/central parts of the city (Housing and Physical Planning Directorate, 1998). Please see figure 7.4 for different zones of Rawalpindi.

Figure 7. 4: Master plan of Rawalpindi with different zones



Source: (Housing and Physical Planning Directorate, 1998, p. 2)

In Rawalpindi, as in other traditional cities of Pakistan, people are accustomed to spaces for human interactions which stretch from an internal space (courtyard) to a neighbourhood (*muhallah*) (Mahsud, 2013). This implies that in traditional cities like Rawalpindi there is a lot of interaction between its inhabitants and they get to know each other across generations. This social bonding is significant when it comes to women’s mobility. Although traditional values can limit the mobility of women by providing a strict code, these also provide some kind of safety to women, which will be explained later in this chapter.

Rawalpindi is integrated with Islamabad, not in the planning sense as there are different organisational structures and Rawalpindi has been excluded subsequently from master plans of Islamabad (Aftab, 2008), but in a physical or social sense. As Islamabad is expensive as compared to Rawalpindi only people from upper or middle income groups can afford to live in Islamabad. As a result a large proportion of low-income workforce (30-40)% in government offices and in the private sector commute from Rawalpindi (Botka, 1995). This figure is likely to have grown because of further rise in the prices of residential plots and inflation in Pakistan.

As I was thinking about similarities and differences between Islamabad and Rawalpindi, the following (imaginary) dialogue between Islamabad and Rawalpindi came to my mind:

Islamabad: I know, I am known as your twin
But it is just a *serab*, an idea, a madeup fact,
To make you and your people feel better
Though this (named twin) drives me crazy, Insane
How could I and you be the same?

You were born centuries ago
And I am just a new name!
Look at my people, their lifestyles
They are elite, lavish, modern and famous
Look at my roads, footpaths, tall buildings,
To be your twin, it is just a shame

Rawalpindi: O my little, neat, nice fellow
I hope you are not too young to understand “old is gold”
You said you are uncomfortable to be “my twin”
I could have said the same for you,
But this won’t suit my age, my wisdom,
I won’t play the blame game
I don’t have tall buildings, and wide roads, and the infrastructure you’ve got
I know these things mean a lot to you
But I still have respect, norms, values and culture
I am glad in this age, my people have not forgotten,
No doubt, I have thin, long, dark streets, small roads, short buildings
And I am proud that my people still love to reside in these

Islamabad: This is not only about buildings, beauty, status
This is all about comfort and peace, and making my people at ease
This time, I am referring to the common person general public,

See how comfortably they can travel,
They have big shaded bus stops
My people walk neatly on the footpaths
They don't have to travel in *rickshaws*
Their smoke does not give my environment a disease

Rawalpindi: You won't win if you bring transport into it

My small roads, tiny, un-shady bus stops

They give my people, in particular, my women, protection

I know, my people have *rerrees* (moving stalls) and women don't find much space to walk

They don't have to be scared when walking on footpaths

I know my *rickshaws* are bit noisy and bit smoky for the environment

But I think for my people first

So they can live and earn according to what they can afford.

Source: Author

7.3 Transport Planning in Islamabad and Rawalpindi

7.3.1 Transport network

The main feature of Islamabad's road infrastructure is its grid pattern, comprising a width of 1200, 600, 300 ft. intersecting at right angles. The wide right-of-way is a strong identifying feature of Islamabad (Botka, 1995). Doxiadis explained that such a hierarchy and width is best suited for future traffic growth and a high speed traffic movement, which was why a wide street was proposed along with 50-100 yard green strips. According to Doxiadis (1965), there was no reason for the main roads to be curved, unless the form of the landscape compelled this. This could be seen in the original Master Plan of Islamabad in figure 7.1.

On the other hand, the road network in Rawalpindi is the result of organic development and represents a spider net structure. As this is not well-planned, in contrast to Islamabad, congestion is very common in Rawalpindi. This is also because

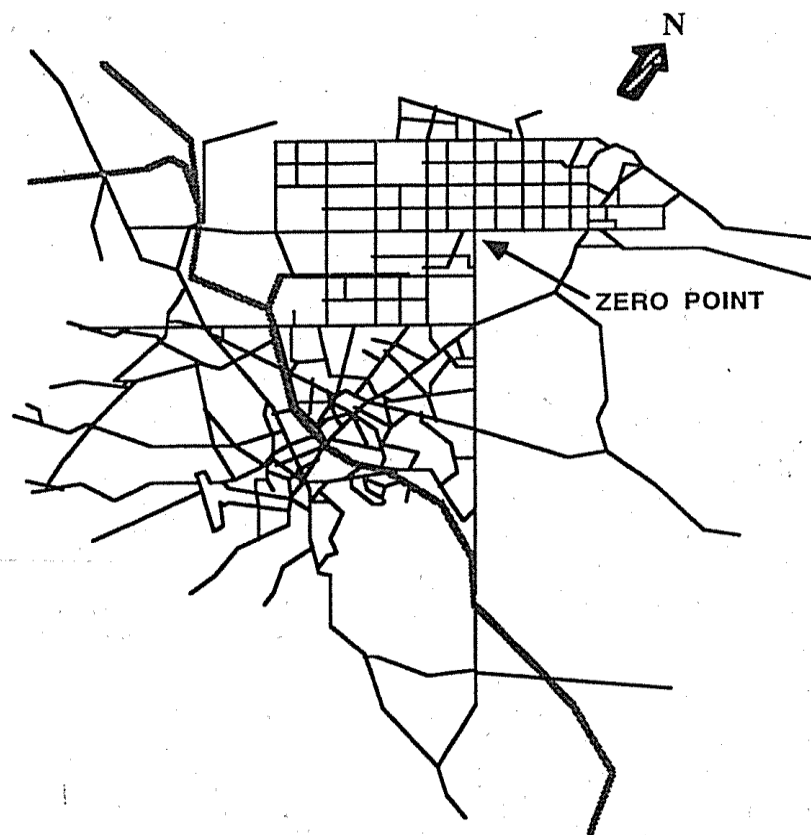
roads are narrow with diverse activities along their sides. The contrasting nature of roads network can be seen in figures 7.5 and 7.6.

Figure 7. 5: Road structure: Islamabad and Rawalpindi



Source: (National Transport Research Centre, 1995, p. III)

Figure 7. 6: Road structure: Islamabad and Rawalpindi



Source: (National Transport Research Centre, 1995, p. III)

7.3.2 Quality and nature of pedestrian journeys

There is a difference in walking pattern between Islamabad and Rawalpindi, linked to the differences in infrastructure provisions for pedestrians. In most sectors of Islamabad, walking tracks have been constructed. These walking tracks are connected with different sectors and also within each sector through sub-sectors, for example, walking tracks of sub-sector F-6/1 are not only connected to sub-sectors F-6/2 and F-6/4, they are connected to another sector, F-7. On the contrary, many of the areas of Rawalpindi lack any walkways/footpaths at all. The areas which do have footpaths are in very bad shape (some exceptions, however, are found in Cantonment and Sadder). There are open holes in footpaths, which make it difficult to walk especially for women (because of the restrictive clothing) and children. Furthermore, in Rawalpindi the footpaths are occupied by vendors and sellers of fruits and vegetables. In most of the markets, shopkeepers illegally occupy footpaths in front of the shop. They also rent this area out to vendors. In these circumstances, the distinction between a footpath and road becomes irrelevant. People walk in middle of roads while footpaths are being used for commercial activities.

There is also an interesting observation regarding the distinction between walking in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Women were rarely seen walking in Islamabad from one sector to another, alone or in a group, even though the city has well connected walkways/footpaths. When asked, most respondents said that they did not feel like walking because of the long distances from one place to another and also there was nothing on the way to see or enjoy. Others said that they preferred to walk through crowded areas. They were scared to go to isolated areas because of safety issues. In the case of Islamabad, the design of the city discourages pedestrian modes of transport. Even to walk from a house to the sector market was not common. According to some, Islamabad has divorced its people,

It is not a meeting place between people of different social origins, no powerhouse of economic opportunity and experimentation, no living space of strangers. Islamabad is a vast assemblage of socially segregated private or

semi-private spaces: the house, the shop, the restaurant, the car and the office. (Daechesel, 2013, p. 98).

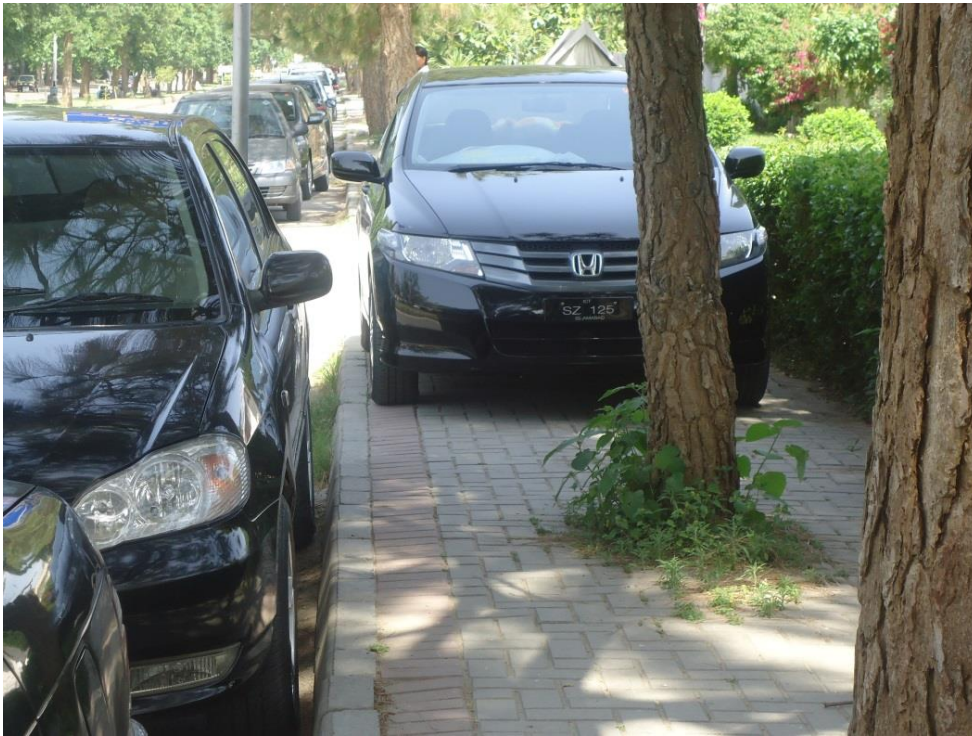
Contrary to this, in most parts of Rawalpindi, women were seen walking from one place to another despite the fact that the areas were mostly crowded. Having said this, the quality of walkways was not pleasant at all. The below pictures show the conditions of walkway/footpaths in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Figure 7.7 shows a woman walking on a narrow footpath in Rawalpindi, which has an open gutter hole and men standing on the footpath at some distance. In figure 7.8, the footpath is occupied by cars and no woman was seen walking on it. This was a typical footpath in Islamabad's residential sectors.

Figure 7. 7: A woman walking on a footpath in Rawalpindi



Source: Author

Figure 7. 8: A footpath in Islamabad occupied by parked cars



Source: Author

7.3.3 Road and flyover construction

In Rawalpindi and Islamabad road and flyover construction was commonly seen. With widening of roads and building overhead bridges and underpasses, the planning officials in the government try to solve the problem of traffic congestion. In reality, apart from serving the needs of a select few who own private cars, they add to the worries of ordinary people. Poor people especially poor women are badly affected by this, as noted by this woman.

People have so many private vehicles that no space is left for pedestrians. They (car owners) do not even show any concern or respect towards pedestrians. If pedestrians are standing to cross a road, they never give them a chance to do so. Pedestrians cannot even cross a road in this city (Ishrat Hussain, 45 years, domestic worker and vendor).

This was the cry of a woman who was holding a big load on her head and was trying to cross a road to enter into a market. When authorities start construction, little regard is given to construct an alternate route particularly for the needs of pedestrians. People

find their own way to cross a construction site, which sometimes is not straight forward, and they have to walk long distances. This increases the worries of pedestrians especially women. This disruption can be seen in figure 7.9.

Figure 7. 9: Pedestrians, including women, crossing a road construction site



Source: Author

The traffic situation is bad in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. In order to ease congestion, government has widened the roads and built overhead bridges. However, this has worsened the lives of pedestrians and poor people. Most able bodied persons including women don't use these overhead bridges: they would rather run in front of the traffic to cross the road in order to save time and energy, while other people such as elderly women and children have to climb up some 50 stairs in order to cross a road. This is not a pleasant moment for these women. I observed a few elderly women stumbling up the stairs with the help of other people. This can be seen in figure 7.10, where a few people are crossing the road and others can be seen to climb the stairs.

Figure 7. 10: People crossing road instead of using the overhead bridge



Source: Author

7.3.4 Condition of bus stops

Most of the women respondents said that the condition of bus stops was not good, both in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. According to them, bus stops mostly occupied by men, which meant women were not able to use them. It was observed that many of the bus stops in Islamabad were in good condition. They were covered and had seating arrangements; however, women avoid sitting in these bus stops alone due to safety and security concerns. On the other hand, many bus stops in Rawalpindi did not even have a structure. Most of them were open spaces where men and women wait for public transport. Some bus stops which had a built-up structure lacked basic facilities. They were devoid of roofs/shades and any seating facility. Some bus stops had become dumping places for waste and garbage, while others were occupied by vendors. Some of the images of bus stops, both in Islamabad and Rawalpindi have been shown in figures 7.11 and 7.12.

Figure 7. 11: Condition of bus/van stops in Rawalpindi



Source: Author

Figure 7. 12: Condition of bus/van stops in Islamabad



Source: Author

Women were facing problems associated with poor quality bus stops, and were battling harsh weather conditions for extended period of time while waiting for public transport. Besides, the attitude of male passengers while waiting at bus stops was not good. Many female respondents said that men pass verbal comments and harass them at bus stops. One respondent said that “men pass comments and try to touch us whenever they get a chance. Staring is the most common thing for me, if not touching: almost all men stare. Sometimes they stare so bad that I wish I could bury myself” (Noor Bibi, 25 years, Student). This can be noticed in figure 7.13, where a man can be seen staring at women in *niqab*. It was observed that he was doing this for more than 15 minutes while the female passenger waited to be picked up by a van.

Figure 7. 13: A man staring at female passengers at an open bus stop in Rawalpindi

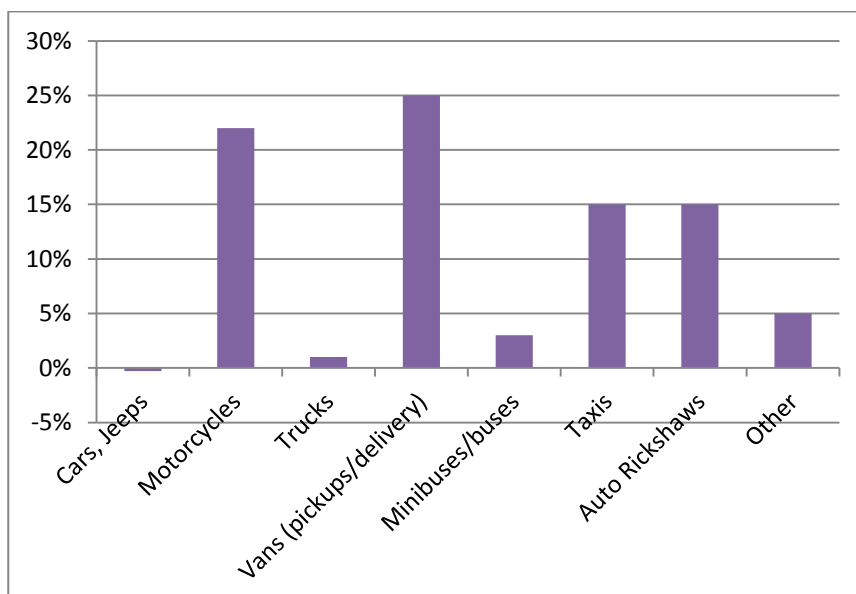


Source: Author

7.3.5 Public transport system

In Rawalpindi the public transport is diverse, ranging from vans, mini buses, taxis, auto-rickshaws (including the *chingchi rickshwas*), motorcycles and *carrys*. The type of traffic and its percentage growth from 2010 to 2013 is shown in figure 7.14.

Figure 7. 14: Vehicle growth rate in Rawalpindi



Source: (Bureau of Statistics, 2013)

The above graph presents the growth of different vehicle types in Rawalpindi since 2010. It shows that there has been a substantial increase in the number of pickup/delivery vans. This includes vans as well as pick-up vans (which are commonly called as *carrys*), however, the data does not make any distinction between the two. This growth is understandable as vans are the predominant mode of public transport in Rawalpindi, especially when travelling on relatively longer routes. The *carrys* or pick-up vans are also becoming a popular mode of transport in Rawalpindi. These are being used as taxis and to provide pick-up and drop-off services to professionals and students. Many women respondents (mostly students and some professionals) hired *carrys* for pick up and drop off service. On the other hand, there is no increase in the number of private cars and jeeps, rather there is a slight decrease of 0.3% in its percentage growth since 2010. Contrary to that, the percentage of motorcycles and scooters has increased by 22%. One of the reasons for this increase could be the bad public transport system in the city. Many of the male respondents highlighted this point. One respondent said that he bought a motorcycle out of necessity not out of fun. According to him:

I do not like to drive a motorcycle because it is not safe and every now and then I hear news of people being injured in accidents while driving motorcycles. But on the other hand the public transport system is worse; so I had to buy a motorcycle even though I didn't have Rs. 80,000 (NZ \$ 1,000) and I had to take a loan from my brother (Nabeel Ali, 30 years, office assistant).

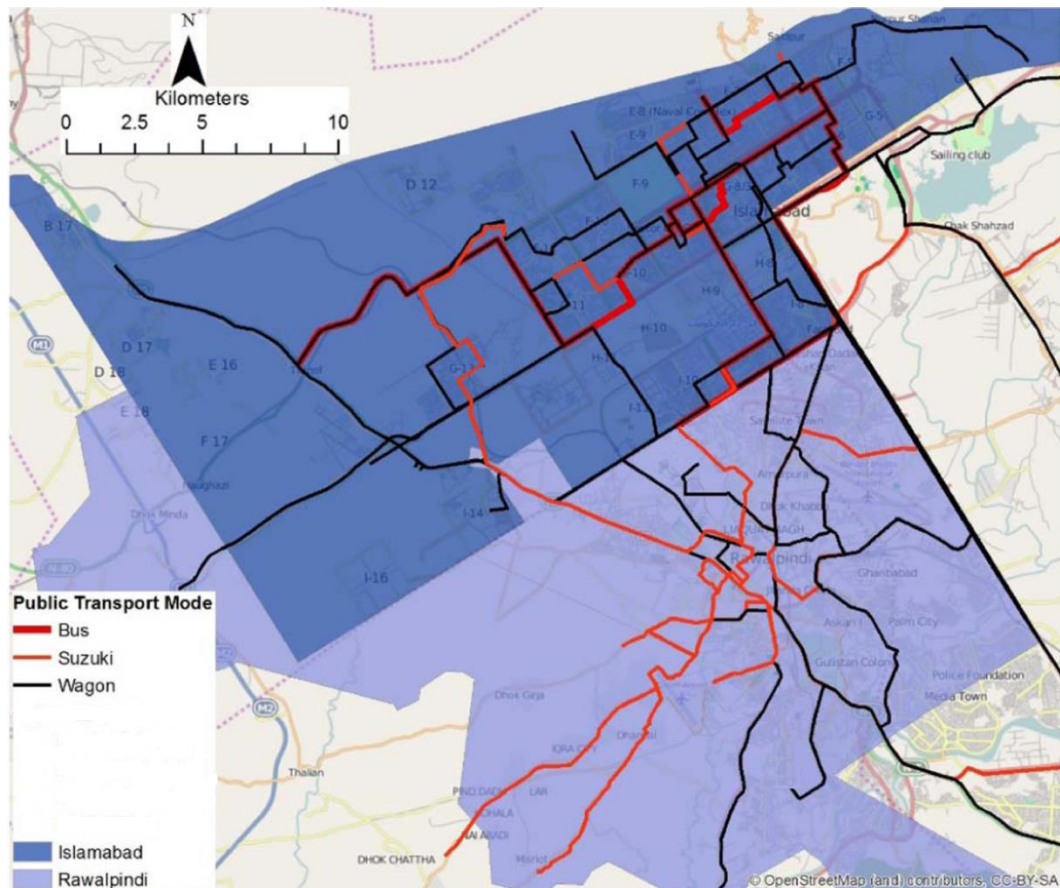
It is important to note here that strong gender differences prevail in Rawalpindi and Islamabad as far as women's driving of motorcycles is concerned. It is not culturally appropriate for women to drive a motorcycle, although women are seen sitting behind male drivers (mostly their brothers, fathers or relatives). Some regard this as a form of women's oppression and preservation of men's power: "if women were allowed to ride motorbikes just as men do, this would increase their mobility as well as their choices in life (jobs, shopping, friends, etc.)...putting limits to women's freedom to

travel was, therefore, invented to preserve their [men's] power" (Hoodbhoy, 2013a, para 9).

The graph also highlights a marked increase (15%) in the number of auto-rickshaws in Rawalpindi since 2010. Rickshaw rides are very common and popular among women in many parts of Rawalpindi. This is suited well to women's multiple responsibilities and the distinct nature of their travel, that is, a higher number of trips but of small distances. As many areas in Rawalpindi consist of narrow streets filled with people, *rickshaws* work better than cars or vans in such conditions. This point is further discussed in 'positive responses to support women's travel' section in this chapter.

Although Islamabad has a fully developed road network today (Capital Development Authority, n.d.), the public transport system is not well developed. This is almost totally dominated by the private sector with fragmented services carried out by different service providers. The public transport system comprises vans, mini-buses, Suzuki, and taxi. Although the Metro Bus Service was started by the government for the twin cities in 2015 from Saddar (Murree Road, Rawalpindi) to Pakistan Secretariat (through the Blue area, Islamabad), vans are still the dominant transport mode as they cover far more areas of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Adeel et al. (2016) in their article highlight different public transport modes and their coverage in Islamabad and Rawalpindi (see figure 7.15).

Figure 7. 15: Transport modes and their coverage areas in Islamabad and Rawalpindi



Source: Adapted from Adeel, Yeh, & Zhang (2016, p. 3)

The Metro Bus service provides a very good experience to women travelers. Many women said that they felt safe while travelling in Metro Bus, as one woman reported “The Metro Bus Service (MBS) had given her relief from the daily teasing remarks and glaring stares. She said the separate travelling area in the buses made her feel safer” (The Express Tribune, 2017, para 2). However, this service only serves a small proportion of female travelers, mainly those who work in professional jobs in Islamabad and who can easily access the Metro Bus Service.

Vans are perhaps the most important mode of transport especially in the absence of integration of the Metro Bus service with other transport modes and areas. In vans only two seats in the front are reserved for women, although they can sit in the back of van if they feel comfortable. Most of the respondents said that they did not feel good to sit in the back of van as there were greater chances for men to physically touch them. Women face more problems than men because of their socio-cultural position in

society and due to numerous expectations about them to behave respectfully in public places.

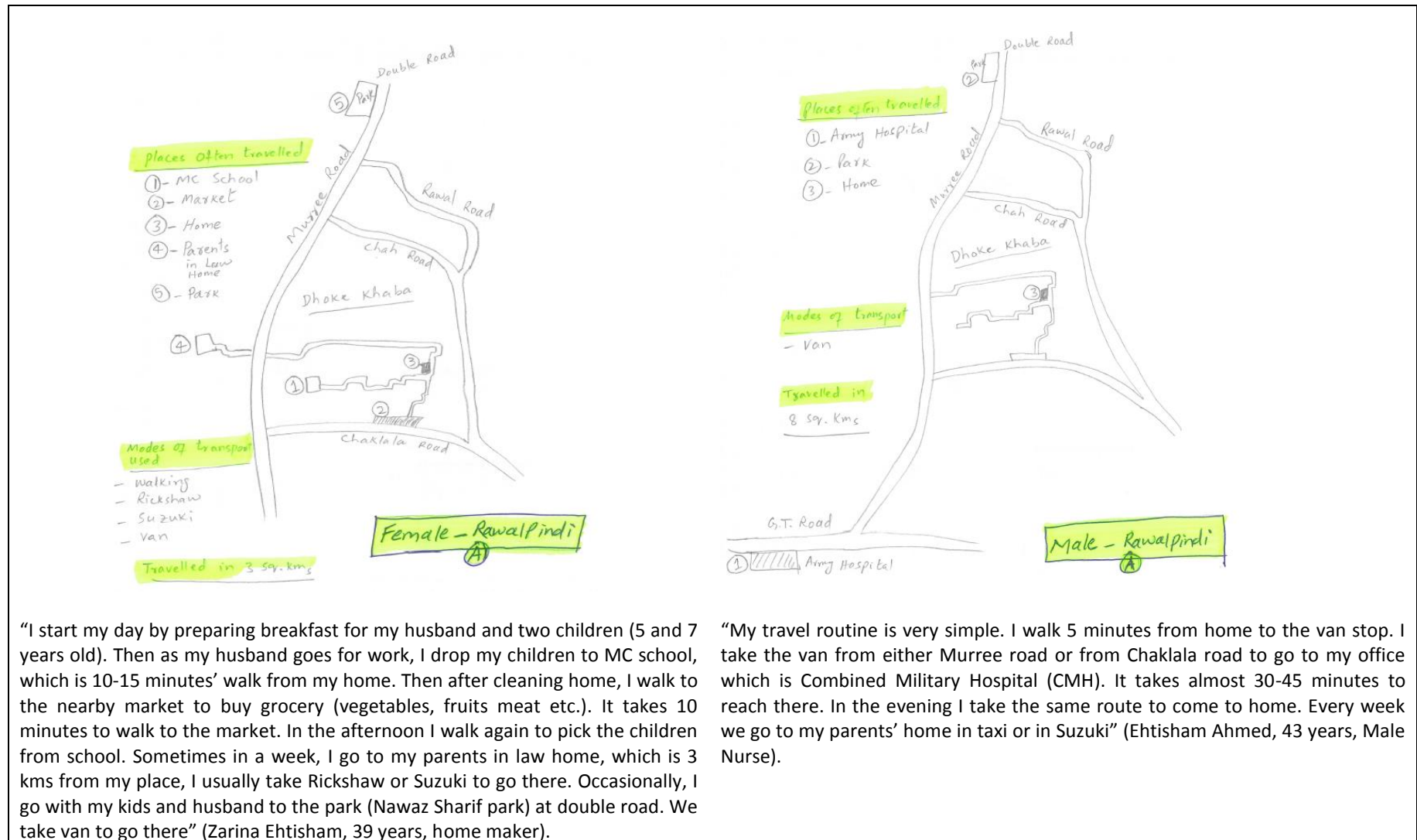
One official in the district administration in Rawalpindi acknowledged that travelling in public transport is very difficult for women. For example, he added that “in vans, drivers force three females to sit in the front seats where only two passengers can sit. This puts female passengers at the mercy of drivers who touch and harass them” (EDO Spatial planning, TMA Rawal Town, Rawalpindi). Although the official highlighted women’s travel problems, he laughed in a sarcastic way while making the statement above and then commented that “it is a driver’s skill how he handles and manages three females in a small place [meaning he will touch them and make them feel happy]”. This shows the misogynistic attitude of a male official towards women’s travel, and his indifference to the problems faced by women.

7.4 Women’s Travel in Rawalpindi and Islamabad

7.4.1 Mobility maps and women’s travel patterns

The findings of the present study also highlight that men and women have different travel patterns. Men and women from the same households were asked to draw their weekly travel pattern. Eight mobility maps (4 each from females and males) have been illustrated on the next pages (figure 7.16 to figure 7.19) for a quick view of how men and women have different travel patterns. The originals of these maps were redrawn by the researcher for easy comparison of male and female travel routes. Broadly speaking, men made longer trips but fewer in numbers, while women have shorter trips but high in number. This might be due to females’ overburdened responsibilities of a productive and reproductive nature (Peters, 2013). On average, women travelled in a 4 square kilometres zone, while men travelled in more than 10 square kilometres area. From the illustrations, it is evident that women used various kinds of transport modes, including walking, *rickshaw*, suzuki and vans, while men usually used one or two transport modes. In case of family cars, men used them more often than women. In many instances, women have to ask someone to accompany them when they travel due to socio-cultural and safety reasons, while men can go alone wherever they want to.

Figure 7. 16: Mobility maps of female and male from the same household – Rawalpindi (A)

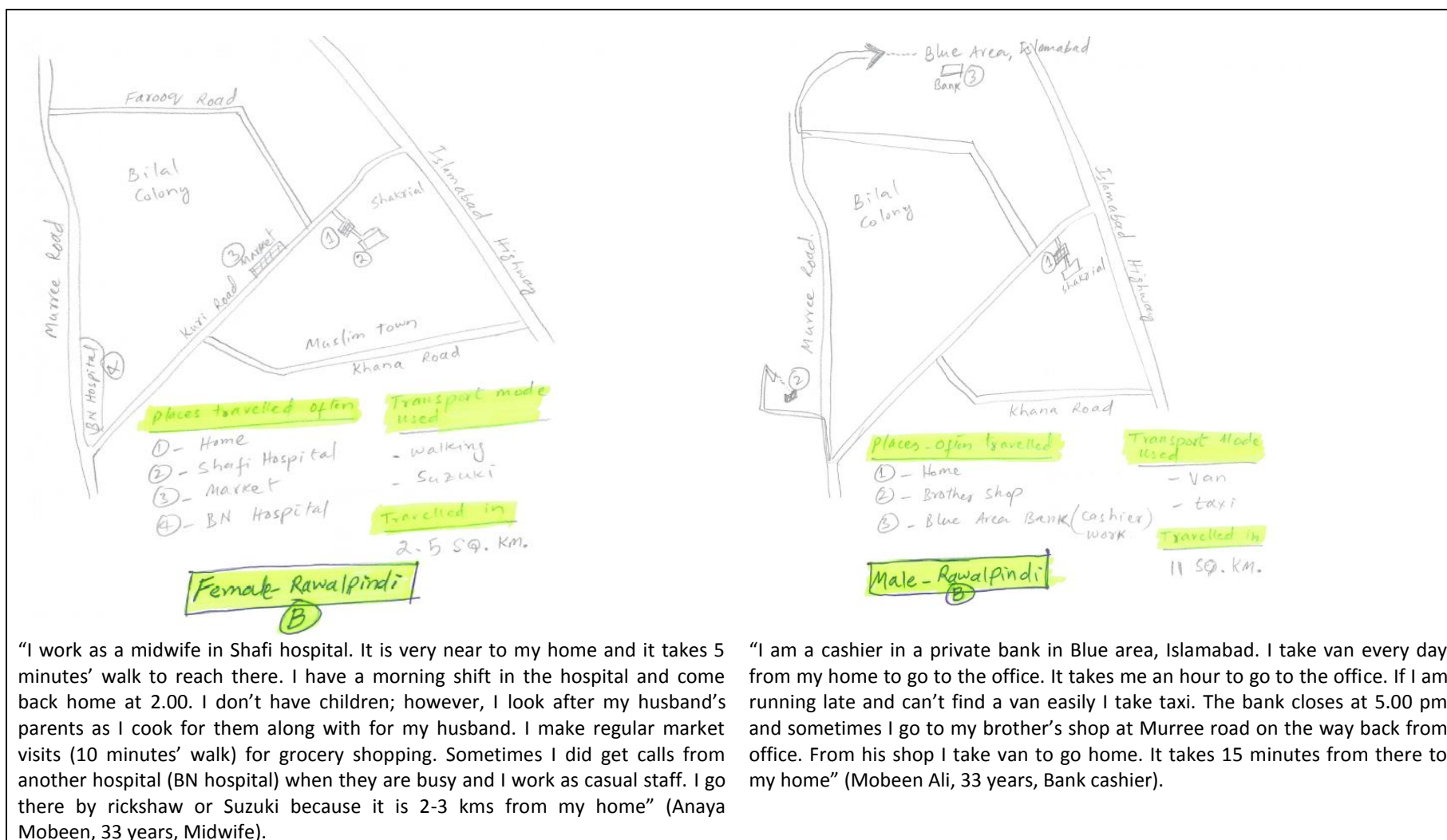


"I start my day by preparing breakfast for my husband and two children (5 and 7 years old). Then as my husband goes for work, I drop my children to MC school, which is 10-15 minutes' walk from my home. Then after cleaning home, I walk to the nearby market to buy grocery (vegetables, fruits meat etc.). It takes 10 minutes to walk to the market. In the afternoon I walk again to pick the children from school. Sometimes in a week, I go to my parents in law home, which is 3 kms from my place, I usually take Rickshaw or Suzuki to go there. Occasionally, I go with my kids and husband to the park (Nawaz Sharif park) at double road. We take van to go there" (Zarina Ehtisham, 39 years, home maker).

"My travel routine is very simple. I walk 5 minutes from home to the van stop. I take the van from either Murree road or from Chaklala road to go to my office which is Combined Military Hospital (CMH). It takes almost 30-45 minutes to reach there. In the evening I take the same route to come to home. Every week we go to my parents' home in taxi or in Suzuki" (Ehtisham Ahmed, 43 years, Male Nurse).

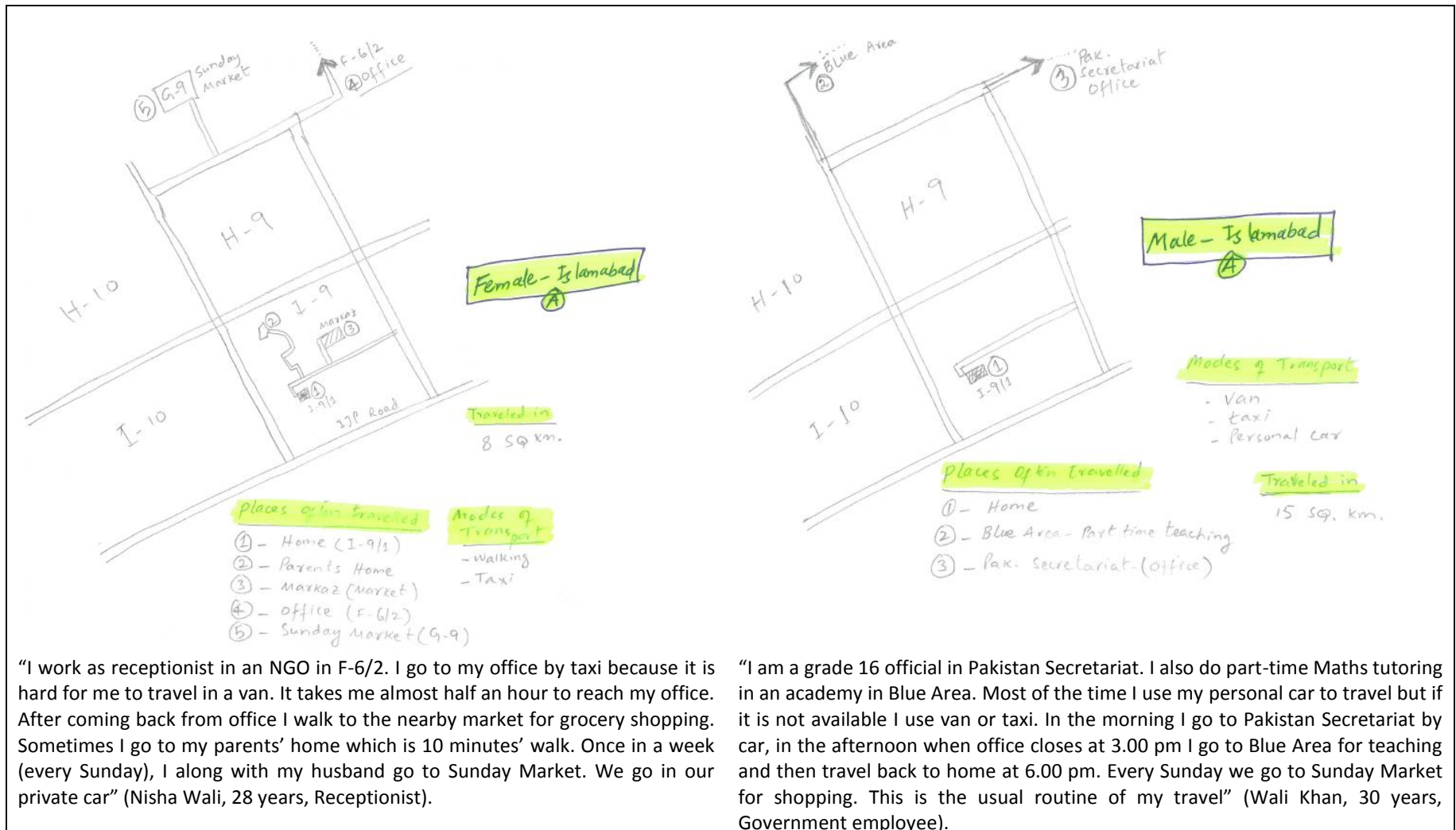
Source: Author

Figure 7. 17: Mobility maps of female and male from the same household – Rawalpindi (B)



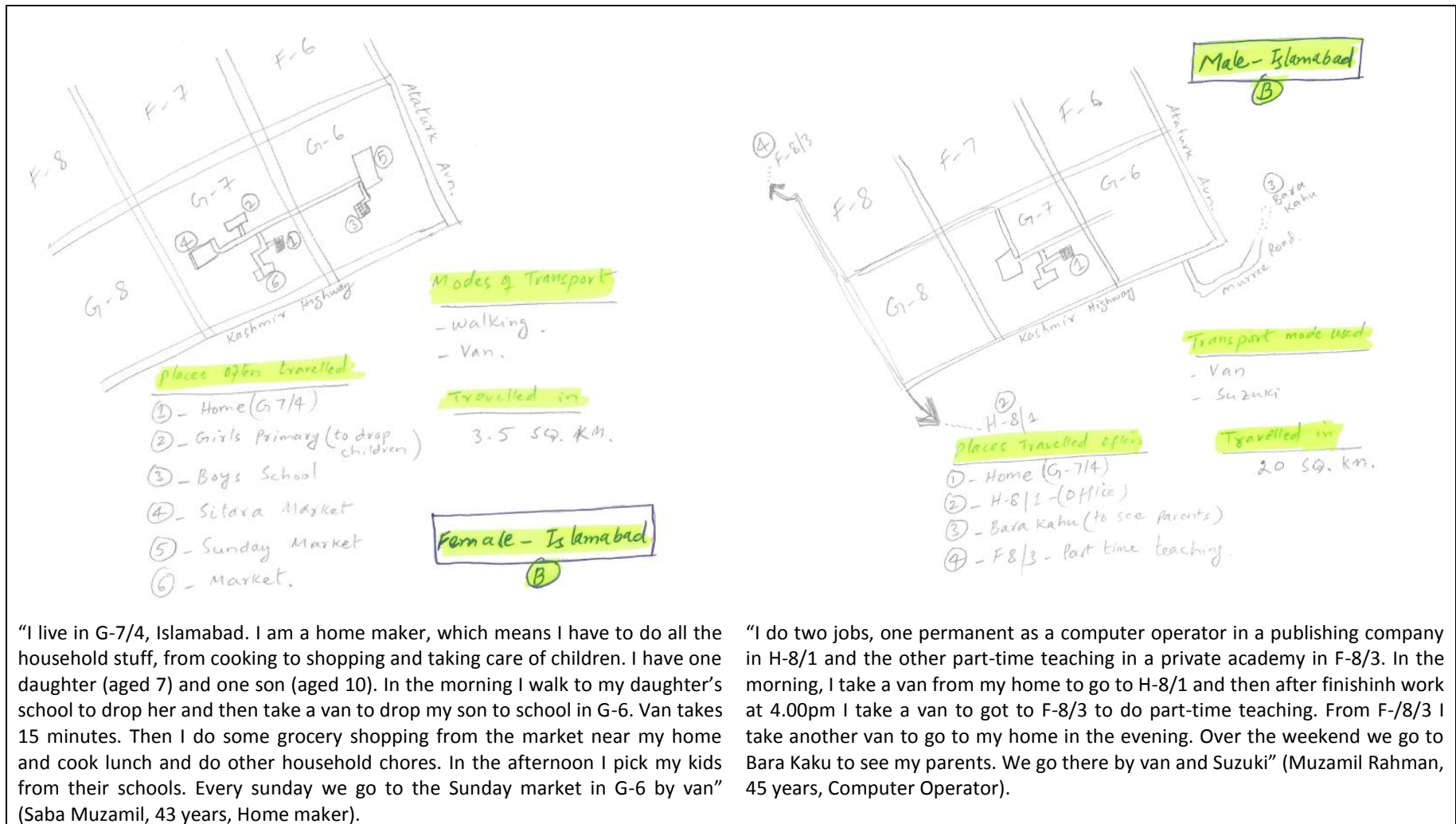
Source: Author

Figure 7. 18: Mobility maps of female and male from the same household – Islamabad (A)



Source: Author

Figure 7. 19: Mobility maps of female and male from the same household – Islamabad (B)



Source: Author

7.5 Women in Public Spaces in Islamabad and Rawalpindi

Harassment in public spaces was commonly reported by respondents. News of harassment targeting different groups of women, such as working women, school and college girls, is common in the Pakistani media (The Nation, 2009). As discussed in the previous chapter, women face harassment on public transport, where the attitude of drivers and conductors is also not good. The drivers and conductors try to flirt with them and touch them. Similarly, women face harassment issues in public spaces, for example at bus stops, in parks, markets and while walking along roads. Women frequently reported stares and offensive verbal comments by men in crowded areas of Rawalpindi, however, in Islamabad women's experience of harassment was different and they seemed really frightened while telling their stories. Due to low urban density and long walking distances, women felt particularly unsafe to walk in open spaces in Islamabad.

7.5.1 Verbal comments

Chasing and harassing women through verbal comments was very common practice in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. All women respondents said that they were harassed through verbal comments at one stage or another. Women experience these comments in public places, such as markets, streets, parks and while using public transport. According to them, they face verbal comments when they are alone or with female friends in a group of two to three persons. The comments range from somewhat restrained to vulgar. Some of the comments with their English translation are listed below:

Haseena dako (to women wearing *niqab*: 'beautiful robber')

Lal duplay wali laddo marka sabon (to women in red clothes: signifies a red soap used for taking a bath)

Kam ki larki hai ('this girl is useful')

Doodh peena hai ('I want to drink milk')

Yeh kanwari hai ('she is a virgin')

Dhoop mein na nikla kro roop ki rani ('don't go out in the sun, your beautiful skin might get dark').

Verbal comments were made by males at certain places, such as markets, bus stops, near colleges, and secluded areas. Sometimes, males do it just out of fun and they have no intention of extending any harm to females. Some male respondents said that they do it because females also enjoy this. However, Many female respondents said that they had to undergo this routine torture of being harassed in public spaces and in public transport. One respondent said that:

Every day I ready myself for the office. This also includes getting ready for the harassment. Someone will say something while going to the office [in public space or in public transport] such that I will feel upset the whole day. This experience and fear does not go away. It seems if it has become part of my very self" (Laiba, 30 years, office attendant).

However, sometimes these comments put females in a very awkward situation. One female respondent said that

I was travelling with my mother and we were wearing *niqab* then some boys started chasing us. They made different comments to us. They could not even see our faces. If I would have been with my friends, I might have not noticed but travelling with my mother and listening to these comments was embarrassing. I thought, what will my mother be thinking? (Shumaila Rashid, 23 years, student).

Women complained about an unfriendly, rather hostile attitude of drivers, conductors and male passengers in public transport. All the respondents who travelled on public transport said that they were physically touched on their bodies by either the driver or the conductor. Even some of the newspaper articles reveal that women passengers suffer more problems as compared to men due to the insufficient and poor transport system as well as irritating behaviour of male passengers and drivers (DAWN, 2011; Warraich, 2010).

7.5.2 Women's access to open spaces

Women's access to public spaces was restricted in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. As discussed with the example of Hameeda's story in the introduction of this chapter, women respondents felt that their access to open public spaces, such as parks, footpaths/walkways, bus stops, and public transport was restricted. This was because most of these places were occupied by men, and women felt reluctant to go there. This can be seen in figures 7.20 and 7.21.

Figure 7. 20: A view of a park at Murree road, Rawalpindi, only occupied by men



Source: Author

Figure 7. 21: A view of the bus stop near Saddar in Rawalpindi, only occupied by men



Source: Author

7.5.3 Safety concerns of women in open spaces

The issue of personal safety or the fear of being harassed in a public space is very central to the discussion on gender and transport. Women's sense of safety in certain spaces influences their "decisions to travel or not to travel in certain areas, at certain times, in certain ways (for example, in a group) or using certain modes of transport" (Buiten, 2007, p. 29). Women do have strong concerns for their safety and security. This was evident from their choice of particular transport mode in a particular area in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. As discussed earlier, women feel more secure walking in crowded areas than secluded spaces, although there might be risks of physical touch and verbal comments. The following stories illustrate this point.

Nasreen Zafar, 30 years, policy officer in an NGO

Life is very risky for working women in Pakistan, I would say. You never know that you will be coming home safely when you leave for the office in the morning. I don't know that this feeling exists in all the women around the world but I am sure in my country most of the women will agree with me, if not all.

One day I was not feeling well at the office so I told my immediate boss that I wanted to leave and get some rest, which he granted. Our office is in a street where it takes 10 minutes to walk to the bus stop. It was a very hot day in summer and I was walking from my office to the bus stop in F-8. I can recall the time as well, it was 2'o clock in the afternoon. As I left the office and came out I felt that someone was chasing me. I stopped immediately and looked back. But there was no one. I thought maybe it is something in my mind. Anyway, I continued walking. You know walking in summer this time of the day is really dangerous for girls. Because people do stay at home or in their offices in such hot weather. I was alone in that street and there was nobody nearby when suddenly two boys appeared from behind me and they stood in front of me and started talking to me. I felt really scared, I cannot explain my feelings. They said that they wanted to take me to

some place for lunch and they want to spend some time with me etc. But I did not show them that I was scared and I told them that today I am not feeling well, you can take my number and can call me later and then we will decide later where to go. So they took the number and left. I was about to faint with fear. Then I just hired a cab and went home. From the next day onwards I went home by taxi.

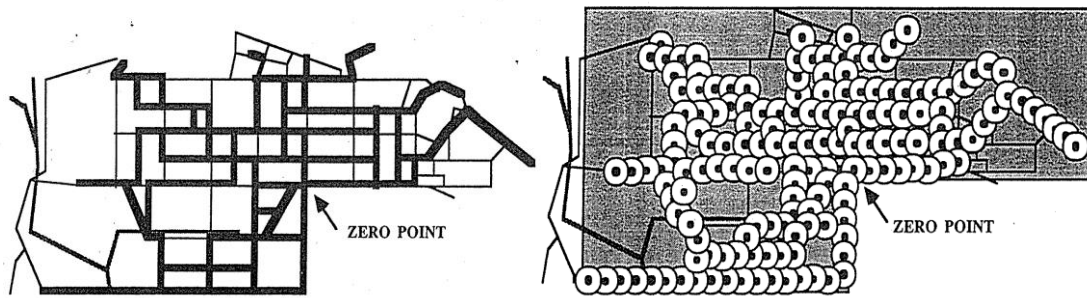
Gull Jabeen, 24 years, student

I was feeling very tired after attending my last lecture in the National University of Science and Technology (NUST), so I decided to sit for a while in the cafe and have a cup of coffee and read the newspaper. It is pretty normal to see news of burnt women, acid thrown at women, or murder on the crime page, but even then it makes one sad for a while and then you turn to the sport pages, which diverts the attention away. But that day I read the news of the rape of a school girl. I was holding a coffee mug in my hand and the newspaper was on the table and suddenly I saw the newspaper getting wet with my tears. I am not so emotional especially for social issues but that day I felt being a women in countries like this is not less than living in hell. I became so scared that I started shivering. Rapists had kidnapped her from the street during the day time. This made me feel exposed and unsafe while walking in my own street. This was a terrible feeling and I never used a lonely street for walking afterwards.

7.6 Transport-Disadvantaged Areas

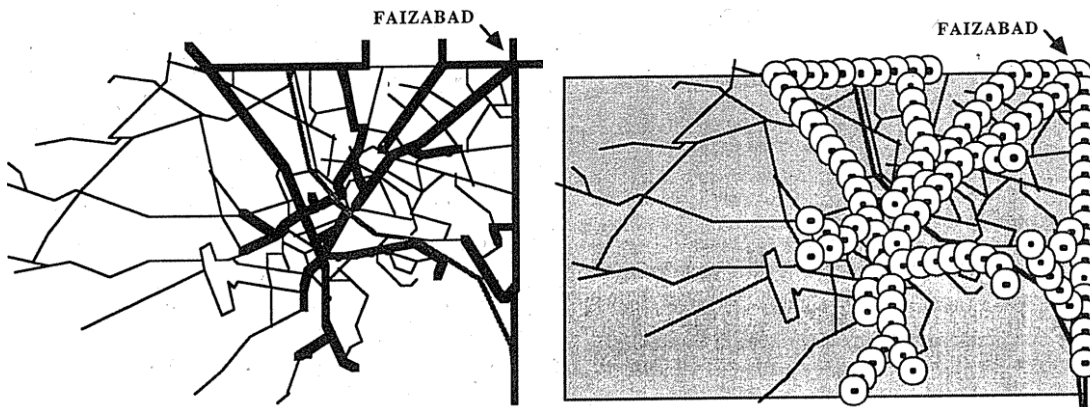
The findings highlight that both men and women in Islamabad and Rawalpindi face transport disadvantages. This disadvantage is related to the spatial hierarchy of how a city is built. The figures 7.22 and 7.23 illustrate the transport network routes in Islamabad and Rawalpindi in 1995. The most recent coverage area by different types of transport modes is described earlier in figure 7.15. These figures show areas which are not covered by the public transport route networks in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. These areas can be regarded as transport-disadvantaged areas.

Figure 7. 22: Public transport route network, along with 500 M walking distance, Islamabad



Source: (National Transport Research Centre, 1995)

Figure 7. 23: Public transport route network, along with 500 M walking distance, Rawalpindi



Source: (National Transport Research Centre, 1995)

For the present study this is a relative term to the individual circumstances. For example, if a person lives in Scheme 3, Rawalpindi, and works in F-7, Islamabad, s/he could be regarded as transport-disadvantaged because no direct public transport goes there. S/He has to change vans a few times to reach to the office. Not only does s/he have to spend money on travel, s/he has to spend more time in travelling. The same person would not be transport-disadvantaged if s/he travels from Scheme 3, Rawalpindi to Saddar, Rawalpindi. Women in a transport-disadvantaged position suffer a lot of problems. They have to battle the negative perception of society about mobile women and also have to find ways to travel in a respectable way. The following cases elaborate on this issue:

Najma Shabbir, 28 years, travel agent (Saddar, Rawalpindi)

I walk from home to the nearby bus stop, which takes me only ten minutes or less but walking along the road is a nightmare for me because I often face uncomfortable comments from men. Comments like “should I give you a ride”, “looking pretty”, “mashaAllah (Praise to God)” “sdaqay jawan (I sacrifice my life to you)” and a lot more. Then the next step is to wait for the van. This is also not easy. It takes 20 to 30 minutes in taking a van because in the morning time either vans are full of passengers or drivers don’t stop, preferring a long route passenger. Anyways, when I get a van it takes more than an hour to reach my office in Islamabad. And I have to walk another 15 minutes to reach my office. I often wonder why there is no proper transport system in my country, and I am not the only woman facing this situation. I also think of renting a home near to my office but the rent in Islamabad is out of range for me.

Asiya Gul, 33 years, lecturer MAJU (Dhok Khaba, Rawalpindi)

My name is Asiya and I work as a lecturer in a private university, Muhammad Ali Jinnah University (MAJU) in Blue Area, Islamabad. I live in Dhok Khaba in Rawalpindi. It takes me almost two hours from home to reach the university. I leave my home around 7:00 am everyday as I have to deliver my first lecture at 9:00 am. Sometimes I arrive late for the lecture as if two hours of travel is also not sufficient. There are some very major problems which I have to encounter almost every day.

First, there is no direct conveyance from my home to the Blue Area, Islamabad. I have to change two vans to reach to my office. The first van drops me at Murree Road, Rawalpindi. From Murree road stop (Sadiqabad), which is overcrowded with passengers in the morning, I take another van for Islamabad. I have to wait 30 to 40 minutes in between. Travelling in local transport is not reasonable especially for

women. Van drivers are bad and I really wish that I could avoid this thing.

Relating to this, Hasan (2014) has explained the fate of women living in periphery of a big city. According to him “women cannot get work near the periphery low-income settlements and without working women, the kitchen can no longer function. The number of seats for women in buses, in relation to their population, has decreased by over 35 per cent since 2000” (Hasan, 2014, para 4). Although he discusses this in relation to metropolitan area of Karachi, this is comparable to women living in poorly serviced fringes in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. They have to travel in order to support their households but spend a lot money and time traveling from house to work.

7.6.1 Security measures and denial of open public spaces

Islamabad is essentially a bunker city. In the name of security, many roads have been closed down for ordinary people, much of the public transport has been diverted, and there is a constant fear of bomb blasts, firing or violent demonstration in the air. Access to different roads and walkways, which is already limited especially for women, has been denied and discouraged on the pretext of security reasons. This situation is well explained by Moatasim (2010) as “the building and the roads of Rawalpindi and Islamabad remind us of our loss of freedom, fears and obsessions, a few of the many other stories that are materially embedded within these twin cities” (Moatasim, 2010, para 7). The figures 7.24 and 7.25 depict these concerns.

Figure 7. 24: Road closed due to security concerns in Islamabad



Source: Author

Figure 7. 25: Security forces blocked and closed almost half of road in Rawalpindi



Source: Author

Besides the permanent closure of some of the roads in Islamabad and some parts of Rawalpindi, the main highways are also closed to the public when there are Very Important Persons (VIPs) moving around. I will share my own observation and story

here, where I was stuck in such a situation. I was filling in an observation schedule by standing under the bridge at Khana Pul, Rawalpindi. It was raining heavily and people were feeling very cold in the month of January. As there was no covered bus stop, most of the passengers were standing under the bridge which served them as a shelter. Suddenly a few army vans came and asked all the people to clear the road as some VIP was travelling through this road. The people resisted and said they cannot go outside in the open as the rain was heavy. But the security people did not listen. People were also arguing with them and soon this became a kind of violent conversation. The army person pulled out his gun and started to point it at each person. There were some females as well but they did not even let women stay there. All the people including women and children had to move away from the bridge into an open area in the rain. People stayed in this position for around 15 minutes. This was a terrible experience to observe the helplessness of ordinary people in Islamabad/Rawalpindi. One female respondent opined about this kind of situation

Nabeela Amin, 40 years, nurse

It is not easy for women to work in countries like Pakistan. On the one hand, the social and cultural norms restrict women's role in society, and on the other hand security, and law and order concerns make things worse. I live near Liqat Bagh, Rawalpindi. This area is the hub of strikes by different groups on different issues, such as power, gas, household stuff, inflation etc. Apart from this, if any provincial or federal minister comes the roads are blocked for security reasons. This results in a lot of traffic jams, which increases distress among people waiting for public transport.

7.7 Positive Responses to Support Women's Travel

Despite the fact that spatial structure of Rawalpindi and Islamabad is not people-friendly and there are problems associated with spatial planning of these cities, people have devised certain strategies to cope with these problems. These strategies are made both at the community and organizational levels. This section outlines responses of people towards the problems associated with spatial structure.

7.7.1 Community-based business response

As highlighted earlier, many areas in Rawalpindi and Islamabad are not covered by vans (which is the dominant public transport mode in the twin cities). People came up with an innovative solution by making a small vehicle, popularly called the *Chingchee* (auto-rickshaw). It runs just like a motorcycle but has an extension at the back for seating of passengers. Six passengers can sit at its back facing in the opposite direction. These *Chingchees* are used for shorter trips, and due to their compactness in size these suit the narrow streets in Rawalpindi. *Chingchees* are a very popular mode of transport for women in Rawalpindi, who take trips which are shorter in distance but frequent in number. Further, because these are open and women can sit separate to men passengers, the element of safety is quite high for women. On top of this, the fare of *chingchees* is very low as compared to vans or mini-buses. One of the reasons would be buying a *chingchee* is very cheap; one can buy a *chnigchee* for Rs. 80,000 (NZ\$1,000) and the cost of its maintenance is also relatively low. This mode of transport is generally associated with poor people, but in the present study people from varied socio-economic backgrounds uses *chingchees*. This is mostly popular among house makers, but other women such as students, teachers and small business workers also use this mode of transport.

7.7.2 Employer response

In the absence of an efficient public transport system, many government offices, private organisations and educational institutions have established their own transport system in the form of dedicated buses. They provide pick-up and drop-off services to their employees and students. On the one hand, this is good for employees of these organisations as they don't have to undergo the ordeal of travelling through the public transport system. But on the other hand, government organisations responsible for providing better transport facilities become complicit in the bad public transport system and don't really feel the need to correct the problem. For instance, Capital Development Authority (CDA), which is responsible for looking after the public transport system in Islamabad, has its own buses to provide pick-up and drop-off services to their employees. Other top government offices, for example Prime

Minister's Secretariat have their own transport system for their employees. This has been supported by the government at the highest level. For instance, the webpage of the capital administration and development division shows the inauguration of 'Yellow Buses Scheme for Islamabad Model Institutions' by the Prime Minister. The aim of the project states that it is being initiated for the safety and comfort of the school going children in selected institutions (Capital Administration and Development Division, 2012), which implies that this safety and comfort is missing in the public transport system in Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has explained how women's travel and their mobility is being affected by the spatial structure of cities. Islamabad which was built according to the modern town planning principles of the time, has practically become a city of the "automobile par excellence" (Daechesel, 2013, p. 98). Many of the sectors in Islamabad are not accessible through public transport. This inaccessibility through public transport along with its inefficiency encourages people to rely more on private cars. Furthermore, an element of social/spatial hierarchy was maintained in the design of the city, which became stronger over time resulting in some socio-spatial inequality in the city. Although footpaths are maintained to a better degree in Islamabad, walking is never a pleasant or an ideal choice for its inhabitants, especially for women. The safety concerns and fear of harassment can be seen in the stories of women respondents in Islamabad. On the other hand, Rawalpindi is a historical city built along the lines of socio-cultural values and traditions and has a less organized spatial structure. Despite socio-cultural expectations of women's normative behaviour in public spaces, women were using varied modes of transport which were suited best to their needs, for example walking, *chingchee rickshaw*, and Suzuki. The level of safety concern was also lower among women in Rawalpindi. However, working women who have to commute daily from Rawalpindi to Islamabad were in a particularly disadvantaged position because of the poor public transport system. Women in poorly serviced urban fringes, often poor women, have to suffer more as they have to spend a lot of money and time on travel.

Overall the challenges to women's mobility in urban areas are grave. This is because of misogynistic behavior of men, societal norms, and poor urban spatial structure. In addition to tackling these issues, women have to juggle various kinds of reproductive, productive, and social responsibilities. The situation of women's travel could be made better if the needs and concerns of women were incorporated into transport policy making. In this, the role of institutions and the policy-making structure is very important. The next chapter discusses this role with regards to women's transport in Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

CHAPTER EIGHT: IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE ON WOMEN'S TRAVEL IN ISLAMABAD AND RAWALPINDI

8.1 Introduction

“Yeah, that’s the same old gender question”: after giving a sarcastic smile showing the routinized and non-seriousness of the question, the Director in one of the government’s top planning offices, replied “transport doesn’t have a gender thing in it. It is just about building roads, putting buses/vans on the roads...[so that] everybody including women can use them”. This was in response to a question I asked about whether women’s needs were safeguarded in the country’s transport policy. Suddenly, he rang the bell and asked the peon, who instantly entered the room, “why is the generator still not operating”? I could see sweat on his forehead as the electricity supply was halted due to load-shedding and the generator was not working due to some technical problems. While I was thinking about what to ask in this gloomy environment the friend of the director, who was with him when I came to interview him, said “you carry on [asking questions]”. I asked the same question but with a different tone hoping the answer would be different but before the director could answer his friend said, “There will always be problems and unrest in society if females want to come out of their homes. The best places for women are in their homes. They should not travel without dire need”. This conversation happened during my fieldwork at the office of the Planning Commission in Islamabad, Pakistan. This gives a small depiction of how people in decision making roles in Islamabad and Rawalpindi think of women’s transport and what kind of structural issues women face in terms of their travel in these cities.

This chapter aims to provide a critical review of the transport and gender related policies and management structures in Pakistan. Pakistan has a centralized system in which the federal government plays a major role as far as formulating and implementing policies related to different sectors including transport and women’s development (Imran, 2010). This is because through the federal ministries and departments, the government controls the flow of domestic funds as well as foreign

aid to provincial and local governments (Imran, 2010). Different ministries and departments at the federal, provincial and local levels deal with transport and women's development separately.

In this chapter major policy and planning documents related to transport and women's development will be reviewed and analysed to see the extent to which these documents incorporate women's issues related to transport in urban areas in Pakistan. The chapter starts by describing the policy making structure in Pakistan, vis a vis transport and women's development. It reviews the important policy and planning documents related to transport and women, from the federal government, provincial government, international institutions and local NGOs. While reviewing the documents, the chapter also incorporates findings of interviews conducted with different policy-makers during fieldwork. At the end, women's agency with respect to transport and institutional structure is discussed.

8.2 Policy making structure in Pakistan

8.2.1 Transport sector

There are many organisations involved in the transport policy making process in Pakistan. Owing to a centralized system of governance, the federal government plays a key role in transport decision-making. It exercises control over the domestic resources and to a large extent over foreign development aid. The Planning Commission (now called the Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform), although not directly related to the sector, has a huge impact on this sector through budgetary allocation for all major development plans. Different federal ministries prepare their respective programmes and projects for different modes of transport and submit it to the Planning Commission. Afterwards, the Planning Commission coordinates all programmes and gives approval through the National Economic Council (NEC), which is the supreme policy making body headed by the Prime Minister. Then the Executive Committee of the National Economic Council (ECNEC) headed by the Finance Minister sanctions all development schemes in public and private sector and oversees the implementation of economic policies laid down by the NEC. The Central Development Working Party (CDWP) headed by the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission

approves development projects exceeding the financial limits of ministries (Imran, 2010).

It is relevant to mention here that different ministries and departments at the federal and provincial levels are responsible for different aspects of transport in Pakistan. These ministries and departments and their respective roles and responsibilities with regards to transport are shown in table 8.1.

Table 8. 1: Transport-related federal ministries and provincial departments and their roles and responsibilities - 2017

Federal Ministries and Departments		Key role and responsibilities in transport development
Ministry	Department	
Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform	Planning Commission of Pakistan	Planning Commission was established in 1958 for strategic planning through preparation of long-term plans, medium term or five years plans, and short term annual development plans as well as special reports for social and economic development of the country. The commission allocates resources to different sectors including transport. It also controls the 'official development assistance' from international donors.
Communication	National Highway Authority (NHA)	NHA is responsible for planning, development, operation, repair and maintenance of national highways in the country.
	National Highways and Motorways Police (NH&MP)	NH&MP was established in 1997. It controls the traffic violations on motorways and national highways. It was the first authority to implement the highway laws in Pakistan.
	National Transport Research Centre (NTRC)	NTRC was established in June 1974 in Planning and Development Division, but later on transferred to the Communication Division in 1992. It is a research centre and effectively functions as an R&D department of Ministry of Communication. Up till now it has completed 278 studies on various modes of transport.
Railways	Pakistan Railways	Pakistan Railways is an autonomous body responsible for all operations of railways in the country. Pakistan railways have initiated women-only cabins in the trains, which are the focus of interest here.
Climate Change (formerly Environment)	Environment Division	This is the focal point for formulating national policies and plans related to the environment including transport-related air and noise pollution. It has produced 'National Sustainable Development Strategy', and 'National Climate Change Policy'. Importantly transport has been mentioned in these reports.

	Pakistan Environmental Protection Agency (Pak-EPA)	It was established in 1997 in order to enforce Pakistan's Environmental Protection Act 1997, which asks for the protection, conservation, rehabilitation and improvement of the environment, control of pollution, and promotion of sustainable development.
Provincial Departments	Key role and responsibilities in transport development	
Planning and Development	Urban Unit	This is the key planning body at the provincial level. It affects the transport sector by formulating short-term and long-term development plans. Within the Planning and Development Department, an Urban Unit was established in 2006 as a project management unit to look after different urban issues including the transport sector. Urban Unit has produced many studies on different aspects of urban life including transport in the province.
Transport	Provincial Transport Authority (PTA)	This Department was created in 1987 with the primary responsibility for the preparation of provincial transport policies and implementation of transport plans. It is also responsible for the initiation of special public transport initiatives and regulation of transport fares. There is also a Provincial Transport Authority (PTA), which organizes local route-permits on inter-provincial and inter-city routes as well as overseeing transport fares, speed and parking for passenger and freight vehicles. PTA works in close coordination with Regional Transport Authorities (RTA), which in present case is Rawalpindi Regional Transport Authority (RRTA).
	Punjab Masstransit Authority (PMA)	Punjab Masstransit Authority (PMA) was established in 2015 for the purposes of construction, operation and maintenance of mass transit services in different cities of Punjab. Before that there was Punjab Metrobus Authority established in 2012, which overlooked the establishment and running of one mass transit service (Metro bus) in Lahore. In fact Punjab Masstransit Authority took over the services from Punjab Metro Bus Authority as the construction and operation of metro bus spread in other cities in Punjab, including Rawalpindi.
Communication and Works (C&W)		C&W department is responsible for planning, construction and maintenance of all provincial roads and bridges. The Highway Department, Building Department, and Architecture Department provide technical support to C&W department in the province.
Housing, Urban Development and Public Health Eng.		This department is responsible for comprehensive planning at the provincial level in urban areas.

Source: Author (taken from each ministry/department's policy documents)

As shown in the above table, there are many federal and provincial departments responsible directly or indirectly for the transport sector. Some authors argue that due to too many departments being involved in the transport sector and overlapping responsibilities, there is a severe lack of coordination among them (Imran, 2010; Meakin, 1998). This situation is worse when it comes to the public transport system in cities. As Imran (2009) highlighted, the federal government neither provided finance for the operation of public transport nor did it start its own operations for urban transport. Rather it helped provincial government to transfer operational responsibility to the private sector. This situation has changed with the formation of Punjab Masstransit Authority (PMA), which runs as a corporate entity through the Managing Director with the oversight of Punjab Chief Minister as its Chairperson. PMA has operations in Lahore, Islamabad/Rawalpindi, and Multan (Punjab Masstransit Authority, 2017).

8.2.2 Women’s development

Women or gender and development policy making structures in the government involves federal ministries and provincial departments. The relevant ministries and departments at the federal and provincial levels and their respective roles and responsibilities are outlined in table 8.2.

Table 8. 2: Women’s development related federal ministries and provincial departments and their roles and responsibilities

Federal Ministry	Department	Key role and responsibilities in women’s development
Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform	Planning Commission of Pakistan	The Planning Commission was established in 1958 for strategic planning through preparation of long-term plans, medium term or five year plans, and short term annual development plans as well as special reports for social and economic development of the country. The commission allocates resources to different sectors including women’s development. It also controls the ‘official development assistance’ from international donors and governments.
Ministry of Women Development		Ministry of Women’s Development (MoWD) was established in 1989 as a principal institutional structure to promote the incorporation of women into the planning and development process of the country. The ministry was dissolved on April 8, 2010 through 18 th amendment to the constitution of Pakistan and its mandate was transferred to provincial women development departments.
National		National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) is a

Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW)		statutory body established in 2000. The main objective of the commission is the emancipation of women through equality and elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. The commission examines and reviews different policies, laws, rules and regulations affecting the status of women in Pakistan.
Human Rights (HR)		HR Ministry was established in November 2008. Before that it was a HR Division under the Ministry of Law, Justice and Human Rights. It reviews the HR situation in the country including implementation of laws and policies, and coordinates HR related activities in other ministries and provincial governments. The human rights aspects of gender and women development has been placed under the purview of HR Ministry
Provincial Departments	Key role and responsibilities in women's development	
Planning and Development		This is the key planning body at the provincial level. It impacts on the women's development sector through formulation of short-term and long-term development plans.
Department of Women's Development		An independent Women's Department was established in the province on March 8, 2012 after an ordinance, Punjab Women Empowerment Package 2012 (PWEP). Also after the 18 th amendment in the constitution of Pakistan, women's development became a provincial subject. Before the 18 th amendment and PWEP, women's development was part of the Social Welfare, Bait-ul-Maal Department. Now Women's Development Department is a focal point for policy development related to gender equality and women's empowerment in the province.
The Punjab Commission on the Status of Women		The Punjab Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) is a statutory, autonomous body established in 2014 for the promotion of women's rights and empowerment. It serves as an oversight body to ensure policies and programmes of government promote gender equality in Punjab province.
Social Welfare Department		The Social Welfare Department was established in 1979 and besides other functions, such as providing welfare services to elderly, children, and other vulnerable groups, looked after women's development issues until 2012 when a separate department of women's development was established. It still provides some welfare services to women in the form of women's shelter homes, juvenile prisoners' rehabilitation, and women's crisis centres.

Source: Author (taken from each ministry/department's policy documents)

Among these government ministries and departments, National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) and Department of Women's Development can be seen to actively engage with local and international organizations and they have produced a number of reports on various women's development issues in Pakistan and in Punjab respectively. However, their work has not exclusively focused on women's transport or mobility in urban areas in Pakistan, which have been discussed later in this chapter.

8.3 Relevant Policy and Planning Documents Regarding Transport and Women’s Development

8.3.1 Government policy and planning documents

Different transport and women’s development related plans and policies made by federal and provincial governments are discussed in this section. As mentioned earlier, the Planning Commission is the key planning body in the country which does have an influence on transport and women’s development policies. Its five years development plans are briefly discussed in table 8.3. After that, transport and women’s development policies made by other ministries at the federal and provincial levels will be discussed.

Table 8. 3: Transport and women’s development policies in the five year plans of Pakistan

Five year plans	Transport and women’s development related issues raised
First five year plan 1955-60	<p>In the first five year plan, transport was considered very important for the economic growth of the country and 17.8% of the total development budget was allocated to this sector. The plan proposed that a railway and road based transport system should operate at the same time and should complement each other. This plan also recommended establishing a ‘planning cell’ in each ministry in order to formulate and coordinate planning and policy activities. In this plan, the transport sector does not discuss any women-specific issues.</p> <p>Women or gender issues were not discussed in the plan. However, under the heading of social welfare, issues such as healthcare and support for women deprived of family support were highlighted. The plan maintained that women’s health was important as they were responsible to take care of the entire family. Similarly, the plan also acknowledged that there should be some mechanism to look after the needs of divorced women or widows devoid of any support.</p>
Second five year plan 1960-65	<p>The second five year plan puts much emphasis on transport and communication along with other social and economic development goals. By acknowledging the importance of transport, it proposed that “a long-term development plan for the transport” (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1960, p. 278) should be developed and the successive five year plan should follow that long-term plan. For such a plan rigorous quantitative or statistical data was urged to be collected through surveys in order to decipher the transport needs. The qualitative transport needs of the population especially of women were ignored in this plan. Transport sector was allocated 17.63% of the total planned development expenditure. In this, 55% of the budget was allocated to roads while 45% to the railways.</p> <p>Again women were discussed in the social service or welfare section of the plan, which concerned only destitute women such as divorced, widow or handicapped. The overall orientation was welfare of women instead of their development or empowerment.</p>
Third five year plan 1965-70	<p>Better and efficient transport was regarded as a necessary condition for rapid economic growth in this plan. For that it proposed a complete “reorientation, rehabilitation and modernization” (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1964, p. 313) of the transport system where large investments would be required for</p>

	<p>improving existing facilities, as well as geographical expansion. Road transport especially in (West) Pakistan was favoured. Again there was no discussion of women's transport needs in this plan.</p> <p>Although women's development was not discussed in any explicit way, this plan put emphasis on emancipation on different groups of people including women, through the advancement of education and income generating activities. The welfare based orientation of development programmes continued in this plan.</p>
No plan period 1971-76	<p>The fourth plan mentioned that comprehensive surveys regarding traffic forecasts, access and long-term requirements, and land use transportation plans were underway and their findings should be used. This plan also put emphasis on the importance of investment in road transport. Urban transport was discussed in the physical planning and housing section, which encouraged an 'integrated approach' to urban development where all issues including transport were discussed together. The solution to a poor transport system in urban areas was through "widening roads and streets, provision of parking spaces and providing better facilities for mass transport" (Planning Commission of Pakistan, n.d., p. 477). It was said that at the end of the plan period, the big urban areas should have a 'traffic and transport plan' for their cities.</p> <p>Women's issues were discussed in conjunction with other social issues such as health, education, and social welfare. The plan proposes an allocation of 27% of the total development resources for social services, as compared to 20% in the past. The increased budget was encouraging but the focus remained on welfare and protection as far as women were concerned.</p>
Fifth five year plan 1977-83	<p>The plan acknowledged that urban passenger transport remained inadequately poor, in spite of induction of new buses. Urban development was discussed as a separate section for the first time. Interestingly this plan said that instead of just focusing on providing more transport facilitates attempts should be made to minimize the travel requirements of people. Women are neither mentioned in urban development nor in transport sections of this plan.</p> <p>This plan also continued to discuss women's issues in social welfare. It proposed the following programmes: 22 socio-economic centres, 19 display centres, 19 industrial centres of excellence, 1 pilot craft training project for rural women, 14 hostels for working women, 8 rescue homes (<i>darul aman</i>), 2 homes for needy and destitute women, and 5 units for enhancement of the role of women in national development. The overarching aim of these programmes was to facilitate women in building their self-reliance and increasing their income generation activities. However, the plan did not mention how these programmes will be carried out in the country. Transport and women's mobility was also not mentioned.</p>
Sixth five year plan 1983-88	<p>This plan reinforced the partnership of public and private sector for urban transport. The plan hoped to double the size of the public transport fleet by the end of plan year. It also recommended increasing the fare of transport so as to encourage private investment in this sector. It encouraged research in the transport sector by giving Rs. 30 million to National Transport Research Centre (NTRC), and another Rs. 50 million for the establishment of a National Highway Research Institute. Women's issues related to transport were not discussed in this plan.</p> <p>For the first time, a separate section on women's development was put into the five year plan. The reason for this new section was the dismal state of women development indicators due to perpetual neglect, which needs to be addressed in holistic and urgent way, the plan outlined. The plan highlighted the need for the improvement in women's education, health and nutrition, employment and equality in jobs. This plan also stressed that Women Division should take a lead role in examining how women are incorporated into policies of other government departments and also recommended that it should develop a 'Framework for a National Policy for Women's Development'. The plan, however,</p>

	was absolutely silent on women’s transport and their mobility issues.
Seventh five year plan 1988-93	<p>This plan put more emphasis on road development as compared to other transport modes. It also acknowledged that foreign funding was essential to develop medium-term development plans. In the urban transport sector, plan highlighted transport system is inadequate to fulfil the increasing needs of people, and stressed the need for “comprehensive traffic studies”(Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1988, p. 239). Again women’s transport and mobility related issues were not discussed.</p> <p>The plan emphasized that gender disparities existed on most accounts: availability of food, education and employment. The priority areas for women development included education, health, and employment generation. The role of women’s NGOs was acknowledged and it was proposed to set an autonomous national NGO council for women development in order to help build NGO’s capacity. Women’s restricted mobility was mentioned in that “women suffer additional constraints because their mobility is restricted...” (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1988, p. 279). There was no further discussion on women’s mobility or transport issues other than the above stated line.</p>
Eighth five year plan 1993-98	<p>In this plan the inclination towards road transport continued with the rationale that this will lead the country towards “speedy economic growth” (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1994, p. 268). The demand for increased mobility was regarded as the reason for increased investment in roads. However, the quality of travel or accessibility for people particularly women were not discussed at all in this plan.</p> <p>The priority for women development remained the same: education, health and employment generation and increased role of NGOs. Besides these, plan asked for more research studies on the state of women in the country and the findings of these studies should form the basis for future planning. The plan asked for provision of transport for female teachers in order to accelerate the targets for girls’ enrolment.</p>
Medium term development framework (MTDF) 2005-10	<p>This plan also favoured investment in road transport and road construction. Even in ‘urban development and housing’ sector, most of the money (61% of the total PSDP) was allocated for the construction of flyovers, interchanges, and underpasses in urban areas. Public transport and non-motorized transport means received no money in major cities of the country. The urban development and transport sections do not discuss women’s transport needs.</p> <p>Gender mainstreaming in all government ministries and departments was proposed. Similarly engendering planning and budgetary process through Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP) was highlighted. There was a policy shift in thinking from women’s development to gender equality. However the plan highlighted severe challenges in this regards: women’s meagre contribution to GDP, lack of women’s access to and control over resources, limited gender-disaggregated operational research, and absence of enabling legislative framework. MTDF elaborated the importance of women’s mobility for every aspect of their development and stressed that "Until women’s limited mobility and therefore extremely limited access to the public sphere are addressed, such recommendations will fail to be realized" (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2005, p. 76).</p>
Pakistan Framework for Economic Growth 2010-15	This framework puts emphasis on productivity, innovation, better governance, and competitiveness and openness of markets, especially with regards to cities. Transport has been put into the holistic and broader view of connectivity, which comprises of physical, electronic as well as social connections. Public transport in cities is regarded as unorganized and infrequent with no safety and quality control, which has resulted into increased private transport such as cars and motorcycles. It recommends “mix of rail and road-based network” (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2011, p. 113) in urban areas. This plan does not mention women’s mobility or transport related issues in urban areas.

	The framework does not have any section or chapter on women or gender development. The chapter on 'youth and community engagement' only briefly highlights that youth and women entrepreneurship can be a source of development and overall entrepreneurship culture in the cities can help women youth to find a decent employment or business opportunities. Women's transport or mobility is not considered critical to achieving all this and has not been mentioned.
Vision 2025	The Vision 2025 puts emphasis on 'sustained and inclusive higher growth'. It envisions 25% increase in real per capita income on an average GDP growth rate of 7% during the Eleventh plan period (2013-2018). The emphasis of Vision 2025 is on economic growth, macroeconomic indicators, agriculture reforms, human and social capital building, development of knowledge economy, and regional connectivity through transport. However, the vision does not state and discuss issues and concerns regarding urban development, transport, and more specifically women's development including their mobility.
Vision 2030	It envisions cities as "engines of economic growth" and transport as a key to "improving the quality of life and economic performance of urban areas" (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2007, p. 97). But it does not state the kind of transport which will be required over the period of time and also ignores the transport or mobility needs of women. It envisions that in 2030 "women enjoy equal rights and respect, the same level of decision-making authority, and equal mobility and protection under law as their male counterparts" (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2007, p. 27). It highlights that women in Pakistan are overworked (home and other), underpaid, unemployed and under-represented in many spheres of national life. They can be empowered through access to education, health, work and resources. It ignores the importance of transport for women's development.

Source: Author (taken from various five year plans)

The transport sector has been mentioned and discussed in the above mentioned five-year plans and vision documents from the very start. Even the first five year plan (1955-60) proposes that a railway and road based transport system should operate at the same time. Similarly, the second plan (1960-65) proposes to develop a long-term development plan for transport, which can be followed by successive development plans. However, these plans saw the function of transport as connecting between different regions and cities. Urban transport was mentioned for the first time during the no plan period (1971-76) where an 'integrated approach' to urban development and transport was highlighted. Although mentioned in subsequent plans and visions, urban transport was not discussed in detail with particular regard to its integration within the overall framework of urban development. This might be due to the fact that there was no 'urban development' unit or centre at the federal level which could coordinate different aspects of urban development and outline policy guidelines.

However, in August 2014, the Planning Commission of Pakistan started an initiative for the establishment of 'Pakistan Urban Planning and Policy Centre'. The PC 1 of this project is ready which states the total capital cost of the project as Rs. 1000 million. According to this document "the subject of urban development is not anchored in any national level institution. Pakistan Urban Planning and Policy Centre under the auspices of the Planning Commission is therefore an attempt to anchor the subject of 'urban development' at the national level (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2014, p. 2). Although the document mentions equity and gender equality goals, how these goals are achieved in women's mobility and how the voices of women are incorporated into the policy development process are not discussed in this document.

In the five-year plans, women's development was not an independent area of focus until the sixth five year plan (1983-88). In this plan a separate section on women's development and empowerment appeared. Before that, women's issues were discussed within the overall schemes of social welfare, social service, family planning, and employment generation. For instance, the first five year plan (1955-60) discussed issues such as healthcare and support for women deprived from family support like divorced or widows. It also maintained that women's health was important as they were responsible to take care of the whole family, rather than being concerned for women's health for their own wellbeing (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1957). Besides the welfare-oriented nature of these plans, female education and employment was also discussed in these plans. For example, the second five year plan (1960-65) highlighted the need for women's employment especially in the non-agricultural labour force. It also hinted towards societal change as work opportunities for women can uplift their living standards which in turn can favour smaller and healthier families (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1960).

Since the sixth five year plan (1983-88), women's development constituted a whole section in every document of the five year plans. In most of these five year plans women's needs in the areas of education, health, nutrition, employment, and political participation were highlighted. The role of NGOs in women's development was also discussed in these plans. However, these plans ignored mobility or transport-related

needs of women. The Medium Term Development Framework (MTDF) (2005-2012) was an exception. It maintained that “women’s limited mobility and therefore extremely limited access to the public sphere are (to be) addressed” (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2005, p. 76). Unfortunately, these concerns were not highlighted in any of the other policies and plans and even the MTDF did not elaborate any mechanisms to address women mobility especially in urban areas.

From these five years plans, it becomes evident that there is very little consideration given to the transport needs of women. Even in the latest plans (Framework of Economic Growth, and MTDF) women’s needs could be anything except travelling and commuting. There was no mention of the socio-cultural and religious beliefs and their impact on women’s appearance in the public spaces where transport is an obvious entity. In a way it can be said that these five years development plans were gender-blind as far as women’s transport issues and needs were concerned.

Now the policies made by the other government departments are reviewed to see the extent to which women’s transport issues are addressed in these policies.

1. Transport policy documents

National Transport Policy (Draft) – 2008

With the technical assistance (TA) of ADB, Government of Pakistan prepared a comprehensive National Transport Policy in 2008. Ministry of Communication was the executing agency of the TA, while National Transport Research Council (NTRC) was the implementing body. The overall objective of the national transport policy was:

To establish a transport system that provides efficient, affordable, safe, reliable, equitable, and environmentally friendly accessibility and mobility for people and goods, thereby supporting Government’s goal of increasing public welfare through economic growth and poverty reduction (National Transport Research Centre, 2008, p. 1).

The policy gives general guidelines on different transport aspects, such as road infrastructure, road services, railways, ports and shipping, airport and aviation, transport logistics and customs, urban transport, and institutional and legal mechanisms. In urban transport, the policy outlines congestion, inadequate traffic management and lack of public transport priority measures as the key issues that needs to be addressed. Similarly, it states that investment in new urban roads and fixed rail mass transit systems will be justified after taking into account demand, scope, cost, social and environmental impacts. Although the policy gives some considerations to the social impacts of infrastructure projects in urban areas, it does not regard the particular needs of women. The national transport policy does not state transport-related women's issues in urban areas of the country. In fact the whole policy document has not used, for even a single time, the word 'women' or 'gender'. However, it refers to all passengers when it comes to benefitting from the urban transport which inclines a "shift away from systems that target commuters only towards a system that benefits all passengers" (p. 11). This only implicitly suggests that issues of women's mobility and transport will be addressed in all projects and plans.

The consultation process mentioned in the policy document was to "hold meetings with key decision makers in the transport sector, together with consultants and aid agency staff involved in relevant studies and projects; prepare discussion papers for distribution to interested stakeholders, and to give workshops to present findings, stimulate debate and feedback from attendees" (National Transport Research Centre, 2008, p. 1). This consultation process ignores the needs of general people especially women. They do not get the opportunity to voice their concerns and raise issues related to their transport needs. When asked about this, one of the officials involved in the policy-making process said that:

General public [referring to women] would not understand the technicalities of the complex issue, such as transport and road infrastructure. They are not well-educated in Pakistan and importantly they just need good transport which they will get (Chief Transport, Planning Commission of Pakistan).

For them transport is a technical field which the common public has nothing to contribute to and the engineers, planners and architects know better because they are the 'experts' in the field. Although policy making structures revolve around the notion of 'expert' and 'technical' knowledge, they are highly influenced by the person in-charge of the policy-making organisation. For instance, in the planning commission "although the five year plans and other medium-term and long-term goals are set out, these become practically irrelevant once the 'person at the top' leaves. There is no continuity and/or ownership of the plans once the new chief comes at the helm of the affairs" (Deputy Chief Urban Planning, Planning Commission). This can be seen when the present Minister (formerly called Deputy Chairman) of the Planning Commission was appointed in 2013. He undervalued and ignored the works the Planning Commission had done over the last two decades. In his own words "today the capacity of the Ministry of Planning & Development is not even one-fourth of what it used to be during my last tenure as its Deputy Chairman in the 1990s. Over the past 15 years, the ministry has become a graveyard of ideas, reports and planning" (A. Iqbal, 2014, para 2). Despite the presence of Vision 2030, he launched Vision 2025. One of the officials at the Planning Commission raised similar concerns during the interview by stating that priorities of the commission changed with the change in the leadership. In his own words:

"This [idea of a creative city] is the brain child of current deputy chairman. He is very passionate about this. I am afraid if he leaves the [planning] commission today, there would be no institutional mechanisms to sustain this. A new person [deputy chairman] will come up with a new idea" (Deputy Chief Urban Planning, Planning Commission).

Unpublished survey on problems faced by women traveling on public transport (2011)

The National Transport and Research Centre (NTRC) conducted a survey in order to document the problems faced by women commuters in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The results of the survey were compiled and a brief report was prepared, however,

this report was not published. This report was shared with me by the Deputy Chief of NTRC, who was in charge of this survey. The survey findings are very brief which state that women face mobility restrictions due to which they cannot access educational institutions and health care facilities. These restrictions are also caused by the poor transport system in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Women have to face many transport-related issues, such as a long wait at the bus stops, limited seats, and harassment issues. These issues also concur with the findings of present study, which have been presented in the previous chapter. The survey recommends more buses for females, completion of routes assigned to vans, coordination efforts between government, public and transporters. When asked why the survey report was not published and disseminated to relevant bodies, the Deputy Chief replied that the survey was not substantial and could not be generalizable. She added that she initiated this survey out of her interest and there were no funds available to broaden its scope.

2. Women's development

National Plan of Action (NPA) (1998)

The National Plan of Action (NPA) for women was initiated by MoWD after the Fourth World Conference on women, held in Beijing in 1995. This plan was launched in 1998 with a 15 year perspective. NPA formulated a set of priority actions (in 12 priority areas) in order to achieve the agenda for women's empowerment. These priority areas were: poverty, education, health, violence against women, women and armed conflict, economy, women in decision-making, human rights, women and environment, women with disabilities, girl child rights, and institutional mechanism for the advancement of women. This was a comprehensive document in which all the priority areas mentioned above are discussed in detail. For each and every priority area, a set of actions, time frame for their completion, and responsible institutions or organizations was outlined (Ministry of Women Development Social Welfare and Special Education, 1998).

Transport or women's mobility was not a priority area in the NPA and was not discussed in the document. The document does not mention transport while discussing women's needs of education, health and economic involvement even

though these areas are very important as transport is critical to access educational institutions, health facilities and work places.

National policy for development and empowerment of women (2002)

This is the first and the only federal level policy for women's development and empowerment in Pakistan. It addresses a wide range of issues for social, economic and political empowerment of women as well as highlighting institutional mechanisms for the implementation and coordination of various projects. Some of the issues mentioned in the policy include: education, health, access to justice, violence against women, poverty reduction, access to credit, political participation, and status in the family and community. The policy document mentions women's mobility a single time. This mention was also in passing by stating that women in Pakistan face restrictions to their mobility and therefore cannot access different services including education. It states that

socially prescribed roles of women become a basis for discrimination and restrict the full participation of women in society. Women in Pakistan are especially disadvantaged by their lack of decision-making within the family and community, and restricted mobility that obstructs access to services (Ministry of Women Development Social Welfare and Special Education, 2002, p. 9).

Although the policy document recommends providing transport facilities to women so that they can access basic services, it does not outline what kind of transport facility is best suited to women's needs and whether women's travel needs are different to men.

Furthermore, the document also states that a wide consultative process was followed while developing the policy. It outlines that "an exhaustive countrywide consultative process which stretched over a year and extended from grass-root to national level, using all the information media available, thus obtaining the broadest national consensus to support its content" (p. 1). However, this consultative process was largely

based on the selected NGOs working on women's issues and a few other government departments. The public, including women, were not involved in the development of this policy. As one of the officials mentioned about the general consultative process in government offices in an interview:

These are rosy words, consultation or involvement of people. In reality every ministry has a few organisations that they [government organisations] extend invitations to for consultation. These are their own people who don't object to what they are doing. Common people are not involved at all [but] documents state 'consultation from wide range of stakeholders including common people and women (Director General, Ministry of Human Rights).

Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP) Vol. 1- Draft (2004)

This report, basically, suggests several reforms to improve the governance system in different areas. These areas include the following:

- i. Women's political participation by increasing the proportion of votes cast by women, registration in their own names and increasing the representation of women in parliamentary committees.
- ii. Institutional restructuring to improve the gender-blind organizational structure of government machinery by 1) strengthening the ministries and departments for women development, and 2) gender mainstreaming across other ministries and departments.
- iii. Women's employment in the public sector should be increased in order to bridge the gender gap. The report suggests reforms in the induction process.
- iv. Policy and fiscal reform, which entails to mainstream gender in the budgeting system and while formulating the PRSPs.

The report highlights that there is hardly any gender policy in most of the sectors like agriculture, transport, housing and law. It states the importance of transport and mobility for women. In this context, this review is very important as it at least

acknowledges that there is a need for women's mobility or transport-related issues. However the report mentions mobility concerns and gender-aware transport policy only in two paragraphs out of its total 200 pages. This shows the extent to which women's mobility issues are important to decision makers.

Two similar documents at the provincial level, linked to GRAP's study were found. These documents are discussed as under.

a. *Punjab Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP) (Draft) Vol. 1 (2003)*

Like the federal GRAP, the Punjab GRAP also stresses the need for political participation of women, an increase in the level of employment in the public sector for women, reforms in the Institutional structures, as well as fiscal reforms and capacity development. The document does not mention transport issue, while discussing other women's development issues such as health, education, violence, and legal protection. Only time GRAP mentions transport is when it says that in order to increase women's employment in public sector there should be "preferential provisions for female employees for the allotment of transport and accommodation facilities" (p. viii).

b. *A gender review of the political and administrative systems in Punjab, Vol. II (2003)*

The focus of this report is on the history of women's movement and gender reforms in the province, women's political and economic participation, institutional assessment and review of different projects regarding women's development in Punjab. The report acknowledges that transport is the major constraint identified by women employees in public sector organizations. It also highlights that lack of proper transportation results in less education of women. It recommends that an exclusive transport facility for women employees should be arranged. It is important that this document reports the transport problems faced by female students and workers of the public sector organizations. But instead of recommending structural changes and policy debates in the public and private sector, it recommends the female only buses for women

employees of the public sector organizations, as a solution. This excludes all other women studying or working in other organizations.

Assessment of the capacities of women development departments: An Investigative study (2012)

This report is the assessment of the current mandate, status and activities of Women's Development Departments (WDDs) in five provinces of Pakistan. It discusses the situation of WDDs after the 18th amendment in constitution of Pakistan on 8th April 2010 through which women's development became a provincial subject. According to this report, there are three machineries in WDD in Punjab: social welfare women's development wing, directorates of women's development, and the GRAP office.

There are two other organizations working with WDD: CEDAW Provincial Committee (CPA) established in 2001 for formulating plans in collaboration with UN-women, and Inter-Provincial Ministers' Group (IPMG) to make sure the national and international commitments regarding women's development are reflected in provincial plans. The WDD in Punjab works for the welfare of women and also provides women's advocacy to other governmental departments in the province.

Importantly this report has mentioned that the Punjab WDD prepared a project proposal for separate transport services for women government employees. However, this project was not implemented. This report is useful as it identifies the key departments at the provincial levels which are responsible for women development. But this report does not give any detail of the projects being initiated by these departments and whether these are currently underway or have been completed.

Islamabad bus rapid transit: Summary project briefing (2012)

This report highlights the problems and issues faced by women while travelling in the capital city. The report has incorporated the findings of the 'social survey', which was conducted to gauge the level of passengers' satisfaction. It indicates that over 90% people are not satisfied with the current state of transport system in the city. Specifically, around 72% women feared harassment and the bad attitude of drivers and

conductors while travelling on the public transport, while for the rest limited seating for women was the main issue. Almost every person in the survey agreed that a better public transport services is needed for the city.

When asked about the report and the plight of women travelling in the city, the Director of Transport in the Capital Development Authority (CDA) agreed that in the past women's transport issues were not addressed. According to him

Generally women's travel is associated with off-peak hours for shopping and other purposes. The [public] transport routes don't cater for the needs of women. In the new BRT system, we are devising a strategy to link *markaz* (sector centre) to *markaz*. We are designing buses for off-peak hours, late hours and linking them to hospitals, schools, banks and technology parks (call centres). And special attention will also be given to the safety of women passengers (Director Transport, CDA).

This proposed BRT system includes a 26.6 km corridor with 53.2 km segregated running ways operating adjacent to the median, and 48 buses providing 10-minute frequency to four routes, a 6-minute frequency for one route during the peak-hours, and a 15 minute frequency at other times. The total cost of the project was estimated at US\$79 million. The project was envisioned to stretch to Rawalpindi at a later stage (Capital Development Authority, 2012). As the Metro bus service started operation in Rawalpindi and Islamabad in 2015, this can serve as one section of the whole BRT project in future.

Punjab Women Empowerment Package (PWEP) (2012)

After the creation of the Women's Development Department in 2012, a Punjab Women Empowerment Package (PWEP) was launched where different issues related to women's development were discussed. These issues included legislation for inheritance laws, creation of a women's crisis and rehabilitation help desks, provision of better health and education services to women, and efforts for a women-friendly

work environment (Women Development Department, 2012). Although the package mentioned to provide buses to some girls' schools and colleges, it did not address, in any way, the issue of women's mobility or transport system in urban areas of the province.

Women's Empowerment Initiatives (2014)

To review the progress on PWEF, the Chief Minister of Punjab, constituted a committee under the convenership of the Minister for population welfare in Punjab. The committee was also mandated to recommend new measures under Women's Empowerment Initiatives 2014 along with an action plan covering the next 3-5 years (Women Development Department, 2014). The committee prepared a report 'Women empowerment initiatives 2014 for the Chief Minister', which recommended the launch of different initiatives for women, such as skills development training, loans for women entrepreneurs, women-marked spaces in the Sunday markets (*bazars*), affordable residential facilities for working women, inclusion of women in the executive body in trade unions, and steps to improve the education level and health condition of women. Importantly, the report mentioned bad travelling conditions in cities, especially for women travellers who had to face "physical and mental harassment...while travelling on buses and wagons" (Women Development Department, 2014, p. 22). In order to tackle this problem, the report suggested the 'provision of scooties [motorcycles] for working women' as a mobility scheme. The Punjab government also announced it would provide rechargeable electric motorcycles to female students (The News, 2013).

Punjab Gender Parity Report 2016 (PGPR) (2017)

The Punjab Gender Parity Report (2017) is the major report published by the Punjab Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) after its formation in 2014. It sheds light on major areas of concerns with regards to women's development and rights in the province. It discusses gender based parity on broader issues, such as governance, health, education, economic participation, legal protection, and violence against women. However in this comprehensive document of 240 pages, women's mobility and transport issues were not discussed. The report mentions only once that transport

is important for women's mobility while discussing overall the issue of women economic participation at the national level. It states that "in Pakistan, mobility constraints are one of the major causes for women in accessing education and work" (Punjab Commission on the Status of Women, 2017, p. 82).

It provides no further analysis of the issue. Any other time it mentions transport or mobility is when it highlights gender parity of private vehicle ownership in Punjab. While discussing this gender parity, it takes the car as a facilitator of mobility and symbol of power. It highlights, "having a vehicle registered in their name not only directly facilitates mobility of women but is also an asset which enhances their social status and economic power" (p. 107).

In summary, it can be said that transport, and women's development policies and other documents have not focused on women's transport or mobility issues in urban areas of Pakistan. Although some studies have mentioned transport issues as one of the barriers to women's economic empowerment, this has been done in the passing and the issues of women's transport has not been thoroughly analysed to see how it can be an important tool for their empowerment and fulfilling educational and employment-related needs. One of the reasons, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, is the perception among policy-makers in transport and women's development departments that transport is regarded as a technical field which serves people irrespective of gender and age. This shows a rather bigger issue of interaction and interface of Pakistani bureaucracy with the general public. As discussed in the work of Hull (2012) there was a disconnect between bureaucrats' dealings and people's aspirations in government offices, such as Capital Development Authority (CDA) in Islamabad. According to him, Pakistani bureaucracy can be regarded as a continuation of the colonial legacy of governance, which was popularly "known as "Kaghazi Raj" or Document Rule" (p. 7). The focus is given to producing complex documents and maps in a language which common people cannot understand. This can be seen in the transport policy documents as well. The general public, particularly women, are unaware of these complex policy wordings and on this very pretext they are excluded

from the process, which further imparts the feeling among them that transport is a complex and technical field.

8.3.2 International development institutions and NGOs

Although the federal government controls the decision-making process regarding transport and women's development, it in turn is highly dependent on the technical and financial support of international development institutions. This role can be seen in setting priorities in different sectors including transport and women's development. Here, different initiatives and studies of these institutions and NGOs with regards to transport and women's development will be discussed.

1. Transport

ADB Transport policy document (2003)

This document outlined that Government of Pakistan made several attempts to articulate a comprehensive transport policy based on the findings of the World Bank's transport sector development initiative (TSDI) launched during June 1999 to March 2000. The National Transport Research Centre (NTRC) was entrusted with this task, but due to lack of its capacity it could not formulate a policy document. Afterwards the Asian Development Bank (ADB) was asked to provide technical assistance in formulating a transport policy document in 2003. This policy recommended the establishment of Transport Council (TC), which could consist of ministers from relevant department such as finance, communications, railways, defense, local government, and the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission. This TC was to be supported by a Transportation Coordination Committee (TCC), which would also be established, to review the policy guidelines of the initial study reports and recommend it for approval. Although this policy report proposed that investment in infrastructure would be based on network efficiency and poverty reducing measures, there was no clear guidelines to how a poverty reduction strategy would be formulated for the transport sector. Similarly, the needs of transport disadvantaged groups including women were not discussed in this study.

World Bank - Rural access and mobility in Pakistan (2005)

This policy note stresses the need for better infrastructure and transport means in rural areas for the economic and social development of people. It highlights various developmental issues that need to be addressed for the betterment of rural people, such as water, sanitation, electricity, job opportunities and governance system. Furthermore, the report explains that improvement in the performance of the transport sector is one of the top priorities on the World Bank's poverty reduction agenda. According to this report, women would benefit significantly from an improved rural transport project. Giving the example of another project, it states that "the project had also a significant impact on women who are now able to travel further, more frequently and safer. Women's interactions outside homestead facilitated acquisition of skills and knowledge" (Essakali, 2005, p. 8). Although there is a need for a better transport system in rural areas, the issue of women's transport in urban areas is different and more complex. The World Bank has not conducted any study or project addressing the travel needs of women in urban areas.

ADB Country Partnership Strategy (2009-13)

Pakistan makes Country Partnership Strategy (CPS) papers with the ADB, which outlines major areas of cooperation, policy and a strategic framework. In the last CPS (2009-2013), different sectors and development themes were outlined including the transport and urban development sectors and the gender assessment of the country. In the transport sector, the strategy highlights that transport contributes about 10% of GDP. The sector is dominated by road transport and carries 91% of passenger traffic and 96% of freight traffic. Railways carry only 5% of traffic. The demand for transport in the country is expected to increase 8% annually. The major issues faced by this sector are lack of a unified transport policy framework and lack of financing for sustainable maintenance. In the urban transport sector, it highlights that transport in major cities in Pakistan is in an abysmal state due to poor infrastructure and services, lack of efficiency, weak local government capacity and low revenue, and lack of strategic planning. It adds that due to poor quality of public transport, private vehicles are growing which adds to the problems of cities.

All these studies mentioned above take transport as an area which can improve the economic conditions of people. Transport can provide people with necessary travel to improve their productivity. However, all these documents do not mention the gendered power relations within the transport sector and in broader society which impact on people's mobility, especially women, in the context of Pakistan. This economic efficiency is needed, but it these studies do not mention structural issues in the transport sector.

2. Women's development

International institutions, such as the United Nations group, the World Bank, Asian Development bank, IUCN, Oxfam, Action Aid, and USAID have been working in Pakistan for many decades. They provide funding for many government initiatives especially with regards to women's education, political participation, health systems, and gender training in government departments. In this way, they are very important actors and have the ability to influence government policies with regards to women's development.

Women and mobility...towards developing a gender programme (UNDP) (1996)

As far as women's transport or mobility is concerned, United Nations Development Programme launched a project on women's mobility in 1996 in Lahore. The project completion document was not found but the Preparatory Assistance (PA) document outlined all the priorities set forth with regards to women's travel in Lahore. It states that "the core issue is not transport for women but the right of women to move freely in public places without harassment" (United Nations Development Programme, 1999, p. 1). The document also stressed that the issue of women's mobility was missing from national discourse. The only long-term solution envisioned in this document was awareness raising and sensitization of all sub-groups associated with the women's transport issue, such as transport owners and employees, traffic police, NGOs and CBOs. The document also suggests that the planning and implementation process should be made gender-sensitive as "promoting dialogue between and within the stakeholders, communities and families is essential to dealing with the problems

associated with women’s mobility” (United Nations Development Programme, 1999, p. 10). This was a very early initiative on the part of the international institutions and NGOs to highlight the need and importance of transport for women’s development in the country, and the need for widespread attitude change in society in support of women’s mobility.

Women’s physical mobility project – ILO (2010)

In the project Women’s Employment Concerns and Working Conditions project (WEC-PK), ILO realised that physical mobility or travel is one of the main problems of working women in Pakistani cities. In order to study this issue in some detail, they started a women’s physical mobility project under the WEC-PK. The study included a desk review of the previous studies, existing programmes and policy analysis to identify gaps and recommend doable measures to address concerns. They began discussions with transport operators and working women from the lower income segment of the population and with those working in the informal sector, particularly in the garments sub-sector in Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi. The study had the following conclusions:

- The current design of buses needs to ensure the total segregation of women passengers from both the driver and conductor, on the one hand, and from the male passengers on the other.
- A strict compliance to rules on stopping only at public designed bus stops should be made mandatory and the current rules on punishment for violation need to be changed.
- The introduction of female traffic police officers has proved to be useful in a somewhat similar socio-cultural milieu prevailing in Pakistan to that in Lima. This should be tried as a pilot project with the induction of women into the traffic police in equal proportion to the current size of the police force in the pilot city.
- The introduction of a Bus Rapid Transit system which has proven its success in several cities around the world and is currently being considered for implementation in several Indian cities should also be examined for Pakistani cities.

Even though the ILO managed to persuade the government through the Ministry of Labour to form a task force on women's physical mobility, the task force did not function after the completion of the WEC-PK project. One of the common criticisms on these kinds of arrangements is the lack of ownership of the initiative/project after donor funding ends. Furthermore, the local organisations, that call themselves partners of development, are also sometimes divorced from the realities of poor people.

Rapid Assessment of Sexual Harassment in Public Transport and Connected Spaces in Karachi – Asian Development Bank (2014)

In 2014 Asian Development (ADB) studied the experience, types, reaction and impact of sexual harassment in public transport services in Karachi. This study highlighted that a vast majority of women experience harassment in public transport. For example, “85 percent of working women, 82 percent students and 67 percent homemakers felt harassed, at least once, while commuting during the last year” (Asian Development Bank, 2014, p. 4). These figures are telling regarding how wide-spread the phenomenon of harassment is in public transport in urban areas in Pakistan. In my research this is also evident that all of the female respondents said that they have been harassed in public transport at least once during their travel time.

The report maintains that overcrowding is the major factor that leads to women's harassment in public transport and recommends a separate bus service or separate section in the bus as a policy tool to tackle this issue. This issue will be discussed in the next chapter, noting that a separate bus service for women perpetuates gender segregation and does not tackle the underlying causes of women's harassment which are gendered.

Pakistan Sustainable Transport Project (PAKSTRAN) (2015)

UNDP started the 'Pakistan Sustainable Transport Project' (PAKSTRAN) in 2012. The project has recently been completed but only the mid-term review report (published in 2015) is available. The objective of this project was to reduce growth of energy consumption and related greenhouse gas emissions from the transport sector in

Pakistan. In order to achieve this objective it sets out to create an enabling investment in environment, institutional and policy frameworks, fuel efficiency of freight transport, and awareness raising. The project focuses on the environmental aspects and to some extent economic aspects of the transport, while giving very little attention to social issues. The main focus of the project is to start a BRT system in major cities of Pakistan. The Project Manager agreed, during an interview, that this project document has not laid out the social and gender concerns of transport, but said “as we progress these issues will be taken care of. Most of the issues and problems faced by women in the cities are due to the behavioural and social attitude men in the society. And there is no way we can change this attitude through this project”. The mid-term review did highlight that women’s travel and mobility concerns were not taken into account in this project.

Women’s economic participation and empowerment in Pakistan – status report 2016 (2016)

This UN-Women’s study highlights the importance of women’s economic participation for their empowerment in Pakistan. The underlying logic behind this study was to make women (half of the country’s population) productive by increasing their access and involvement in the formal labour force. The report is quite long because it touches on the main issues of women’s empowerment such as access and opportunities, labour force participation, valuing unpaid family work and the wage gap. However, transport issues are only discussed as an axillary to labour force participation. It lacks any discussion around women’s transport related issues in major cities in Pakistan. Nonetheless, the report recommends that in order for women to fully participate in the labour force, they should be provided with “day care centres and efficient, affordable and safe public transport” (UN-Women Pakistan, 2016, p. 166).

In summary, it can be said that the most progressive of the initiatives by international organizations was the 1996 women and mobility study by the UNDP. This study recognize mobility as a human right in that “the core issue is not transport for women but the right of women to move freely in public places without harassment” (United Nations Development Programme, 1999, p. 1). However, most of other planning and

policy documents of international donors rarely recognise gender and transport issues and when they do they take a welfare or efficiency approach (Moser, 1989), as discussed in Chapter Three, in which the underlying causes of women's exclusion in transport are not discussed. It is also important to mention here that donors' role in framing a development agenda is vital in developing countries, such as Pakistan. As mentioned earlier, transport is defined and perceived in 'technical' terms, which divorces it from people's development needs and everyday experiences. As Imran (2010) highlights in his study, transport has largely been defined in economic terms, and environmental and social concerns are ignored in donor discourses. Since local NGOs mostly depend on international donors for their funding, there were a very small number of local NGOs who had worked on women's transport issue in Pakistani cities. This will be discussed in the next section.

3. Local NGO initiatives

At present there are many national NGOs who are either working exclusively on women's or gender issues, or have dedicated programmes on women's development in their organizations. Some of these NGOs include: *Aurat* Foundation, Pattan Development Foundation, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Strengthening Participatory Organizations (SPO), and Rozan. All of these NGOs are working on advocacy and awareness raising, women's rights, legal protection, research, and capacity building. Mostly, they have focused on issues such as education, healthcare, employment generation, honour killing, harassment, land reforms, and the justice system. They have also produced many reports on these issues. There are however very few organisations that have worked on the issue of women's mobility in urban areas of Pakistan. This is partly because of the lack of interest of donors in women's mobility issues in urban areas in Pakistan. When I asked the Programme Director of *Mehegarh* (a local NGO) about this she admitted that women do face a lot of issues while travelling and it is one of the core issues for their empowerment but they had not raised this issue in its totality. When it was asked why this issue was not taken up by any other NGO, she replied

[because] women's mobility or transport is not a selling agenda. Donors don't fund this at the moment. Maybe when they do there would be a lot NGOs raising the slogan of women's mobility (Maliha Hussian, Programme Director, Mehergarh).

There were very few NGOs working on urban development in general, and transport in particular in Pakistan. As far Rawalpindi/Islamabad was concerned, I came across Akhtar Hameed Khan Resource Center (AHKRC) that has conducted few studies on Raja Bazar traffic, *Katchi Abadis* (slums) in Islamabad, drinking water and shelter issues. The study on Raja Bazar traffic issues has raised concerns of transport and people's travel in the area. The study highlights congestion, encroachments by shopkeepers, lack of parking spaces, and abundance of street vendors as some of the important issues as far as traffic management in the area is concerned (Akhtar Hameed Khan Resource Centre, 2011). The study does not discuss travel-related issues faced by women in the area, but suggests that pedestrians face a lot of problems due to encroachment of footpaths by shopkeepers, which intrinsically means that women have to face problems because of lack of walking spaces in the area.

Women's Safety Audit in Public Transport in Lahore (2017) – Aurat Foundation

Aurat Foundation conducted a situational analysis study of women's harassment and safety concerns regarding public transport in Lahore with the help of UN-Women and Australian Aid. The study highlighted various issues, such as unavailability of sex-disaggregated data, safety concerns at bus stops, harassment issues on buses, and lack of awareness about sexual harassment laws among women commuters. This study is very important as it put the focus of women's harassment towards public transport and in public spaces such as bus stops. It also was the result of collaboration with UN-Women and Australian Aid, signaling the need to study women's harassment issues in transport in cities in Pakistan. This study recommends making infrastructure and transport service women-friendly. In that it highlights the need to increase number of seats for women in buses, and developing other long term initiatives such as provincial gender and transport policy, and gender sensitization and trainings for police, service providers and other stakeholders. This study is very relevant, however, the structural

issues and underlying causes of sexual harassment and women's inequality in transport was not addressed in this study.

8.4 Women's Agency and Empowerment Initiatives

Having discussed a wide range of policy making processes and reviewed many relevant policy studies around transport and women's development, it becomes evident that women's travel needs in cities in Pakistan are not addressed. Despite these constraints, there are a few initiatives by women's NGOs and groups which can be regarded as empowering initiatives as far as women's travel and mobility is concerned. These initiatives are discussed in this section.

8.4.1 Alliance against sexual harassment at the workplace (AASHA)

AASHA was established as an alliance of organisations interested in dealing with the issue of sexual harassment in 2001. It included seven NGOs working on women's development issues. This alliance became a movement over a period of time, mobilising labour unions, other women organisations and the private sector. The Alliance also lobbied like-minded politicians and a law was passed in 2010 against sexual harassment in the workplaces. Although this alliance was primarily focused to challenge sexual harassment at the workplace, it also touched upon harassment of women while traveling, at the bus/taxi stands, and in the buses. For instance, one of the reports produced by AASHA mentioned the following case study:

Rizwana not only experienced harassment from her clients and co-workers, but also would get harassed commuting from home to work. It was a Sunday and her brother refused to drop her at the store in his car, this led to an argument. Rizwana left on her own and decided to take a cab. While she was waiting at the taxi stand, a policeman walked by, taking her for a "free game" he asked her meaningfully where she was going. She asked him to mind his business at this he scolded and threatened her. Meanwhile his two accomplices who were in ordinary clothes joined him. He asked them to drag her in the car and let us enjoy the day off. Her brother realising that she was on

her own came after her and saw her arguing with the policemen. He enquired as to what was going on, to this the policemen advised him to mind his own business but when he told them he was her brother they let go of the victim. Rizwana's family launched a complaint at the police station and got the policeman suspended (Alliance Against Sexual Harassment at the Workplace (AASHA), 2002, p. 13).

It is encouraging that civil society has taken up the issue of women's harassment in public places in Pakistan. This can serve as an instrumental in raising awareness about harassment issues that women undergo everyday while using public spaces and public transport.

8.4.2 'Car-van' leaders' project (*Aurat* Foundation)

Aurat foundation started a 'car-van leadership' project in which they selected 10-12 women from very poor backgrounds to give them complete training on driving. This was intended to make them independent and skilful so that they can work as professional drivers or can start their own private taxi business. All the participants of the project seemed very motivated when I meet them at the *Aurat* Foundation office. This might set some good examples in changing societal stereotypes against women's professions. The participants are shown in the figure 8.1.

Figure 8. 1: Participants of the car-van leaders' project at Aurat Foundation office



Source: Author

8.4.3 The 'other wheel' project

Punjab Lok Sujag (PLS), a research and advocacy organisation focusing on culture and local language, initiated a 'The Other Wheel' project in which girls were encouraged to commute by using two-wheelers (cycles and motor-cycles). Women commuting on two-wheelers is a strong taboo in the society. As Shaukat (2014, para 7) reports, "PLS team wrote letters to more than 40 public and private universities to encourage the use of bicycles for commuting on campus. Ather says none of the universities in Lahore responded. Of the 45 letters they had sent, only three got positive feedback, one of them from the University of Agriculture Faisalabad". Despite the fact that this initiative is very limited in its scope and people did not accept the new initiative easily in Pakistani, this would be useful in challenging the stereotypes around women's mobility in general. This can be seen in the figure 8.2.

Figure 8. 2: The other wheel project initiated at Agriculture University, Faisalabad



Source: Punjab Lok Sujag

8.5 Conclusion

From the above discussion it becomes evident that despite the sporadic initiatives addressing women’s mobility and their transport issues, no long-term and comprehensive effort has been initiated in Pakistan. Similarly, the policy and planning documents at different levels have also not tackled this issue seriously. Transport and women’s development have remained, to a large extent, isolated fields in policy making circles. There are very limited instances where these two issues have merged together.

Part of the problems is the poor coordination and bureaucratic structure of policy-making institutions. One of the officials at TMA, Rawalpindi said,

“there is lack of coordination between the different government structures. The policy making is not done keeping in view the ground realities at the city level. They [policy makers at the federal level] put

rosy words in the policy but these cannot be implemented” (EDO, Spatial planning, TMA).

A lack of coordination, sometimes, exaggerates and leads to rivalry between different organisations. If one department feels threatened by the other, it uses all its measures to undermine the other. For instance, Saeed (2014, para 6) recalled her experience of working with the ministry of women:

“Even the women’s ministry undermined the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), established in 2001 and blocked amendments to the Commission’s law for seven years until 2012, when it became independent. Due to the bureaucratic structure, the ministry itself was the biggest hurdle to women’s empowerment”

In addition, where the transport and mobility needs of women are recognized, proposed ‘solutions’ are largely technical, including provision of more separate transport services for women. This fails to address the primary socio-cultural reasons for restrictions on women’s mobility and completely overlooks the need for widespread attitude change so that women do not face harassment when travelling. Furthermore, women are not involved in the policy development process; rather they are excluded from the process. This is because the transport sector is largely occupied by engineers and planners and it is considered as a ‘technical’ field, where the general public, especially women, have no role to play. This exclusion translates into the development of transport policies which lack the basic understanding that the travel needs of men and women are different. As a result, the transport policy becomes ‘gender-blind’, while on the other hand women’s development policy is ‘transport or mobility blind’.

CHAPTER NINE: PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVEMENTS TO TRANSPORT TO HELP OVERCOME WOMEN'S EXCLUSION (DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION)

9.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to investigate women's experiences of transport-related social exclusion, factors responsible for this, and how women negotiate restrictions on their mobility in urban areas in Pakistan. The present chapter draws together the findings from the previous chapters and discusses them in relation to the key literature on gender and transport, particularly with regards to empowerment and rights-based approaches to development. It starts with discussing how the four research questions were answered. It then looks at transport as an empowerment strategy for women by focusing on various empowerment levels, such as personal, relational and collective. It further highlights some of the institutional structures of power with regards to transport policy and discusses the relevance of a rights-based approach to devise a mechanism for making responsible people accountable. In doing so the chapter refers back to the theoretical framework presented in Chapter Three and discusses key concepts related to empowerment and rights-based approaches. The chapter also draws key contributions of the thesis in the field of gender and transport literature, and also outlines some recommendations for policy-makers.

9.2 Answering the Research Questions

I began this research with an interest to understand women's transport-related issues in Islamabad and Rawalpindi in Pakistan. As mentioned in the opening story in the introduction chapter of this thesis, my interest in this topic was the result of moving to and observing women's transport issues in these cities: specifically, socio-cultural norms prohibiting their mobility, harassment at public spaces including in public transport, inadequate transport and other services, and indifferent attitude of policy and planning institutions responsible for women's travel. With this as a background, the present research was started with the explicit aim to

- Investigate women's experiences of transport-related social exclusion, factors responsible for this, and how women negotiate restrictions on their mobility in urban areas of Pakistan.

In order to achieve this aim, four research questions were formulated.

1. How do socio-cultural, economic and religious values affect women's travel in urban areas in Pakistan?
2. How does the spatial structure, such as urban form and characteristics of the built environment, impact positively or negatively on women's transportation patterns?
3. What role do institutional structures, such as planning and policy processes, play in transport-related exclusion of women in Pakistani cities?
4. How do women use their agency to negotiate restrictions on their travel in urban areas of Pakistan?

In terms of research question 1, this research has demonstrated that women face strong social values and norms that inhibit their ability to fully participate in the social and economic life of the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. These problems range from misogynistic attitudes of males including the drivers and conductors of the public transport, social values against mobile women, safety issues, teasing behaviour towards 'independent' women, and restrictions imposed in the name of female segregation. These transport-related problems are intrinsically linked to the patriarchal values whereby women are seen and treated as inferior to men. Women have to ask for permission from male family members to go outside of the home alone. They are being patronised and protected in the name of family 'honour', which gives the male members of the family an ultimate right to make decisions for women that include travel, education, healthcare and marriage.

In answering research question 2, Chapter Seven showed that spaces in Islamabad and Rawalpindi as in other cities in Pakistan are gendered. Women's lives are regulated in public spaces and they are not able to do things which men can do. They felt as if they are 'outsiders' and as 'not belonging' to the public spaces, which limits their abilities to

travel freely in these cities. The majority of the city services, such as parks, bus stops, footpaths, public toilets and public transport are not designed for the needs of women. Women experience harassment in the form of verbal comments and physical touch by men including drivers and conductors of public transport. Many women's experience of traveling and maneuvering public spaces in Islamabad and Rawalpindi was of fear, which created anxiety and instilled the feeling of exclusion in them.

Women's travel in urban areas in Pakistan is also affected by the policy-making structures, as explored in research question 3 in Chapter Eight. The study has highlighted that the policy-making structures in Islamabad and Rawalpindi are not neutral rather they carry masculine agendas as norms due to decision-making being historically dominated by men. Transport was considered as a 'technical' field both by the transport policy-makers and people working in women's development organisations. This meant that the general public including women was not engaged in the policy development process, rather it was considered as 'wastage of time' by one of the officials. Because of the lack of women's involvement in policy making and consideration of transport as a 'technical' field, there was no regard for women's travel needs and patterns. This study has demonstrated that women's transport needs and patterns are distinctly different from men, however, the transport policy and narrative of policy-makers does not take into account this difference. As a result, transport policy and planning in Islamabad and Rawalpindi is dominated by men's 'home to work' travel needs and their labour patterns. The transport policy structure ignores the qualitative aspects of travel, such as safety, attitudes, reasons for travel, multiple identities and social roles of transport users, which are more important for women's travel. This contributes to the exclusion of women from the transport system in urban areas in Pakistan.

Situated in the broader frameworks of the rights-based and empowerment approaches, this study highlights the importance of studying women's negotiation of transportation issues, as highlighted earlier in this chapter when answering research question 4. The present research argues that transport could be used as a place of analysis where gendered power relations of society are played out. Women's travel

gives them an opportunity to negotiate power relations in the private sphere through 'appropriation' and use of their mobility and travel outside their homes in public spaces. As this research has demonstrated, many women were highly motivated and eager to change patriarchal norms. Almost every woman interviewed for this research said that women should travel and instead of staying home should participate in public life. They also said that this is not an easy task, keeping in view the socio-cultural and religious values of people as well as the misogynistic attitudes of many men in public spaces. Another important point to note was that they felt travelling and confronting problems made them feel independent and empowered. Although full empowerment is difficult to achieve as there are still restrictions placed on them and what they earn mostly goes into male hands in families, the social values are changing subtly in favour of women because of economic pressures families are more reliant on female incomes than previously. Furthermore, women who were more mobile and thus actively engaged in the community reported having greater influence over decision-making at the household level.

This is also important to mention here the relevance of transport and women's empowerment to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). SDGs seek to "realize the human rights of all and to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls. They are integrated and indivisible and balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental" (United Nations, 2015a, p. 1). In this statement, while highlighting three dimensions of sustainable development, SDGs stress the needs to achieve gender equality and empowerment for all including women and girls. So an overarching focus of SDGs is on gender equality and empowerment, as well as on sustainable and inclusive cities. The present study draws a lot of relevance of urban transport and women's mobility issues to SDGs 5 and 11. It is mentioned earlier in chapter Two that SDG 11.2 specifically focuses on the provision of safe, affordable and accessible transport systems to all including women and other marginalised groups.

Similarly, Goal 5 intends to "achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" (United Nations, 2015a, p. 18). In this goal, many targets have similarities or

linkages to various components of the present study. For instance target 5.2 highlights to “eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls in the public and private spheres...”(p. 18) ; target 5.4 stresses the need to provide better public services, infrastructure and social protection policies; and target 5.5 asks to “ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making...” (p. 18). The present study has highlighted that gender equality and women’s empowerment is intrinsically linked to efficient and effective transport systems in cities especially in developing countries. There is a need for women’s full participation in transport policy and planning processes, as well as gender-aware infrastructure and city design in order to achieve the goal of gender equality and women’s empowerment.

9.3 Women’s Transport as an Empowerment Strategy

Let me start this section with Willard’s book from 1895 England entitled *How I learned to ride the bicycle, with some reflection along the way*, where she wrote her personal story of learning to ride a bicycle at the age of 53. She recalled spending a ‘live out of doors’ life until at the age of sixteen when she was “enwrapped in the long skirts that impeded every footstep” in the name of becoming a middle-class noble woman (Willard, 1895, p. 72). However, learning to ride a bike gave her “skill, knowledge, [and] character” (p. 53), which went beyond the act of physical movement from one place to other rather gave her the feeling of power, personal growth and freedom. According to her, this has remarkable potential for changing the stereotypes around women, as

If women ride, they must, when riding, dress more rationally than they have been wont to do. If they do this, many prejudices as to what they may be allowed to wear will melt away. Reason will gain upon precedent, and ere long the comfortable, sensible, and artistic wardrobe of the rider will make the conventional style of woman’s dress absurd to the eye and unendurable to the understanding (Willard, 1895, p. 39).

After she had learnt to ride the bike along with a few other females, she observed that it felt like

The old fables, myths, and follies associated with the idea of woman's incompetence to handle bat and oar, bridle and rein, and at last the cross-bar of the bicycle, are passing into contempt in presence of the nimbleness, agility, and skill of 'that boy's sister' (Willard, 1895, p. 41).

The concepts of 'freedom' and 'mobility', her ideals and reasons for learning to ride a bicycle, still resonate in present times. The present study sees a lot of similarities with women in Islamabad and Rawalpindi who are still struggling for these things to happen in their lives due to socio-cultural norms and structural issues of power in Pakistan. These social norms and masculine values, highlighted in Chapters Five and Six, restrict women's mobility and travel in urban areas in Pakistan. Transport or mobility is promising them the freedom which can lead their empowerment by increasing their confidence, self-esteem and ability to make choices on their own. In doing so transport can be used as a tool to fulfill women's strategic gender needs rather than from fulfilling their practical gender needs only. While transport planners and development policy makers tend to focus on the technical, practical needs of getting women from 'A' to 'B', the strategic gender needs, as discussed earlier in Chapter Three, are the ones which challenge women's subordinate position within gendered and societal power structures (Molyneux, 1985; Moser, 1989). The following section discusses the ways in which transport is providing women with different empowerment strategies.

9.3.1 Levels of empowerment

- ***Personal empowerment***

Despite the social and structural barriers to women's travel in urban areas in Pakistan, women are exerting themselves in all spheres of life (as shown in last sections in the findings Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight of this thesis). These are empowering initiatives in the field of transport that have the potential to change women's position in Pakistan. For example, women's labour-force participation has increased from 16.0% in 2000 to 24.9% in 2017 in Pakistan (The World Bank, 2017). This increase can be seen

in sectors which were traditionally considered as 'male-only' professions, such as transport sector.

I interviewed two females who were working as professional drivers, one as a taxi driver and the other as a professional driver in an international NGO (their stories are mentioned in Chapter Six). Their stories were inspirational in many respects, especially in the context of how they stood up for their rights and braved the odds in a male-dominated society. Similarly, working at gas stations is also a male-dominated profession. Recently, one of the gas stations in Lahore hired many women workers (see figure 9.1). One of the female workers said about her working: "when a car drives up, we greet customers and ask them if they would like Hi-Octane or Premium and that's all, we don't make idle chatter" (Rana, 2014, para 6). This implies that women are not supposed to make 'idle chatter' with unrelated men in public space, which is in line with the findings of this study. Nonetheless their presence in a male-dominated profession is an empowering act. Most of the female respondents also said that even coming out of their homes felt empowering.

Figure 9. 1: A female working on a gas station alongside male workers

Source: (Rana, 2014)

Some women respondents regarded 'independent' women as their role models. This role model phenomenon can be taken as something they wanted to follow, which in turn can lead changes in their lives. For example, two respondents gave me the

examples of Ishrat and Dildar, who lived in their neighborhoods and exerted their choice to work in the private and government sector respectively. They were their role models not only because they joined the job market but also the way they challenged gender stereotypes in public space. These respondents talked about their mobility, confidence and self-belief in maneuvering public space. For instance, one respondent gave me the example of Ishrat, who was once harassed at the local bus stop by two stranger men. In response to the harassment, Ishrat “gave them back” by shouting at them and even hitting them with her shoe. This incidence remains a popular subject of discussion among other females including school-going girls in the neighborhood. Although, some men talked negatively about Ishrat, she braved the way and became a “role model” for young girls who could relate to these instances in their own everyday lives. This self-realization about the bad situation and need for change is an important first step towards their empowerment. As Sharp, Briggs, Yacoub, & Hamed (2003) highlight, these kind of changes “have to come from women’s own analysis and critique of their position in society and cannot be imposed by those from outside” (Sharp et al., 2003, p. 292). As mentioned earlier in Chapter Six, the majority of female participants said that transport and being mobile increased their self-confidence and ability to handle tough situations.

- ***Relational empowerment***

Women’s transport occurs in a space which is created and recreated based on the relationship between people and their environments (Massey, 2005). Building on this, Alberts, Pfeffer, & Baud (2016, p. 150) claim that “people have agency by literally being in a location”. The findings of this study highlight that travelling and navigating the city spaces makes women happy and confident. However, the extent to which they can influence or change a specific space depends on the power they possess in relation to others, especially men, in that physical space. Having said this, transport or mobility in public space is also a mirror of social relations prevailing in a society. The decision to travel or not to travel are based on gender relations within the private sphere and based on the sociocultural notions surrounding around women’s place in a society. In most cases, women in Pakistan have limited power in social relations within private spheres which impact negatively on their travel.

There is another dimension to women's travel. Women's travel also gives them an opportunity to negotiate these power relations in the private sphere through 'appropriation' and use of their mobility and travel outside their homes in public space. This strengthens their position even in power relations within the private sphere. As Law (1999) maintains, transport is the place where these two spheres come together,

It is the single human activity that most clearly bridges the symbolic and spatial distinction between public and private which is a feature of western urbanism. It is the actual metaphoric link between the spheres and spaces of production and reproduction, work and home (p. 571).

The examples of female respondents, namely Zahida, Asma, Ishrat, and Beenish, mentioned in Chapter Six, highlights that transport have given them confident and the opportunity to change the social relations within their private spheres. Similarly, Weiss (2001) maintains that norms and social values in Pakistani society surrounding around gender relations and power are changing. These norms are fuelled by debates within the family, increase in the school enrolment of girls, and frequent appearances of women in the public spheres, which results in a "constant renegotiation of power relations within the social order" (Weiss, 2001, p. 66). As far the present study is concerned, almost all the female respondents said that despite problems they feel more confident than before and if they exert themselves they can make their family members agree on any issue, and this was not possible even few years ago. According to them, reasons for this change are economic pressures which mean women's income-generating potential is valued, and thus the ability of women to come out of the private sphere of home. They added that at present, in many households, men alone cannot meet the needs of family and their women are providing this assistance by working. This is a great opportunity for women because most of the patriarchal values in Pakistan rest on the assumption that men are breadwinners and should be given preference in decision-making.

- **Collective empowerment**

Although all these personal and relational empowerment measures are important, “some sort of collective action or struggle also seems necessary” (A. Allen, 2008, p. 164) because it is through collective action and “involvement of groups that people most often begin to develop their awareness and ability to organize to take action and bring about change” (Sahay, 1998, p. 220). Scholars have long stressed the need for collective actions and struggles in order to challenge oppressive and patriarchal structures (Carella & Ackerly, 2017; Kabeer, 1994; Kesby, 2005; Moser, 2017; Parpart et al., 2002; Scheyvens, 2009). One of the good examples of collective action in the context of Pakistan was the Alliance Against Sexual Harassment at the Workplace (AASHA), discussed in detail in Chapter Eight. AASHA, an alliance of different organisations, was established in 2001 (Alliance Against Sexual Harassment at the Workplace (AASHA), 2002). After years of coordination, collaboration, awareness raising and lobbying with like-minded politicians, it was able to pass a law against sexual harassment in 2010. This highlights the importance of partnership and coalition building for mitigating inequalities and making effective programmes for women’s empowerment (Carella & Ackerly, 2017).

In the gender and transport field in Pakistan, there is no such alliance to tackle the issue of women’s mobility in urban areas, however there are few initiatives taken up by local NGOs, advocacy and university groups, which can be regarded as collective actions for tackling women’s mobility-related issues. These initiatives have been discussed in detail in Chapter Eight. One such initiative was the car-van leaders’ project initiated by *Aurat* Foundation in Islamabad. In this project, *Aurat* Foundation selected 10-12 women from low economic backgrounds to give them complete training on driving with the aim to later place them as professional drivers in various organisations or to help them start their own taxi service. Similarly, Punjab Lok Sujab (PLS), another local NGO, initiated ‘The Other Wheel’ project in which it collaborated with different universities to provide female students with motorcycles so that they can ride within university campuses. Although limited in scope, this initiative involved networking with universities in order to change social perceptions surrounding around women riding bicycles or motorcycles. This triggered some debate in the media and the Punjab

Government started a Women on Wheels (WoW) initiative in 2015. In WoW, women (working and university students) were given driving lessons and later provided with motorbikes at a subsidised rate. Recently, 700 women were given these motorcycles in Lahore (Jalil, 2018). However, this received a mixed reaction from men. Sarwari writes about the reaction of men on Facebook posts over the issue;

Women shouldn't ride bikes because they will cause accidents; because they are men's honor; because women are respect-worthy and should not be eye candy for perverted men; because they need to be protected from the patriarchy (that men perpetuate in the first place); and, my favorite, that women will not know which side of the road to ride on (Sarwari, 2018, para 6).

These comments reiterate the point that misogynistic views are deeply entrenched in Pakistani society. In order to change these and to empower women, there is a need for collective action from people (men and women), NGOs, government and the private sector. As Kabeer (2011, p. 500) puts it, "through their mutual interactions...the empowerment of individual women is most likely to translate into broader struggles for gender justice and social transformation".

A very interesting initiative was started by young female university students in Karachi, namely "hashtag Girls at *Dhabas*" on twitter, Facebook and Tumblr, in May 2015. This was a casual hashtag with their picture sitting at one of the tea stalls locally called as *dhabas*. *Dhabas* are roadside stalls mostly dominated by men where no women are seen. It received a lot of reaction and women from other places, within the country and outside, started sharing their pictures of drinking tea at such *dhabas*. These young women were able to start a conversation about women's ability to access public spaces which were traditionally dominated by men in Pakistan. They called this a 'feminist collective' and made connection with other girls in cities like Lahore and Islamabad. As this collective grew, they organized events such as 'bicycle rallies' in Islamabad, Lahore and Karachi in order to promote women's presence in public spaces and raise awareness about gender equality. In their third annual bicycle rally in April

2018, women were carrying banners with empowering slogans, as can be seen in figure 9.2.

Figure 9. 2: Women participants of the 3rd annual bike rally carrying play cards in Islamabad



Source: (Geo News, 2018)

These play cards read: “Ride the bike and get rid of patriarchy” (1st sign from left), “Our roads, our city” (2nd sign from left). This initiative became popular among young women in Islamabad and they participated in good numbers. Through such kinds of voluntary and organic initiatives, which women are organizing themselves for their own empowerment, long term social change can be envisioned. This is in line with the empowerment and developmental thinkers who stress the need to facilitate women to devise their own strategies and avoid giving them any blue prints for empowerment. As Rowlands (1998) highlights, “we need to move away from any notion of empowerment, and perhaps even development, as something that can be done ‘to’ people or ‘for’ people” (Rowlands, 1998, p. 30).

This notion of collective empowerment puts a lot of emphasis on the structures of power and domination in a society, unlike the empowerment rhetoric by dominant development organisations that “fail to recognize the relationships of empowerment and domination” (Phillips, 2016, p. 27). Sardenberg (2008) refers to these organisations’ approach as “liberal” if it focuses only on women’s individual gains and

growth, with little attention to the unequal power relations in a society. On the other hand, she proposes a “liberating” empowerment approach that emphasises on unequal power relations at the centre of inquiry for gender equality. Understanding these relationships of power and domination is important in order to achieve gender equality and empowerment objectives for women in any field including in transport sector.

- ***Subtle strategies of empowerment / ‘bargaining with patriarchy’***

Sometimes the processes of change and empowerment are not necessarily very obvious. There are also ‘subtle strategies’ of empowerment associated with women’s travel in the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. For instance, *chadder* (*pardah* or veil) which is generally associated with women’s oppression and a symbol of their subordination, particularly in western feminist discourses, is creatively used as a tool of women’s empowerment. Many women respondents used *pardah* in order to go outside in public space. Although there were many instances where *pardah* did not guard women from being harassed in public space and in public transport, nonetheless many women regarded it as a safeguard that they could go out in public space unharmed. As Billaud (2009) puts it with reference to Afghan women, many rights activists are using veiling to bring about social change by “working within the system”, as this gives them respect and freedom (Billaud, 2009).

Some other women respondents said that although they “wanted to do as they like” in public space, they were conscious of the fact that it will be in direct conflict with patriarchal norms and can reduce their chances of ever coming out in public space because male members of their households would not let them go out. They adopt then the ‘subtle strategies’ whereby they endorse the idea of ‘good women’ by having *pardah* and being submissive and quiet in public space in order to pursue their education, employment and visiting markets. This goes in line with Scheyvens’ (1998, p. 109) ‘subtle strategies’ as “any strategies that attempt to achieve profound, positive changes in women’s lives without stirring up wide-scale dissent”. This behaving as a ‘good woman’ by adopting ‘proper behaviour’ in public space can also be linked with the Kandiyoti’s (1988) concept of “bargaining with patriarchy”, whereby women are

regarded as active agents but constrained within patriarchal norms. So bargaining with patriarchy represents “an uneasy compromise since it suggested that contestation and resistance were possible but always circumscribed by the limits of the culturally conceivable” (Kandiyoti, 1998, p. 150). In the present research, a few respondents were trying to be ‘good’ in public space by not contesting the harassment they faced in transport systems because they were bargaining with social norms in order to keep accessing other social gains in the form of education, employment and social activities.

This is in line with other studies related to women’s education in places such as Joran, Israel, and Afghanistan, which highlight that gaining education leads women to transform some of the gender norms surrounding around their mobility in public spaces, however, women have to adhere to the cultural norms of dressing and guarding their sexuality while trying to challenge norms (Hertz-Lazarowitz & Shapira, 2005; Holland & Yousofi, 2014; Weiner-Levy, 2006). Building on this tradition, Khurshid (2017) refers to this as “regulated empowerment” by highlighting how education can be an empowering and a regulating mechanism at the same time for women in rural areas in Pakistan. By giving the example of her *parhi likhi* (educated) women participants, she maintains that women gained more freedom due to having jobs and being able to move in public spaces. However, this empowerment was contingent upon them as these women were “adhering more strictly to the gendered norms of clothing, behavior, and interaction in public domains” (Khurshid, 2017, p. 253).

There are dangers to this ‘patriarchal bargain’ or ‘regulated empowerment’ approach as women’s actions are also shaped by the influence of the gendered norms, which might not yield the improvement in their social position as compared to the more radical approaches to women’s empowerment. Nonetheless this provides women with some practical gains through transport by accessing different services and facilities. As Uvin asserts, “major change always starts small, and even rhetorical gains sometimes turn out to be the snowballs that set in motion fresh avalanches” (Uvin, 2007, p. 603). However, women can only adopt the more radical approach to their empowerment when they “themselves decide that the benefits of change outweigh the status quo

that any changes will represent empowerment than an act of last resort” (Sharp et al., 2003, p. 293).

The next section discusses some of the structural and institutional dimensions of power and the role and relevance of a rights-based framework to challenge these structures for gender equality in the field of transport.

9.4 Rights-Based Approaches and Policy Structures

Rights-based approaches, as discussed earlier in chapter three, are central to an empowerment strategy because rights draw attention away from needs or services and focus on obligations and power structures in a society (Molyneux & Lazar, 2003). Like collective empowerment, Carella and Ackerly (2017) regard a rights-based approach as a political process which has the potential to challenge gendered power relations in a society. According to them it is a “process of building the capacity of women and other oppressed groups to challenge their gender roles within existing political institutions and to be part of the leadership that challenges unjust political institutions” (Carella & Ackerly, 2017, p. 144). The focus in a rights framework is on the structural forces (formal and informal) that impede individuals and communities from exercising their rights and devising strategies to challenge these hierarchies (Grabe, 2010; Nyamu-Musembi, 2005; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003).

This is also linked to the broader framework of ‘right to the city’, which Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 174) regards “the right to the *oeuvre*, to participation and appropriation”. Transport is a place where these rights, appropriation and participation, can be applied in urban context because “transport is literally the vehicle through which the right to the city is exercised” (Coggin, 2015, p. 313). This has great relevance to women’s mobility and transport in urban areas. Transport can provide an opportunity to women (and men) to appropriate urban space for different uses, accessing different places, and moving safely in urban spaces without physical or verbal threats (Levy, 2013). This section discusses some of the unequal policy making structures in relation to gender and transport, and outlines key policy implications of

using rights-based approaches in order to make transport an area for women's empowerment.

9.4.1 Masculine norms and male-dominated agendas

Most of the institutions responsible for transport issues in Pakistan at the federal, provincial and city levels are dominated by men. The transport sector, historically, is considered "as a male dominated realm" (Polk, 2003, p. 28), which means that voices and needs of women are not incorporated in the decision-making processes. Institutions which are historically dominated by men, generally, hold and carry masculine agendas as norms (Kronsell, 2005). As the transport sector in Pakistan is dominated by men, masculine norms dominate the transport agenda with female needs as non-existent. Kronsell, Rosqvist, & Hiselius (2016, p. 704) highlight that "if the norms of the transport sector are masculine, they are likely embedded its policy institutions and likely to constrain activities, such as decision making and planning, in accordance with these dominant masculine norms". These masculine norms are reproduced through individuals with their daily routines which are often just taken for granted (Hearn & Husu, 2011).

This was evident in the present study context as well. My interactions with various government officials, who were responsible for transport policy or planning activities in Islamabad and Rawalpindi, showed that there were taken for granted masculine norms where women's transport needs were not even discussed. The interview excerpts of Chief Transport, Planning Commission; Deputy Director, Planning Commission; EDO Spatial Planning, RDA mentioned in Chapter Seven and Eight of this thesis highlight these masculine norms. They not only gave little importance to women's transport issues, they thought of women in public spaces as "causes of all the problems". The following quotes from their interviews, which are mentioned in Chapter Seven and Eight, highlight this point: "there will always be problems and unrest in society if women want to come out of their homes"; "the best places for women to stay are their homes"; "it is driver's skill how he touches them [women] and make them feel happy". This shows the misogynistic attitude of officials at the decision-making levels, which are predominantly occupied by males. Other researchers

have also highlighted that over-representation of men in the transport sector leads to gender imbalance in decision-making, which impacts negatively on the recognition of women's travel needs and issues (Horelli, 2017; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2016; Sheller, 2008).

9.4.2 Lack of women's participation/Transport as a 'technical' field

The findings mentioned in Chapter Eight of this thesis highlight that women are not involved in transport policy and planning processes in Pakistan. This is in divergence to the right to participation in the 'right to city' framework, which entitles the involvement of every individual to take part in decision-making regarding any kind of production of urban spaces at local, provincial and national level (Fenster, 2005; Purcell, 2003). One of the reasons of this non-involvement is the view by policy-makers that transport is a 'technical' field which ordinary people cannot contribute into. According to them, engineers, planners and architects know better because they are the 'experts' of the field. Other researchers have also highlighted this dilemma that transport for most part has been considered as a 'technical' field, dominated by 'experts' such as engineers, economists, and environmentalists with little regard to the needs of marginalised groups including women (Hamilton & Jenkins, 2000; Rajé, 2007; Simon, 1996). By the same token, Bonham (1994) argues that the transport discipline has not involved social scientists in the conceptualisation as well as implementation of plans. This results in the exclusion of women's transport needs from policy processes.

Similarly, Li (2007) highlights, problematizing an issue as 'technical' results in the "depoliticisation" of that issue. This depoliticisation process focuses only on the practical needs of one group in a society rather than focusing on the practices and processes which impoverishes that social group. So the status quo and gendered power relations are not challenged when posing deeply political questions in technical terms (Belda-Miquel, Boni, Cuesta-Fernández, & Peris, 2016). Transport or mobility is considered as a technical field which also results in its depoliticizing and non-involvement of women (and men) in policy decisions, hence no structural and power relation issues are tackled or even discussed while making the policies.

9.4.3 Gender-blind policy structures

Due to the masculine norms in policy institutions and non-engagement of women in policy development processes, there is a general lack of awareness about women's travel roles and needs, which are distinct to men's needs. According to Hamilton, Hoyle, & Jenkins (1999), ignorance of women's travel roles occurs as a result of the structural and inherent flaws in the policy development process, which includes; i) the scarcity of women in key positions in policy making in the transport system, and ii) the failure to incorporate the voices of women users in the planning process.

After reviewing the transport policies and interviewing key people from policy-making organisations (mentioned in Chapter Eight), it is evident that transport policy and planning processes are based on the assumption that transport users are homogenous, men and women's transport need and pattern is the same; and public transport is designed for home to work journeys. This is in line with other studies highlighting that transport policy making structures are not neutral (Chant, 2013; Hamilton, 2003; Hamilton & Jenkins, 1989; Levy, 1997, 2013). They are based on (male) journey to work, prioritising travel from peri-urban areas to city centres during 'peak hours', and ignoring women's domestic, informal and part-time work in non-centralised city locations (Chant, 2013; Uteng, 2008). Horelli (2017) by giving the example of four European cities, highlights that formal planning processes do not follow any gender-aware approach at the policy and structural level. She further says that even the "new urban agenda still lack the gender-awareness concerning supportive infrastructure of everyday life that enhances opportunities for both women and men" (Horelli, 2017, p. 1780).

Furthermore, transport policy and planning in Pakistan is based on quantitative data, missing the qualitative nature of information such as attitudes, needs, safety concerns, and reasons for travel in urban areas. The qualitative nature of information and the underlying causes of transport disadvantage is more important and relevant to women's transport, however, these questions are rarely asked in transport policy development (Rosenbloom, 2010). Similarly, transport policy does not recognise the social position of men and women, and their multiple identities based on gender, class,

ethnicity, religion, sexuality, and age. Levy (2009) argues that development planning of all kinds, including transport planning, has not been able to conceptualise, formulate, or implement any strategy which would address these multiple identities of men and women. Thus travel is not neutral rather it is based on series of trade-offs “about the purpose of travel, when to travel, how to travel – indeed whether to travel or not” (Levy, 2013, p. 49). For example in the present study, the purpose, nature, length, and time of travel for women was different from men. Women used various kinds of transport modes, including walking, *rickshaw*, *suzuki* and vans, while men usually used one or two transport modes. In many instances, women had to ask someone to accompany them due to socio-cultural and safety reasons, while men travelled alone most of the times. These gender differences in travel behaviour with their policy implications are shown in the table 9.1.

Table 9. 1: Gender differences in travel pattern in Islamabad and Rawalpindi and their policy implications

Travel pattern	Gender differences in travel pattern		Policy implications
	Men	Women	
Nature of trip	Generally, travel from home to work and return	Short and intermittent nature of travel, for example home to work to shopping, to children school etc.	Need for frequent public transport, integration of transport services to meet different gender roles, safe walking environment.
Purpose of trip	Single purpose trip, generally home to work and return	Multi-purpose trips, employment, shopping, study, transporting children, friends.	Need for frequency, interconnectivity of transport services.
Number and length of trips	Fewer number of trips but longer in distances	More number of trips but shorter in distances	<p>Women spend more time travelling, which means loss of time for other productive activities.</p> <p>Women tend to work closer to their homes and near their children’s schools, which can impact on their employment options and their chances to excel in their careers. They are more likely to work as part-time and casual employees to fit into their household responsibilities, resulting in low-income.</p> <p>Higher level of stress and health issues due to multi-tasking and juggling with various responsibilities.</p>
Time of travel	Peak-hours, and can travel after the dark	Off-peak hours, do not generally travel after the dark due to safety concerns	<p>Need for better interconnecting services during off-peak hours.</p> <p>Measures to tackle harassment and safety issues, particularly for women to travel after dark. Awareness raising at the societal level.</p>

Mode of transport	Likely to use vans or cars if they own them	Likely to use paratransit and public transport (vans). Taxis if women can afford it. If a household has a car women are unlikely to have the first right to drive	Policy making around the role of different transport modes and how they can be better utilize to cater the needs of different groups of transport users.
Walking	Men tend not to walk	Women generally walk more	Huge implications for sustainable transport. Women's responsibilities are mainly looking after children and household shopping, which they often access via walking. Verbal and sexual harassment issues in public spaces should be dealt.
Cycling (motorcycles)	Men are generally seen riding two-wheelers especially motorbikes	Generally women do not ride bikes or motorbikes	Social and cultural values surrounding around riding bikes or motorbikes. This has implications for women's freedom and empowerment.
Travelling with children	Men generally travel alone	Women travel with children	Women's role as primary caregiver means they have to look after children and walk them to and from school. If children are going to school through school vans, women are responsible to accompany them to the nearby bus stops to be picked up.
Driver/passenger role in case of family car	Men as drivers	Women as passengers	Social and cultural implications of women's subordinate position in society. And general perception about women as bad drivers.

Source: Author

9.4.4 Segregated transport services

These policy implications are important useful to consider while making any policy or planning decision for women's travel in cities in Pakistan. However, one of the popular policy solutions to women's travel proposed in many developing countries including Pakistan is segregated 'women-only' transport service. Peters (2001) suggests that in cultures which are based on gender segregation, it is useful to introduce gender segregated public transport. Segregation is generally applied in order to primarily tackle the issue of harassment and violence in public transportation (Dunckel-Graglia, 2013). Some "good practice" examples include women-only train carriages in metro buses and trains, and reserved sections for women in public buses, and women-only vans services.

Although these initiatives provide a temporary solution to harassment in public transportation, this exaggerates the situation of harassment in non-segregated transport sections and public spaces where there is no such arrangement. This results in reinforcement of gender stereotypes in society, which are unhelpful in achieving any fundamental social and structural transformation (Moser, 2017). Yon and Nadimpalli (2017) refer this as a kind of "protectionism" and highlight that protectionism offered to women to "keep them safe" imposes social norms of behaving in public space, which further complicates the everyday life and mobility of women and other disadvantaged groups. In fact segregation is one of the major mechanisms through which the gendered social structure is maintained (Hirdmann, 1996). This study also highlights that these kind of policy solutions are time-bound particularly when backed by international donors and not helpful in addressing women's travel issues in a manner that can address structural issues of gender inequality embedded in social and institutional systems.

9.4.5 Accessibility planning

Transport planning can incorporate the needs of women and other marginalized groups in a better way if it focuses on accessibility rather than solely focusing on individual transport modes. However, transport planning has favoured mobility over accessibility by promoting the discourses around transportation networks and travel

time savings particularly in cities in developing countries (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2016; Roy, 2009). Accessibility planning is more suitable for fulfilling travel needs because it can help to move the focus “from a perspective centered on the infrastructure to one in which the individual needs of those who use transport systems are prioritized” (Madariaga, 2013, p. 51). This is important particularly for the travel need of women in countries such as Pakistan, where mobility patterns of women are different from men and transport planning has largely ignored this difference.

Besides an efficient transport system which enables different groups including women to access various activities and services in a city, accessibility planning involves land-use or land exploitation by its inhabitants (Borowska-Stefańska & Wiśniewski, 2018). This is intrinsically linked to the “right to appropriation” mentioned in the “right to city” discourse (Levy, 2013), discussed earlier in this section. So the accessibility planning in the gender and transport context must look not only at the transport system but also at various services in a city whether these are designed for the needs of women or not. It is useful to mention an excerpt from Hameeda’s interview, mentioned at the start of Chapter Seven: “you look at parks, footpaths, bus stops, buses, vans, and you will realize these are all men’s property...you will not even find any public toilet in Rawalpindi or in Islamabad for women”. Services as basic as public toilets were not sufficiently resourced, or kept clean, which reflected the general state of awareness about women’s needs in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Women’s mobility is directly linked to such kind of services. These are related issues – how can women be more mobile when there are no public toilets safe for them to use? Accessibility planning should look holistically and incorporate all issues which are related to women’s mobility in cities.

9.4.6 Mechanisms for accountability

As discussed earlier, the focus in rights-based approaches is to change oppressive structures in a society. This intrinsically means putting a mechanism for holding the powerful accountable at the centre of inquiry. As Cornwall and Nyamu-Musembi stress, rights-based approaches enable people “to articulate their priorities and claim genuine accountability from development agencies...[and make institutions] critically

self-aware and address inherent power inequalities in their interaction with those people” (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004, p. 1432). The present research stresses the need to formulate some kind of mechanism for holding people responsible for making transport policy and planning processes accountable. However, this is a tough task because of the “expansion of the human rights agenda, the resurgence of socio-economic claims framed as human rights and a greater emphasis on cultural and collective rights [which] have created a more diffuse and nuanced debate” (Grugel & Fontana, 2018, p. 2). This is also tough because the mechanisms and indicators for assessing rights-based actions are still at their very early stages (Belda-Miquel et al., 2016). Nonetheless it is imperative to have a general mechanism in which debate about holding responsible people accountable can be put together. The following ideas could be useful in formulating such a mechanism for accountabilities in the gender and transport field.

- ***Gender audit of transport system***

Public transport services must also have a gender audit and women’s safety audit in place, especially for cities in developing countries. By gender audit, it means a checklist against which transport policy-makers and providers of transport are “able to measure their policies, plans and systems in order to ensure that transport provision meets women’s needs” (Hamilton & Jenkins, 2000, p. 1793). The checklist can also serve as a measure of accountability for transport providers. This can help identify major provisions and areas of improvements as far as women’s travel needs are concerned.

A gender audit can also include a safety audit of the public transport services. For example, in 2004, Jagori, a women’s resource centre in Delhi started to look at the concerns of low-income women while negotiating public space. Jagori adopted a women’s safety audit tool to carry out safety measures around Delhi in public spaces. They presented a series of “safety maps”, which served as easily accessible visual tools for both local government and advocacy groups (Jagori, 2007). This initiative lead Jagori to different partnerships with international development organisations, local government and private services. One of such partnerships happened with a local bus transport corporation. This resulted in training on gender and violence for almost

3,800 bus drivers and conductors employed by the public bus service. They were trained and encouraged to intervene in situation of sexual harassment in buses by taking steps, such as warning harassers, off-loading them or taking them to police (Whitzman, Andrew, & Viswanath, 2014). This kind of mechanism can be applied in other cities such as Islamabad and Rawalpindi as well.

- ***Women's participation in policy development***

Linked to the accessibility planning, mentioned earlier, is the importance of incorporating women's voices in the policy development process. Participation of women in transport and gender development policies is crucial to women's travel and their inclusion in cities in Pakistan. As this research has shown women are not involved in the transport policy and planning processes, which results a 'gender-blind' transport policy. Involvement of women is very important in order to safeguard their practical and strategic transport-related needs and interests. Transport policy-makers should be made accountable in terms of whether transport policies involve women's voices though their participation or not. As discussed in earlier section that transport policies worldwide generally and in developing countries particularly don't involve women in the policy development process. This needs to be changed.

9.5 Contributions of the Study

Studying social issues of marginalised groups, such as women, in urban transport research in the global South is an emerging field in social science literature. Recently, the issues of marginalisation, transport poverty and disadvantage, and social exclusion have caught the attention of researchers and policy makers around the world (Delbosc & Currie, 2011; Rajé, 2007; Stanley et al., 2010). However, most of these studies have been done in developed country contexts. As, in one of the latest review articles on women's issues in transport, Loukaitou-Sideris (2016) maintains that "we have significantly more research on the Global North than the Global South, even if gender inequalities are often more pronounced in the latter" (p. 559). Similarly, Elias, Benjamin, and Shiftan (2015, p. 19) highlight that "little is known about gender differences in travel patterns in nations of the developing world". This shows the need to do more research on women's transport issues in cities of the developing countries.

The existing studies on women's issues in transport in developing country contexts mainly focus on rural areas. Studying women's transport issues in cities of developing countries is imperative because cities are growing rapidly and developing countries are the ones facing massive motorization (Kenworthy, 2011), which triggers different social, economic and environmental issues. The present research has contributed to this line of thinking by studying the impact of various issues related to women's transport in urban areas in Pakistan. It has added to the body of knowledge specifically by providing tangible examples of the obstructions – social, spatial, institutional – that women face in Rawalpindi and Islamabad when trying to access work, education and services outside of their homes.

As far as the theoretical contribution of this thesis is concerned, this research has employed an empowerment and rights based approach to study women's issues in transport. In this way, this research has explored women's experiences of the transport system, what factors impede their mobility, as well as how women are dealing with these constraints and using their agency to change things in their favour. There are no other studies in the 'gender and transport' literature which have used a combined rights-based and empowerment framework to study women's transport issues in urban areas. Other studies have focused on issues such as travel needs, accessibility constraints, impact of poverty and geographical location on women's travel, safety and harassment concerns, gender insensitive transport planning, and mobility as empowerment (for example see, Buiten, 2007; Fernando & Porter, 2002; N. Gardner et al., 2017; Hanson, 2010; Mahadevia & Advani, 2016; Næss, 2008; Raju, 2005; Srinivasan, 2005; Tanzarn, 2008; Turdalieva & Edling, 2017; Uteng, 2008). In addition, these studies have not examined women's agency to challenge these constraints. The present study has shown the value of applying a rights-based and empowerment framework to expose women's agency and their potential for change. In doing so, women have been positioned not as passive victims of a patriarchal system, but as actors who are committed to overcoming socio-cultural, spatial and policy barriers to good transport options. The examples mentioned earlier in this chapter about various personal and collective actions taken by women highlight this point.

The present thesis also contributes to the field by refuting notion that transport is a 'technical' field where there is a limited room for qualitative research. Even in the field of development studies, transport has remained something of a "cinderella" (Simon, 1996) and left mostly to engineers, environmentalists, economists and planners to study (Bonham, 1994; Hamilton & Jenkins, 2000; Rajé, 2007). The study has demonstrated that qualitative aspects of transport are very important for effective transport policy and planning. Issues, such as safety concerns, fear of harassment, and quality of public services including bus stops, footpaths, parks, and public transport are important and relevant to women's mobility. By understanding women's transport issues which are mostly qualitative in nature, policy-makers and other researchers can contribute towards making transport as 'holistic' and 'integrated'.

The present study also asserts the need to see transport as a development issue particularly in developing country context. In Pakistan, there are a plethora of international and national development organisations working alongside many government departments for women's development. They are working on issues, such as the justice system, honour killings, economic development, political participation, education and healthcare advocacy and awareness raising, mostly in rural areas in Pakistan. Although these issues are very important for women in general, women's transport or mobility issues in cities have so much relevance to their development and empowerment but have gained little to no attention by these agencies to date. The present study hopefully helps to make a case for the need for urgent attention, and resources, to be directed towards women's transportation issues which include challenging entrenched patriarchal attitudes in society.

9.6 Recommendations

As mentioned earlier, transport has not been thoroughly researched in the field of development studies, thus it is imperative that academic scholarship should give more attention to this area of inquiry. This is particularly important with regards to cities of developing countries, which are growing at a much faster rate resulting in complexity of issues surrounding around transport, gender, inequality, social exclusion, rights, and

sustainable development. Hence the present research recommends that studying transport and its relationship to gender and development particularly with regards to cities of developing countries should be a core area of development studies scholarship. Similarly, the development practice should also turn its focus more towards transport and mobility issues in relationship to women's development and empowerment in cities of developing countries. As mentioned earlier, that there are a lot of development agencies working on women's issues in Pakistan, however, their focus is largely towards rural areas. The present study recommends forming a consortium of development NGOs, rights groups, and university departments, to raise their voices about women's mobility concerns, and its relevance to their empowerment. This group could also work with policy and planning organisations as well as with public transport service providers to formulate gender-aware transport policies and plans for cities in Pakistan.

The general public especially women should be involved when making transport policy and plans. As many researches including the present one have shown, women's travel needs are different as compared to men, their voices are important to be included in order to make a woman-friendly transport system. The planning and policy process should also involve the self-help groups, such as "women at dhaba" mentioned in the collective empowerment part of this chapter. In this way, it will help to "transform the top-down planning system towards citizen engagement in the form of public participation, self-organizing and even gendered every-day practices" (Horelli, 2017, p. 1792). It will also help in changing the gendered stereotypes within the transport organisations, which will hopefully facilitate to change societal level norms against women's mobility.

Based on the rights-based approach, this research recommends undertaking gender and safety audits of the transport system as part of the transport policy and planning measure. This will help not only to measure how a transport system is safe and meeting women's travel needs, it will also provide a framework to hold policy makers accountable. Other studies have shown the utility of gender and safety audits in different parts of the world (Jagori, 2007; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2016; UN-Habitat, 2008). Besides safety audits, Close-Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras could help create a sense of safety for women in

cities in Pakistan. In Islamabad, around 1,950 CCTV cameras have been installed under the 'safe city project'. These cameras have been installed "at all main roads, intersections, markets and exit and entrance points of the capital" (Anjum, 2015, para 4). Besides combating terrorism and crimes, one of the stated goals of the CCTV cameras is to monitor the violations of traffic rules (Anjum, 2015). I would recommend that CCTV recordings would also be used in cases of women's harassment in the city. As these cameras are installed at major roads and markets, the harassment footage can be used to identify culprits and used as evidence in courts. This would work as a big deterrent to women's harassment at public spaces in cities in Pakistan.

9.7 Personal Reflections

A woman in conversation with her soul

Knock knock,
Open the door...
Who is there, please?
It is me, I live in your body...long time since I saw you
Oh...how are you? Is there something important to say?
Huh...No, not really. I was missing my home, thought to pop in
for a while

Soul: Do you ever think I have some rights from you?
I deserve your smile,
Your peace of mind,
Your happiness,
Your time

Body: Wait for the day, when my body will be free
From the norms and customs,
From the habits and burdens,
Wait for the day,
When I and you
Will be all over the place
Wait for the day,
When I hold your hands
And celebrate
The ray

Soul: I am waiting for years, centuries and millenniums
But the bodies of women like you
Have never been set free

You poor women
Regulated in the name of religion, culture, honour, patriarchy,
poverty
You poor women have no choice
Just like one does not have a way to escape
From his birth and death
You wake up in the morning and the dilemma of “good” sister,
wife, mother starts
You go out in the public and the dilemma of “bad”
characterless, honourless woman starts
You use the public transport, and your body becomes public
property
You go to work, and people take interest in your appearance
rather than your work
You come home, tired, exhausted, lethargic, and the “dilemma
of a good wife” awaits you

Where am I in all of your everyday?
I came to stay in you, to live with you, to show you the beauty
of the world
I came to stay in you to want you to experience the adventures
To show you your abilities and capacities
To let you feel your emotions and feelings
But you are trapped poor girl
And you have cut my wings

Body: Oh poor soul
I did not reckon
I did not know
Things happening around me
Can affect you like this
But can you do me a favour?
Can you tell the men?
That I am a human too! ³

This poem came to my mind after meeting Erum for the first time during my fieldwork: it depicts the everyday ordeal of a common working woman trying to be ‘good’ as per societal norms. I did not Erum her before the interview as one of my friends gave me her contact details when I shared my research with her and asked for any suitable research participants. A Mother of two young boys, Erum had been married five years

³ I acknowledge that this poem represents a man’s perspective on the challenges and obstructions faced by women in Pakistan. Indeed, I would like to see women brought together to write their own poems regarding their transportation experiences.

ago and was living with her husband and in-laws in Rawalpindi. She told me her life story after the marriage which was full of struggles mainly because of her perpetual efforts to make her husband and his family happy. Her husband, who was a college teacher, never gave her permission to work despite the fact she had a Master's degree in Statistics and received a few job offers from different NGOs for data analysis. Her husband said that working in Islamabad, where these NGOs were based, was not feasible as no direct public transport went there. He also said that "working in NGOs was not good because they were working on population control which was against their religious values". She later found a teaching job in a school and convinced her husband to allow her to work. This was also in Islamabad but was at a place which could be accessed through public transport. Although she had to listen to the taunts of her in-laws because she was the only female in their family who was working, she was happy despite the fact that she was working and looking after the household chores at the same time.

This was one of many stories, shared with me during fieldwork. I must admit that being a male doing research on women's issues in a developing country where there were strong patriarchal norms was very challenging but rewarding at the same time. It was rewarding to listen to the stories, such as Erum's and many other women in a similar situation because of their trust in me as a researcher and the potential importance of my research for their everyday lives. However, it was also emotionally taxing on me to learn and talk about women's issues in general which have a clear linkage with transport and their mobility in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Listening to their stories of struggle to go about their everyday lives made me reflect on how we as men take for granted our freedom and mobility, while simultaneously restricting women. This research has impacted on me personally and I have grown as a researcher and as a person. Before undertaking this research, I thought of transport as a trivial issue in an urban setting. But this research made me realise that transport is such an important and potentially empowering service for so many women in cities in countries such as Pakistan. It has the potential to open new avenues for women, such as education, employment, seeking healthcare, meeting friends and relatives, and even roaming around and de-stressing themselves. Listening to women's stories of how transport

not only changed their lives but of their families was very rewarding and satisfactory. I would like to end this thesis with the quote from one of my female participants. The glimmer in her eyes and smile on her face I still remember from when she was sharing her story,

Have you ever felt the breeze coming from the window while sitting in a van? This is so refreshing, winter or summer. This goes right into the soul. This breeze is of freedom, of your very being. It makes me forget whatever harassment or abuse I have to undergo during the whole day. Harassment is a big issue but feels nothing when you see yourself in a space of your own, where you can make decisions on your own. This makes me feel as if I am the master of my own self. I love myself when I travel alone and the breeze of fresh air touches my face through the window of the van.

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Appendix 1: Information Sheet

Information Sheet

Title of the Project: Transport and Women' Social Exclusion in Urban Areas in Pakistan

First of all thank you very much for your interest in my research project about women's transport-related issues in urban areas of Pakistan. My name is Waheed Ahmed and I am doing my fieldwork for my thesis for a PhD degree in Development Studies at Massey University, New Zealand.

The aim of my research is to understand women's experiences of transport-related social exclusion, factors responsible for this, and how women negotiate restrictions on their mobility in the cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

If you are interested in participating in my study, you are welcome to ask any further questions about your participation in the research. When you will be taking part in the study, you have the right to withdraw at any time and you have also the right not to answer any question.

I will transcribe the data by myself in order to ensure the privacy of the participants. All data will be stored at a secure place. The names will be replaced with pseudonyms. Furthermore, your name and details will not be used in any publications or reports.

I hope this process has answered your questions. If you have any further questions the researcher can be contacted at the School of People, Environment & Planning, Massey University, Private Bag 11 222, Palmerston North, New Zealand. The telephones and email are listed below:

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Appendix 2: Participant Consent Form

Participant Consent Form

Title of the Project: Transport and Women’s Social Exclusion in Urban Areas in Pakistan

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time during the study. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

I agree to the interview being sound recorded. Yes/No

I consent to my name or the name of my organisation being used when my comments or opinions are used in this research. Yes/No

Please state how you would like to be identified in this research:

I would like to receive a summary of the results of this research when it is completed. Yes/No

If yes, please provide your email and/or postal address:

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: **Date:**

Full Name: