



MOBILITY FROM THE LENS OF GENDER

CASE STUDY KARACHI

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ACRONYMS LIST

- ADB** - Asian Development Bank
- BRT** - Bus Rapid Transit
- CERP** - Center for Economic Research in Pakistan
- CRT** - Center for Sustainable Transportation
- DHA** - Defense Housing Authority
- EU** - European Union
- GIZ** - Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
- IBA** - Institute of Business Administration
- IIED** - International Institute for Environment and Development
- LRT** - Lahore Transport Company
- PPPP** - Pakistan People's Party
- RTA** - Regional Transport Authority
- SUMP** - Sustainable Urban Mobility Planning
- URC** - Urban Resource Center
- WSA** - Women's Safety Audit

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INTRODUCTION

Benefits of urban planning exercises are best optimized if planning is bottom up, inclusive and demand driven. Experience has shown that top down planning fails to achieve sustainability. The core focus of planning should be at meeting the needs of the most vulnerable within the society. Gender specific focus has now been streamlined in various aspects of urban planning which also includes urban mobility. Gender mobility now brings with it an understanding that requires policies, plans and actions to be taken that are gender specific. This is because the mobility patterns of women and the challenges they face as pedestrians, using public or private transport have been found to be different from men and as such require to be addressed in very different and often innovative ways.

This realization although has begun to find a space in our mobility planning but it seems more in response to fulfilling requirements of gender mainstreaming in donor funded projects rather than becoming part of a holistic, policy driven framework for action. As such, actions initiated remain superficial in nature and not adequately responsive to ground realities. When it comes to cataloging challenges of female mobility in a city like Karachi; a mix of social, cultural, logistical and infrastructure based factors are indicated that quite often are interfaced and therefore require structuring a multi-faceted approach to problem solving. Within our planning context there is a serious lack of focus on addressing this issue in a holistic manner. Limited research that has been conducted on this subject has raised concerns that this lack of focus is contributing to increased poverty, social exclusion and reduced presence in the labor market for women in Pakistan.

This *Study* aims to discuss and document the multiple aspects of gender mobility within our context with a Case Study being made of Karachi city. The discussion leads to a set of strategic policy, planning and implementation based recommendations that aim to address all related aspects in a holistic and comprehensive manner. In this Study, different approaches being utilized in global best practices have been identified. Critical research work done in Pakistan, particularly in Karachi on the subject of gender mobility has been compiled and primary research has been conducted to document challenges being faced by women mobilized on the streets and in public and private transit in Karachi and impacts on their livelihoods and quality of living.

It is hoped that this Study helps in making a viable value addition to this discourse and contributes to influencing decision making and action in the right direction.

Farhan Anwar, Kashmala Tahir

October, 2020

Section 1

UNDERSTANDING GENDER MOBILITY

This Section introduces the larger context of sustainable urban mobility and a new emerging understanding on how gender mobility poses unique policy and planning challenges related with urban mobility and how they are being addressed globally

SUSTAINABLE URBAN MOBILITY TOWARDS A HOLISTIC FRAMEWORK FOR MOBILITY PLANNING

Understanding of urban planning and design has experienced a significant shift in the recent past. No longer are urban planning blueprints being drafted at 'macro' levels – with cumbersome, repeated, detached, and top heavy 'master plans' being churned out. Planning is now 'strategic' where various aspects of urban planning are interfaced to optimize planning benefits – where the social, economic, and environmental considerations of urban growth are synergized, and where the core focus to sustainable urban growth is provided by sustainable neighborhood design. Planning is now carried out at a micro level to ensure aspects of inclusive and participatory planning. In addition, a viable planning framework is embedded within its construct in order to be inclusive and considerate of all; gender, age, disabilities, and socio-economic standing of its end users. There are a number of triggers to this under-

standing of 'sustainable development', which include aspects of climate change, growing levels of inequity in urban settlements, and need of reducing urban vulnerabilities that can have extremely deleterious socio-economic and environmental implications.

Requirements of gender sensitive planning are now being mainstreamed into every sector of urban development, including mobility planning. It has been understood through research that 'gender mobility' has aspects that require a starkly different lens to be applied when it comes to meeting the needs of gender sensitive mobility planning. This realization is placed within the larger context of 'Sustainable Urban Mobility Planning'. Prior to detailing the specifics of gender mobility planning, it would be instructive to first orient ourselves with key objectives and guidelines of sustainable urban mobility planning.

SUSTAINABLE URBAN MOBILITY PLANNING (SUMP)¹

Sustainable Urban Mobility Planning (SUMP) is Europe's de facto urban transport planning concept. The policy which facilitated its establishment was systematically developed by European policy makers in 2005. The most important milestone of the policy was the publication of the Urban Mobility Package at the end of 2013, where the European Commission defined in an annex the concept of Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans.

Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan is a strategic plan designed to satisfy mobility needs of people and businesses in cities and their surroundings for a better quality of life. It builds on existing planning practices and takes due consideration of integration, participation, and evaluation principles.

SUMP is based on the following principles:

- Planning for sustainable mobility in a functional urban area
- Cooperation across institutional boundaries
- Involvement of citizens and stakeholders
- To assess current and future performance
- Defining a long-term vision and a clear implementation plan
- Developing all transport modes in an integrated manner
- Arranging for monitoring, evaluation and quality assurance

SUMP is a strategic and integrated approach for effectively dealing with the complexities of urban transport. Its core goal is to improve accessibility and quality of life by motivating a shift towards sustainable mobility.

It advocates fact-based decision making, guided by a long-term vision for sustainable mobility. As key components, this requires a thorough assessment of the current situation

and future trends, a widely supported common vision with strategic objectives, and an integrated set of regulatory, promotional, financial, technical, and infrastructural measures to deliver the objectives.

SUMP has gained traction globally, with European cities taking a lead. Many cities in Asia are also adapting to SUMP, including Shanghai, Seoul, Ho Chi Minh City, Singapore, Istanbul, Pune, and Bandung.

Sustainable Transportation System

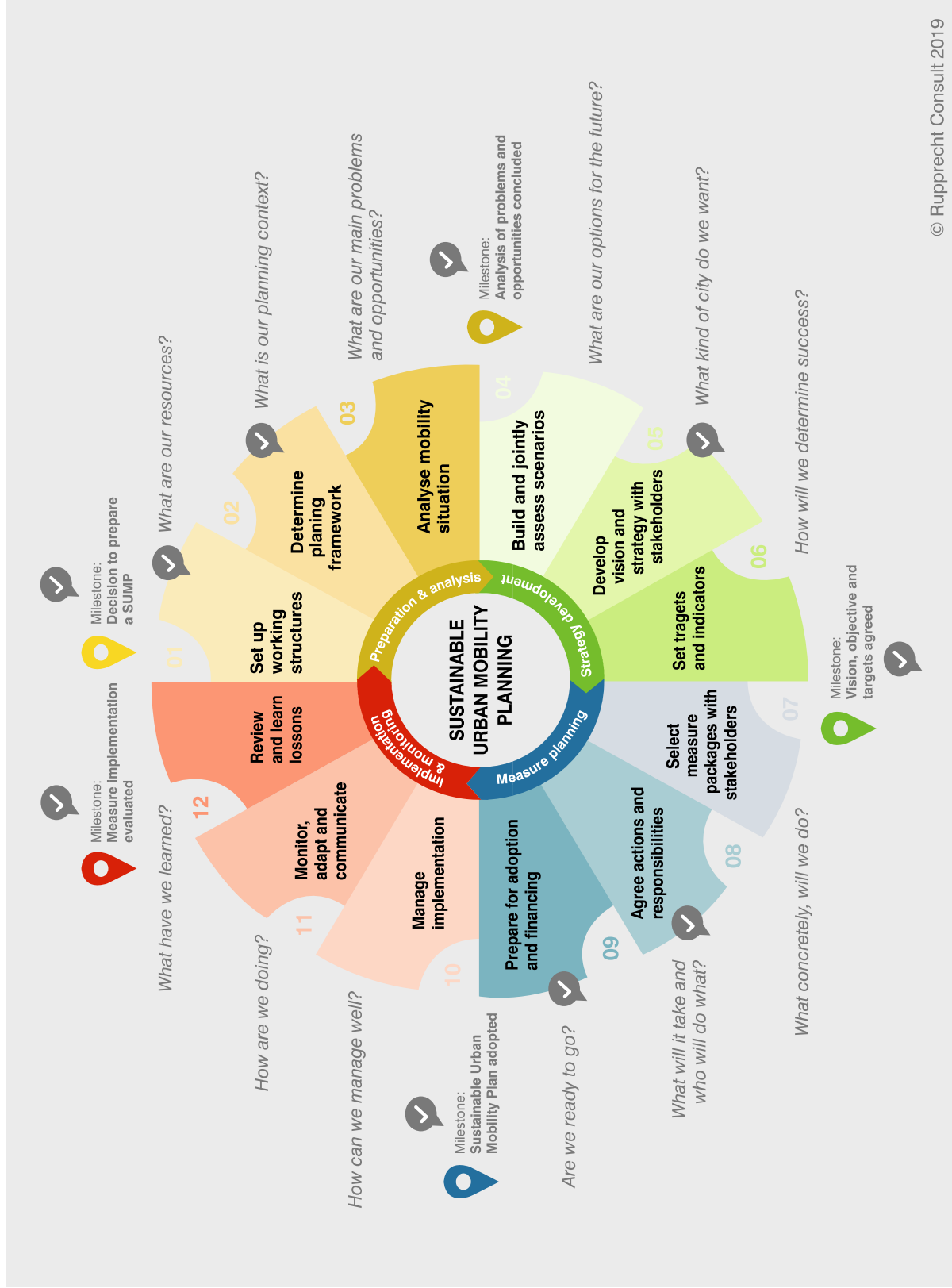
The understanding of sustainable urban mobility is rooted in the overall discourse on sustainable development. The Centre for Sustainable Transportation (CST) offers a comprehensive definition:

A sustainable transportation system is one that accomplishes the following :

- Allows the basic needs of individuals and societies to be met safely and in a manner consistent with human and ecosystem health, and with equity within and between generations
- Is affordable, operates efficiently, offers choice of transport mode, supports a vibrant economy

Limits emissions and waste within the planet's ability to absorb them, minimizes consumption of non-renewable resources, limits consumption of non-renewable resources to the sustainable yield level, reuses and recycles its components, and minimizes the use of land and the production of noise

The 12 Steps of Sustainable Urban Mobility Planning (2nd Edition) – A decision maker’s overview



✓ This symbol indicates points of political involvement during the SUMP process

GENDER MOBILITY

EMERGING CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES

Mobility refers to movement from one place to another using any available transit mode. The simplicity of the concept is a distortion. Transport, specifically public transport, cannot be designed using a universal lens, and must rather take into account the perspective of all its end users and their needs. The needs of these stakeholders vary due to age, disabilities, employment status, and especially gender.

Kelly Saunders, gender equality strategist & evaluator writes in her article about why the problem of gender mobility is such a big one. She finds that there is not enough awareness about the issue as most people in the transportation sector believe that the transportation services are gender neutral. What makes this problem more challenging to tackle is that there is a lack of consideration of the issues of gender by leaders in mobility.²

Studies have found that women tend to have smaller spatial mobility and their use of public transportation is highly dependent on their age, marital status, income and place of residence.³

Transit should not be designed as gender neutral, as men and women do not have the same mobility realities and needs. Gender mainstreaming is an important concept which has been continuously sidelined while designing public transportation all over the world, especially in developing countries. Gender mainstreaming requires that the implications of any project is assessed by a gendered lens. In most countries, public transport does not take the aforementioned in consideration, resulting in transport modes which negatively impact mobility of women.

Looking over the data from a wide array of countries including the US, India, Uganda, Israel and more, studies conclude that the

social, professional and domestic responsibilities, greatly affect travel needs and patterns of these two genders. Men spend a larger part in transit, but women are comparatively more dependent on the use of public transport, as there are often cultural limitations on owning personal modes of transport or using resources like motorbikes or cycles. The latter's travel patterns are more complex, as they (women) have a plethora of social responsibilities, which they must cater to in addition to their professional needs for transport.

Men spend a larger part in transit, but women are comparatively more dependent on the use of public transport.⁴ Former's mobility increases after marriage, while the event further decreases mobility of women⁵. Her mobility is monitored and controlled through permission, veiling, and the requirement of having a having a male escort in many developing countries⁵. Additionally, women generally have a more scattered travel pattern, as they majorly travel outside work hours, and practice trip chaining, which refers to having multiple stops along their ways.⁶ **Transit should not be designed as gender neutral, as men and women do not have the same mobility realities and needs. Gender mainstreaming is an important concept which has been continuously sidelined while designing public transportation all over the world, especially in developing countries**

This includes dropping their kids to school, running daily errands, and travelling to and from their workplaces; while their male counterparts usually travel to only city centers for their employment, during specific work hours.⁷ Sole focus on improving major transport corridors favor men at the expense of women, as they are designed to operate to travel between major centers and inter-city economic hubs only, while discrediting the needs of its female users who may be un-employed or work part-time.⁸

Furthermore, unlike men, women do not travel alone and are usually accompanied by children or senior citizens or are sometimes pregnant themselves. These travel companions and lack of comfort makes navigating public transport much harder for women as there are no specialized compartments to cater excess space required for wheelchairs, strollers, or grocery bags⁸.

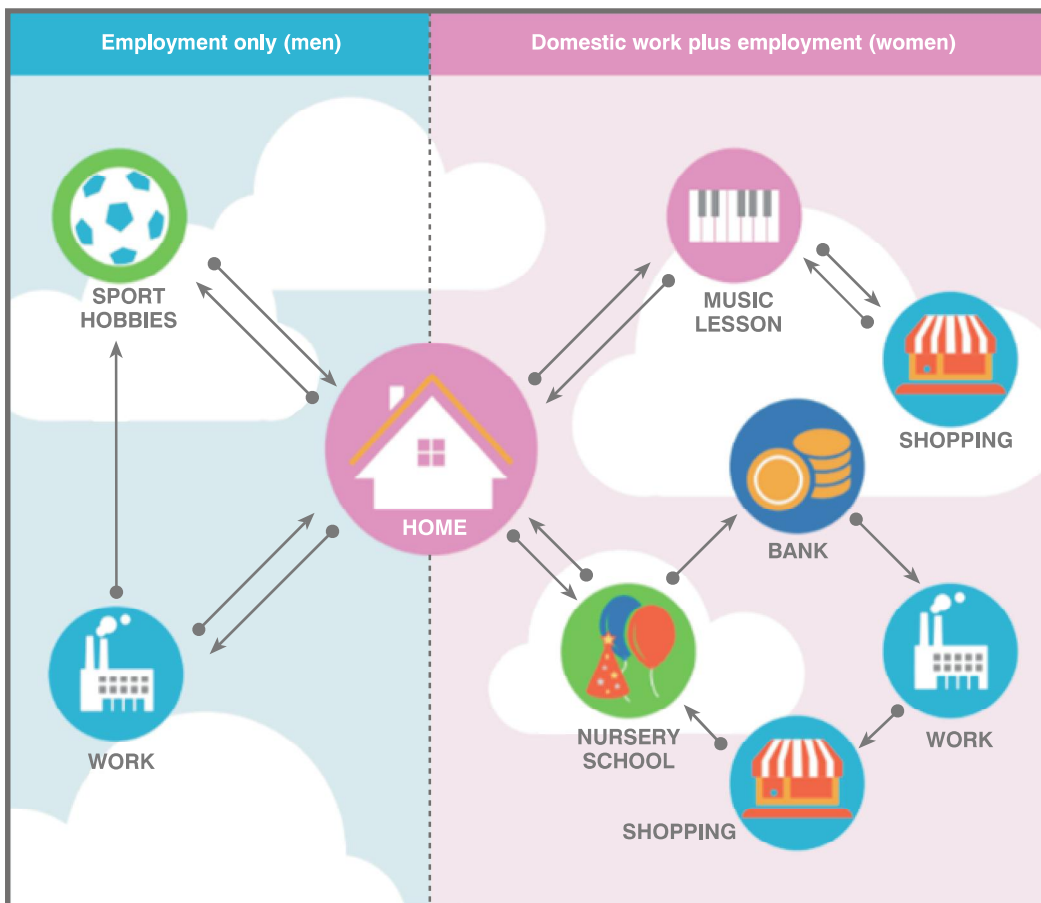
These patterns were consolidated in world-wide studies like the 'Mobility of Care' which began in Spain by identifying how much women used transport for care work – finding that women almost conducted the same amount of care work as they did employment work through their transportation.⁹

Majority of women using public transport work in low-paying clerical positions.¹⁰ They walk more than men, as the latter prefer more motorized forms of transport¹⁰, and are more concerned about speed, while the major

concern for women is affordability and safety, especially at night.⁴

One of the most significant difference between the travel patterns of these genders is based on the high probability of women having to endure verbal or physical harassment during their commute. While using public transport, many female passengers face some form of harassment at the hands of their male counterparts. Such acts of harassment fall on a large spectrum, ranging from constant staring, groping, cat calling, to even rape. The likelihood of these cases are ignored while designing gender neutral public transport. Gendered mobility planning takes all these factors into account and focuses on design which helps prevent them from occurring. Examples include adding street-lights, creating safer pathways, access to security personnel, or reducing distance of stations from main residential areas and workplaces.

A normal day (for a woman from Western Europe)
Source: elaboration on Lechner Lierz (2003)



In trying to answer how mobility contributes to gender, Hanson concludes that mobility does not always imply gender empowerment as mobility is equated to access to public space and for women from some cultures this can be offensive to their sensibilities. In such discourses gender neutrality in public spaces is not considered appropriate, and it is believed that women need to be treated differently. Hanson concludes that as such, mobility shaping gender is contextual and dependent upon whose agency it is attempting to empower.³

In case of gender mobility, it is essential that thorough field research is conducted with female passengers. Gender involvement in decision making, gender impact assessment,

and gender audit is essential for its success. Infrastructure designed for gendered mobility includes increased level of safety and security, better quality of walking and cycling paths, and improved accessibility in vehicles and at stations and stops. Services include affordable fare for multi-purpose trips, adequate timetable for non-rush hour trips, and promotion of dedicated services.

One of the most significant difference between the travel patterns of these genders is based on the high probability of women having to endure verbal or physical harassment during their commute. While using public transport, many female passengers face some form of harassment at the hands of their male counterparts

Checklist for Gender Sensitive Mobility Planning

Following checkpoints are important to be considered while designing public transport in accordance to gender mobility.

- Was the aspect of gender equity considered in the analysis of offers of social infrastructure?
- Does the requirement analysis take gender differences into account?
- Do structures that can support the strategy of Gender Mainstreaming already exist in the area?
- Do the actors involved in making of the implementation plans have proven competence in issues of gender sensitivity?
- Which factors regarding the social situation and its actual manifestations are so dominant that they threaten to interfere with the gender strategies?
- Which measures should contribute towards creating gender equity?
- Is there gender balance in the monitoring committee?
- Who decides on the composition of the monitoring committee?
- Is one gender group dominating the decision-making processes?
- Are micro projects that contribute to the creation of gender equitable action plans encouraged?
- Does the conceptual design of the micro project reflect a gender perspective?

CASE STUDIES

PINK PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION¹²

For women to feel safer in transit, policy makers advocate for more female participation in the decision-making process, and infrastructural changes, e.g. adding more street lights and security personnel to make pathways safer. However, women are essentially afraid of men in public spaces. To cater to the issue, there has been an increasing shift towards mobility options just for women – ‘Pink transport’. In a research conducted in Mexico, it was reported that 66% of women felt that women-only transportation is safer than regular transportation. These pink travel alternatives are being implemented in dozens of cities around the world, including Karachi, Lahore, Barcelona, Rio de Janeiro, Jakarta, Dubai, Tokyo, London, and Mexico etc.

These pink cabs include features like biometric and background checks, 24/7 real-time monitoring, GPS surveillance, ride tracking, restricted service to dangerous areas, pepper sprays, panic buttons, and civilian escort officers in most cases. Female cab drivers are hired for these services, adding to the sense of security for women passengers, while providing employment for women in the transport industry. Drivers for pink taxis in India are also given self-defense training to protect themselves and their passengers. In Barcelona, a dedicated taxi service is available to all women in the evening hours and at night between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. (with an extension from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. for women over 65) at discounted rates of € 3 discount per ride.

However, these services are also critiqued on the claim that creating special taxis for women, we are perpetuating the idea that other services cannot be trusted. We don't need separate services for women, we need to incorporate their safety in a better way in all transit systems.

ONE-HOUR HOPPER FARE LONDON¹⁴

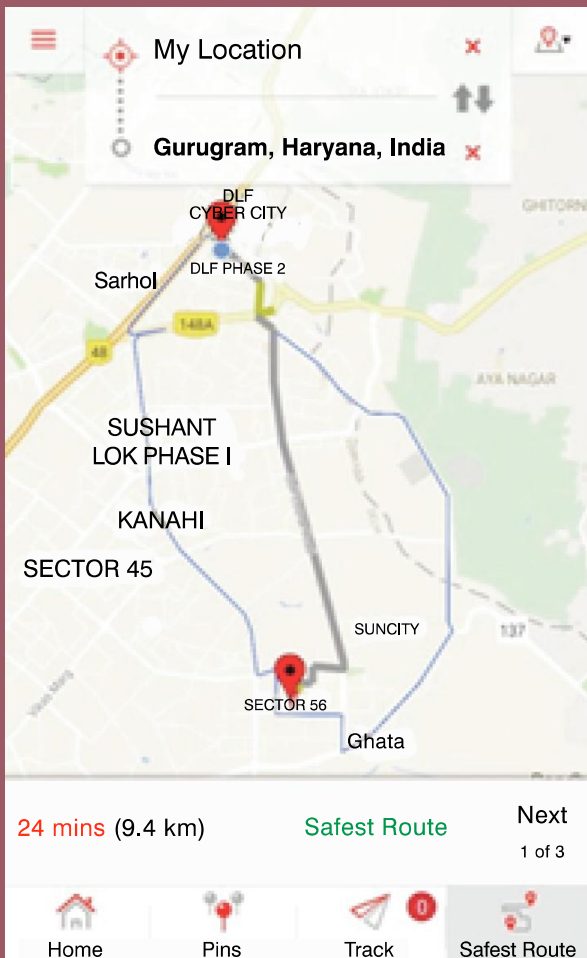
Women travelers often use train chaining- combining multiple trips into one single trip to fulfil their several social and professional responsibilities. In 2016, the mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, launched the one-hour hopper fare initiative.

Through the project, bus and tram passengers could take two journeys for the price of one, within an hour of starting their journeys, at a standard adult ticket of 1.5 pounds. In 2018, the program was extended by the mayor, and passengers were able to make as many journeys as they want within an hour for the price of one.

SAFETIPIN⁷

SafetiPin is a map based mobile phone application in use in India, designed to make communities and cities safer by providing safety related information collected by users and by trained auditors.

At the core of the app is the Women's Safety Audit (WSA), a participatory tool for collecting and assessing information about perceptions of urban safety in public spaces. The audit is based on nine parameters.



Audit Parameters

- Level of lighting
- Openness (sight lines)
- Visibility (overhanging trees, high walls etc)
- Level of crowding or emptiness
- Security (agents)
- Walk / footpath
- Availability of public transport,
- Usage of the public space (for instance is it male dominated or mixed)
- Feeling / emotional response to the space (some-times also called "eyes on the street")

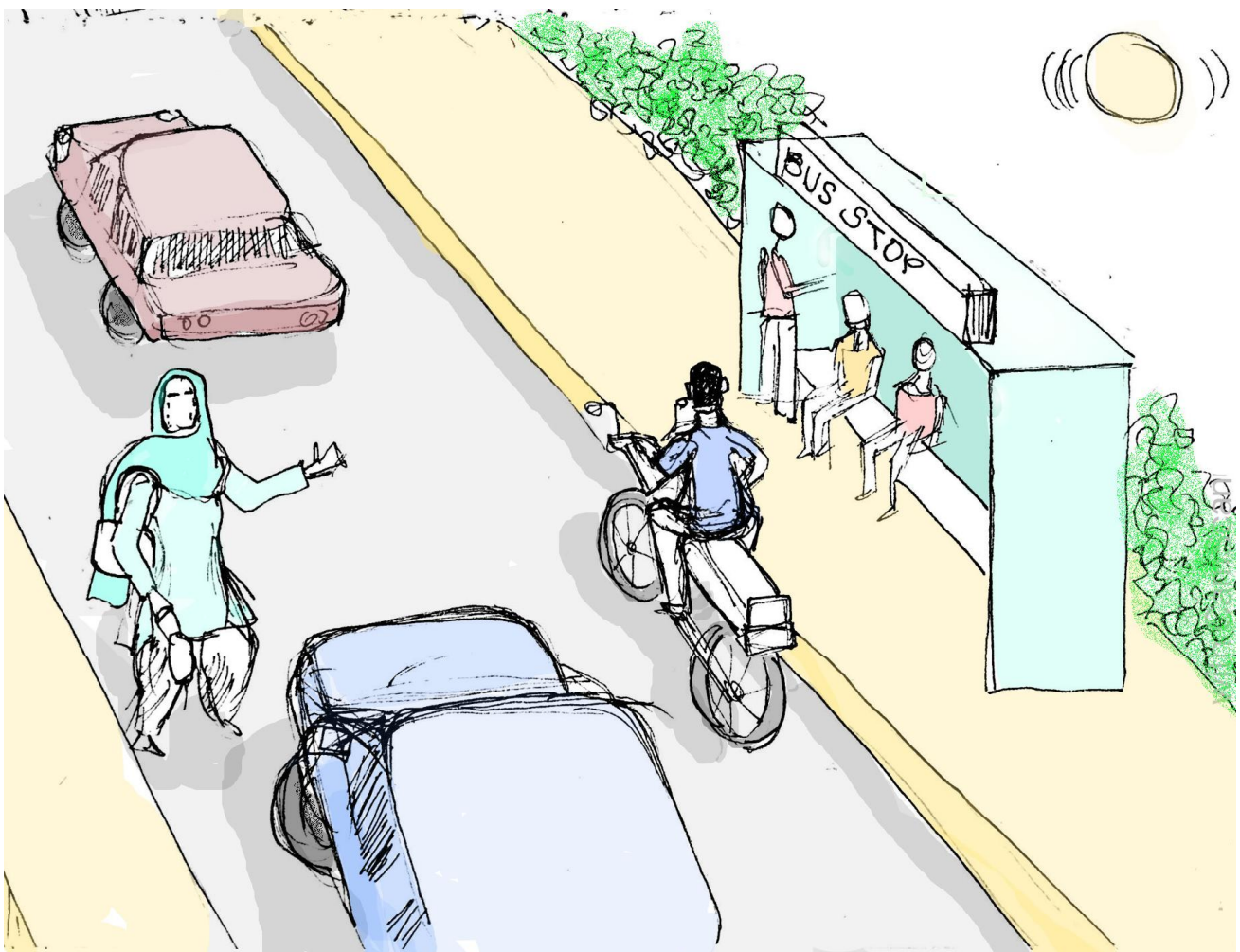
SafetiPin conducted audits to assess the safety of the city of Delhi since August 2013 and collected more than 7000 data points that can be used by the city to improve safety, such as replacing lighting that no longer works, repairing broken footpaths or cutting overhanging trees.

They especially concentrated on Last Mile Connectivity, meaning the immediate surroundings of metro stations, and rated them according to nine parameters. SafetiPin has been used in many cities such as Bogotá, Colombia, Manila, Philippines and Mexico City.

WEST AFRICAN TRANSPORT ACADEMY⁷

The introduction of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) System in Accra, Ghana, was supported by the company Scania through the delivery of buses, planning and management support, an electronic ticketing system, a financing model, and capacity building for the operators. The capacity building, organized in cooperation with GIZ, included intensive mechanics training as well as training for BRT-drivers. Since women were nearly nonexistent among drivers, a goal of 10% female drivers was set and supported by a campaign called "Women moving in the city". 120 jobs for female bus drivers were created and a free six month course was offered. Campaigns have been successful in raising interest for women participation in the project and it is anticipated that the 10% mark will surely be surpassed

Employment of female drivers leads to fuel-saving, less aggressive driving behavior, and a higher feeling of security for female passengers. It also has a positive effect on their male colleagues.



Section 2

PROFILING GENDER MOBILITY— THE LOCAL CONTEXT

This *Section* documents some relevant research done in the recent past to understand issues of urban mobility in Pakistan with a particular focus on Karachi. This research is contextualized within the larger construct of gender empowerment in the city and country as many of the challenges women face in mobility find a wider interface with the overall socio-economic and cultural constraints underpinning the gender inequity landscape

1. GENDER EQUITY IN TRANSPORT PLANNING: IMPROVING WOMEN'S ACCESS TO PUBLIC TRANSPORT IN PAKISTAN



Policy paper – ‘Gender Equity in Transport Planning – Improving Women’s Access to Public Transport in Pakistan’ – prepared by a team of researchers belonging to the Center for Economic Research in Pakistan (CERP) and the University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore (directed by the London School of Economics/University of Oxford and funded by UK Aid) looked into gender mobility challenges in Lahore city, and is being referenced here to provide a larger understanding of issues of gender inequity in transport planning in Pakistan. The paper connects issues of mobility constraints with the overriding concerns of gender dis-empowerment in Pakistan. It states that ‘women’s mobility outside the home in Pakistan is restricted by social norms and safety concerns. In particular, social norms against women coming into close contact with unrelated men and the

discomfort, social stigma, and fear of harassment when they do so, limits women’s movement and their use of public transport. This constrains their choices to participate in the labour force, continue their education, or engage in other independent activities. This challenge is particularly important for women of a marginalized social status who are less able to afford private transport’.

Primary and secondary research work conducted by CERP focuses on two key aspects that differentiate the understanding of the mobility challenges as they relate with men and women. Its research shows that women are more dependent on public transport as compared to men, are more challenged when it comes to the quality of public transport service, and are subjected to various forms of harassment when travelling.

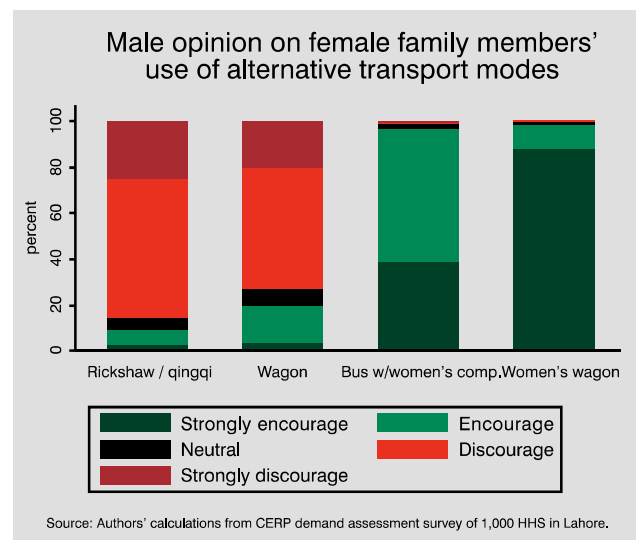
PREFERENCE FOR MOBILITY MODES

When it comes to comparing use of public transport between men and women, this research documents that though women travel less frequently, as a proportion of non-walking trips, they are more likely than men to travel on public transport. Findings indicated that when traveling beyond walking distance, women in Lahore are almost 30% more likely than men to use public transport such as buses or wagons. This is in part because other options, such as riding independently on a motorbike or bicycle (common transport modes for men), are taboo for women: Men are 70% more likely than women to travel in these private transport modes. However, this data in no way implies any preference by choice for using public transport modes as it was also found that women who do not have a choice of private transport such as cars or motorbikes, choose, if possible, to ride on alternative modes such as rickshaws or Qingqis (motorcycle rickshaws). Women are 50% more likely to ride on these modes than men. Nevertheless this preferred option is also subject to aspects of safety and permission.

ISSUES OF HARASSMENT

The research found that fears of harassment are heightened by the need of walking long distances to non-lighted bus stops, located in generally unsafe places. Women while accessing public transport were found to consider first distance to the nearest stop, time of the day, and the degree of exposure to male strangers in order to make their decision. Nearly 30% of women in the study survey said that they feel it is “very unsafe” for women to walk in their neighbourhood. Women reported that men stare, pass comments, and follow women to their destination, or physically touch them while passing

This finding that women prefer to avoid using public transport is also substantiated by other related survey findings. It was found that working women frequently coordinate with other women from their neighbourhood and share rickshaw costs to commute to and from work. Whenever possible, they utilize pick-and-drop services offered by offices or educational institutions. Some pay private pick-and-drop operators, while others plan trips together and travel in groups on Qingqis when making trips to the market, visiting relatives or commuting to work.



by. Many prefer walking with a male member of their household, and waiting with him at the stop. Sometimes those who cannot do so restrict their travel to a minimum, or take any other form of transport that is readily available without waiting. They felt that delays and uncertainty regarding arrival times further exacerbated the problem. Many respondents also reported encountering harassment from male conductors, ticket checkers, drivers and passengers. It was found that overcrowding in buses also exacerbated the problem of harassment.

CONSEQUENCES

The research highlights that women try out various options to make their mobility experience as viable as possible. Findings indicate that many women avoid using public transport, particularly in crowded modes such as wagons. Some switch to higher cost modes such as rickshaws and qingchis, while others adjust their travel timings and routes. However, female students and working women often have no choice but to travel during peak hours. Others simply do not travel without a male family member. Some married women who would like to visit their own relatives more often cannot do so because they have to wait until a husband or an in-law can accompany them.

Then very importantly are the spill off effects. This study has tried to document the larger picture in terms of livelihood related impacts and found that difficulties with transport can restrict women's ability to carry out even the

most basic tasks, such as going to the market, visiting the doctor or their children's schools. Girls in some areas drop out of studies earlier because when they get to the level of Middle, Matric or Intermediate, there is no safe and reliable transport to the nearest school at that level, or because safe pick-and-drop services to school are expensive (often the biggest part of educational expenditure for low-income families).

More qualitative modes of data generation used in the primary research such as focus groups suggest that 'women who want or need to work often restrict their search only to employers that are very close to home, provide transport services, or in locations which are convenient for a male family member to accompany them to and from work. This means they have to give up better job opportunities that do not provide transport – or they may not find a job at all.

LEARNING FROM PINK BUSES PROJECT LAHORE

In Lahore, the Government of Punjab, through the Lahore Transport Company (LTC), launched its flagship women's transport project in 2012 by introducing women-only Pink Buses on three routes in Lahore. The service operates on routes where regular buses with separate sections for women also operate from morning until evening, and only makes two to 3.5 trips in a day, finishing

services by 3:00 p.m. latest.

The paper also documents findings of a pilot survey of 81 Pink Bus passengers and six conductors conducted by CERP. The survey was conducted to learn more about the user base and assess its strengths as well as areas for improvement.

Findings of Survey- Pink Bus Passengers/Conductors

- The pink bus is primarily used by female students and working women, consisting of teachers, nurses, doctors, lawyers, police staff, office workers and domestic workers
- Many passengers plan their travel around the Pink Bus timings. However, on one of the routes, the bus arbitrarily completes two or three round trips per day meaning that passengers cannot always plan their travel

- Many women travelling on regular buses along the routes are not aware of the service
- When asked what they might change about the service, 35% mentioned their need for the service to run until evening as they cannot use it for their return trip, a major shortcoming for working women. This is likely an under-estimate as women were not asked specifically about extending the hours

Source: Center for Economic Research in Pakistan

A matter of concern indicated in the research is that the Pink Bus program is heavily subsidized and suffers from high financial losses as

ridership is low and the buses are underutilized. It serves a tiny fraction of the women in Lahore who travel on a regular basis.

KEY FINDINGS

1. When women in Pakistan need to travel to work, study, visit family or access public services, they depend on public transport. Although they travel less, as a proportion of non-walking trips, women are much more dependent on public transport than men are. More of women's trips take place on public transport because travel on other modes such as motor-bikes is restricted by social norms. Yet women face significant challenges while using public transport because of concerns over safety, harassment and worries about their social reputation. In a survey of 1,000 households across Lahore conducted by the Center for Economic Research in Pakistan (CERP), 70% of male family members said they would discourage female family members from using public wagon services. Women also feel unsafe getting to stops and waiting there. In a pilot survey conducted by CERP in Lahore, more than 30% of respondents said that it was 'extremely' unsafe for women to walk in their neighborhoods
2. Specific, feasible transport interventions can improve women's ability to travel safely. Household respondents in Lahore feel that some transport modes (such as buses with women's-only compartments) are much safer and more acceptable for women than others
3. Existing women's-only services (in Lahore, three Pink Bus routes) benefit their users substantially, but serve a small number of women due to their very limited geographic coverage, restricted timings and lack of publicity. The resources for these services could be used more efficiently. On the other hand, many women in Lahore lack access to a bus with a women's-only compartment
4. These challenges restrict women's lives substantially. They affect whether they work and the kind of jobs they take, where they can study and when they can visit their families. If improved public transport addresses these challenges, it has the potential to make a significant impact on women's mobility and the opportunities available to them

Source: Gender Equity in Transport Planning: Improving Women's Access to Public Transport in Pakistan

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Continue unnecessary expansion of the public transport network, emphasizing high quality services with lower crowding and/or with separate women's sections
2. If women-only services are used, get more value for money by improving the design. Use small vehicles that can fill up and cover their costs. Run them on routes where there is crowding on vehicles and where there is not already a large bus/wagon with a separate section, as these are the areas where women face the biggest challenges
3. Fix a schedule for transport services and work with operators to help them stick to the schedule consistently. This will reduce waiting time on the street for women, and improve the convenience and value of the system for all passengers
4. Peri-urban areas have limited public transport coverage, but informal operators provide some services. The government should work with these operators to provide a reliable, low frequency transport service in peri-urban areas on a well-publicized timetable
5. Train public transport staff (particularly drivers and conductors) on sexual harassment. They should be trained on the standards expected of them, as well as how to deal with passenger-on-passenger harassment. Staff must also be monitored and held accountable to these requirements
6. Public transport alone is not enough: women need to feel and be safe getting to and waiting at stops. Sidewalks, street lighting, and police attention to stops and general street safety are critical
7. The government should start a process to assess women's needs in designing new policies, and use data to help inform transport planning (such as surveys of female riders on their preferences, which can be carried out at minimal cost)
8. There is a critical need for better monitoring and rigorous impact evaluation of programs such as Pink Buses and Women on Wheels, to determine how to adapt them and whether to scale them up

Source: Gender Equity in Transport Planning: Improving Women's Access to Public Transport in Pakistan

2. INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER, MOBILITY, AND VIOLENCE IN URBAN PAKISTAN



This paper, authored by Nausheen H. Anwar, Sarwat Viqar, and Daanish Mustafa, is part of the publication *Social Theories of Urban Violence in Global South*, (Jennifer Erin Salahub, Markus Gottsbacher, and John de Boer), 2018, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group. The research was carried out in the cities of Karachi and Rawalpindi and for the purpose of the present work, research relevant to Karachi is sourced.

The research, as it states, 'situates the inhibited mobility of women within the larger context of the gendered power relations that generate and maintain a dominant masculinity, leading to claims about what is proper behavior for men and women in public and private spaces'. Violence against women in public spaces often relates to ideas of 'natural' claims to such spaces, following the

popular perception that there are specific conditions under which men and women may access public spaces. The paper focuses on questions pertaining to how Pakistani women and men cope with spatial inequalities, and manage their mobility, and how might this generate perceptions of fear and violence. It also focuses on difference between physical and gendered mobility between diverse neighborhoods and across cities.

The analysis revealed that men's and women's attitudes, perceptions, and practices of mobility depend on a combination of factors: access to transport, income levels, location of home neighborhood, and the overall political-economic conditions

The collected quantitative and qualitative data has been used to describe the state of access to transport in different neighborhoods and cities. A key point made is that gender-based violence is often experienced as a punishment for anyone who transgresses gender norms, with women's mobility further restricted in masculinized spaces—those deemed to be only for men—where intimidation or the threat of violence is always imminent'.

The analysis revealed that men's and women's attitudes, perceptions, and practices of mobility depend on a combination of factors: access to transport, income levels, location of home neighborhood, and the overall political-economic conditions. Religion was also a factor: women from some households, such as those in Karachi's Christian Colony, reported fewer restrictions on their mobility. As one female respondent explained, "We feel the difference from being more liberal." In the absence of access to private transport, most respondents depended on buses since other forms of public transport are restricted to rickshaws and taxi cabs, which are too expensive for most working-class people on a daily basis.

It also stated that since buses in urban Pakistan are always overcrowded—especially at rush hour—people are forced into close physical proximity with one another, making it impossible for women to keep the personal space necessary for modesty. For this reason, buses represent a masculinized space. The problem of male harassment of women is such that public transport is segregated, and men are not allowed in the space reserved for women in the front part of the bus (though they still manage to gain access).

At best, only 10–20 per cent of the available seating is set aside for women. This means that women suffer daily intimidation and sexual harassment during their commutes. Even when the contact is not physical, women still experience the hostile gaze that objectifies them, creates fear and disgust, and affects their mobility. This fact that women

prefer not to be squashed into physical contact with strange males can make them an economic liability to the transport system. In Karachi, although the system is public, certain buses are run privately meaning that drivers may have a stake in the passenger load. One of the study's male respondent (Umar, 42, from Orangi Town, Karachi) explained the situation.

'The bus [driver] often does not stop for women because he knows that, instead of one woman, he can stuff four men into the same space. And sometimes if there are only one or two women in the front part of the bus and a lot of men come on board, the driver will simply make the women get off to accommodate the men because that means more money for him. Another respondent (Sumayya, 23, from Dhok Naju, R-I) narrated her experience with using public transport: "The drivers and conductors stare at women indecently. The drivers touch us whenever they shift the gears." This situation is a common experience for women, one they also hear about from others'.

The research provides a very interesting backdrop to the construct of gendered mobility in Pakistan. It states that 'men are expected to move easily between the public and private, yet women's mobility may be interpreted as transgression'

Issues of infrastructure degradation in areas that are politically and ethnically volatile also create complications. For example, in Orangi Town, it was found that residents must negotiate transportation corridors that are deeply affected by Karachi's historical ethnic tensions. The five neighborhoods of Orangi Town comprised a mixture of ethnicities, but for some Muhajir residents of Orangi Town, to reach central Karachi, they had to pass through the Pakhtun-dominated Banaras Chowk junction leading to the frequent eruption of ethnic violence between Muhajirs and Pakhtuns. The surveyed male and female respondents from across the five neighborhoods in Orangi Town continually emphasized that travelling via Banaras Chowk always carries a high risk of being exposed to violence.

The research provides a very interesting backdrop to the construct of gendered mobility in Pakistan. It states that 'men are expected to move easily between the public and private, yet women's mobility may be interpreted as transgression'. In Pakistan, men generally have a greater sway over public spaces than women, and linked with this is the popular perception that men don't need to have any specific purpose to be in public spaces. They may loiter or hang out if they choose, however the idea of women doing so is generally inconceivable. Many feminists have questioned the relationship between masculinized places and gender inequality, including Hsu (2011), Monahan (2009), Valentine (1989), and Wesely and Gaarder (2004). Such studies show that highly masculinized spaces facilitate men's aggression towards women. When women do enter such spaces, they often rely on a set of coping strategies to negotiate the unequal treatment.

The study goes on to state that relationship between mobility and space is constructed and experienced in a deeply gendered way, and this contributes to the reproduction of gender itself—a social construct whose meanings are constantly remade and transformed within a given social context. Since public and private spheres are not separate but are rather correlated. In light of this, the dichotomy between young men's attitudes towards women within their homes, and towards women outside of their homes, makes sense. Women at home are in their "proper" place, according to the gender codes. In the public sphere, they are perceived as constantly "transgressing" and hence must be policed in order to safeguard the masculinity of public spaces. For that reason, this paper's conceptual discussion of mobility focused on the public

sphere and links between the public and private because the household scale requires different conceptual frameworks and methodologies. We should point out that for society in Pakistan to become more socially just, a re-coding of these two spheres is required. In the urban context of our study, this is already happening to varying degrees: women are questioning their cultural relegation to the home and deliberately "transgressing" in public. This may be done out of economic compulsion: the necessity, in Pakistan's modern monetized society, for women to enter the salaried labor market.

It was found that certain neighborhoods, such as the poorest and highly vulnerable Afghan Abadi in R-I, and Mansoor Nagar, Ali Akbar Shah Goth, and Christian Colony in Karachi, indicate weak transport access. These patterns are associated not only with income level and settlement type, but also with factors such as location, vulnerability, and status within the city's political economy. An interesting correlation that was developed was that respondents that perceived poorer access to transportation also tended to report being victims of violence.

Correlation between Transpotation and Victamisation

	<i>Speman's Rho statistics</i>	<i>p-value (2 tailed)</i>	<i>Correlation strength</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
Aggregate	-0.071	0.002	Weak	Negative
Karachi	-0.138	0.000	Weak	Negative
Lines Area/Jamshed Town	-0.577	0.000	Moderate	Negative
Mansoor Nagar/ Orangi Town	-0.225	0.001	Weak	Positive
Christan Colony/ Orangi Town	0.244	0.002	Weak	Negative
Ghazziabad Orangi Town	0.301	0.000	Moderate	Negative
Rawalpindi Islamabad	0.129	0.001	Weak	Positive
Dhok Naju	0.209	0.009	Weak	Positive

GENDERED MOBILITY, MASCULINIZED SPACES

As women and men move through public spaces—streets, neighborhoods, and the larger city—they indicate different aspects of mobility. We might view different ages, sexes, and social classes in motion: a working-class woman who works as a nurse, young unemployed men loitering in the streets, or a pair of young lovers who transgress cultural and social norms to seek freedom in the city. (Their activities there may range from walking in the park holding hands, to going to a hotel together.)

Often, though, the sight of women in public places—especially young ones—produces anxiety in many people: both males and females seem to feel instinctively that women should not leave the home, travel to work, or relax or stroll in public spaces. Femininity itself may constitute a risk: a woman might fear being followed, or even threatened, by strange men. Or the men of her family might imagine this happening and fear on her behalf. They might also be afraid that she may become morally corrupt if she stays outside for too long, away from the home—which is widely viewed as the locus of moral individuals, the place of masculine dominion and feminine submission, and the space of domesticity that creates the peace and respectability men crave. Many of the study’s respondents painted a pleasant idealized picture of family life with women forming the bedrock of social stability.

At play was a geographic fear associated with the outside for women. Other than the obvious distinction between the home as private and the outside as public, a neighborhood’s streets can represent a transitional space where the outside world is to some degree “internalized”. It is not thought as improper for a women to hang out on the threshold of their house, between it and the street and talk to their neighbors. On the other hand, streets can also be “policed” by both male and female neighbors on the lookout for “transgressive” behaviors. This fact can both facilitate and curtail certain kinds of mobility. Paradoxically, of course, fear and violence are not always associated only with the outside world. The inside world, the private and domestic space, is often also a violent one for women, where they feel a lack of safety. This too relates to male domination in the form of domestic abuse.

Source: Nausheen H. Anwar, Sarwat Viqar, and Daanish Mustafa- Social Theories of Urban Violence in Global South.

This paper also looked at the coping strategies that women employ to manage spatial inequality in different spaces: the home, the streets of their own neighborhoods, and lastly, the big city. These strategies often include acts of self-censorship such as avoiding certain public spaces; wearing a burqa, headscarf, or hijab to veil themselves; or simply being careful to engage in non-confrontational behavior.

CONCLUDING INSIGHTS

- For working-class women, access to the city is made possible only by public transport; however, it is impossible for women to access that facility without exposure to sexual harassment, intimidation, or the threat of violence
- Women use various coping strategies to help them navigate violence and harassment in the short term, such as modifying their behavior, veiling themselves, travelling in groups, or avoiding travel altogether. However, these raise concerns about the long-term consequences for women's mobility
- The social context for gender-based violence is the cultural assumption the deeply embedded gender narratives—that men's behavior is normal, and that it is women's job to cope with it. Women's coping strategies, therefore, are not merely shaped by the threat of violence, but also by the gender narratives that promote it
- A neighborhood's inner lanes and streets are frequently the site of struggles to maintain social gender norms and to guard against transgression. On the one hand, this is a familiar world where neighbors know and protect each other. On the other hand, it is also a possibly claustrophobic place where anxieties about transgressing gender norms erupt into conflict
- While the larger city represents an escape for women from this insular world, it is also a site of exposure to an impersonal world and the threatening masculine gaze of society

3. POLICY BRIEF: A SAFE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION ENVIRONMENT FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS



In the year 2015, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) published a 'Policy Brief - A Safe Public Transportation Environment for Women and Girls'. The brief provides evidence from three different cities in ADB's Central and West Asia region – Baku, Azerbaijan, Tbilisi, Georgia, and Karachi, Pakistan - of the prevalence of women being harassed on public transport. A total of 630 respondents participated in the survey conducted in the three cities. It documents the impacts of this harassment on transportation behavior, and the challenges in addressing these concerns. It ends up with recommending simple design changes and policy considerations that can contribute to making safer public transportation systems where women also feel comfortable in accessing services

The context to **As part of New York City's** this research was **fight against sexual harassment** provided by a **ment on public transportation**, it is no longer treated **as a misdemeanor but** lack of safe transportation is one main **instead is a felony** reason for women's lower labor force participation, particularly in developing countries and cities not served by efficient public transport. As the brief states, 'for many women, labor force participation translates into financial empowerment. Moreover, public transportation is the cheapest form of transport within the city, thus enabling women to save money'. It also cites a study conducted by the Urban Resource Centre in Karachi that reported that most bus users spend at least 10% of their monthly income on transportation, and

expecting women to use other, more expensive modes of transport would be a strain on their individual budget.

The fact that women use public transport much more as compared to men, highlights the importance of making public transport services safe and convenient for the former. Safety on the public transportation system also enables women to leave their workplace at the time convenient to them; flexible working hours are appealing for women, who are more likely than men to combine paid work with unpaid home care work. Moreover, women would not be forced to give up their jobs or studies because of lack of safety in public spaces. Furthermore, the brief also focuses on the issue of sexual harassment faced by women. It states that gender mobility challenges have the potential to negatively affect their productive role and participation in the public sphere.

As such, a range of interventions have been adopted by governments and civil society around the world to address women's safety and harassment on public transportation. As part of New York City's fight against sexual harassment on public transportation, it is no longer treated as a misdemeanor but instead as a felony. "Sexually motivated touching" is

now considered a sex crime, carrying the possibility of imprisonment. In the United Kingdom, the Project Guardian campaign, aimed at encouraging women to report sexual assault on public transportation, was launched in 2013. The campaign uses a video clip produced by Transport for London to show a man sexually harassing a woman in a London tube car. Since the campaign's launch, police have recorded a 25% increase in the number of reported sexual assaults.

This research aimed to investigate the degree to which women face such harassment and to examine the targets' reactions and public perceptions about sexual harassment in public transportation. To this end, the assessments attempted to specify recommended actions to prevent and address sexual harassment in public transportation and its related spaces such as train platforms and bus stops.

In Karachi, Pakistan, 78% of the respondents had felt harassed or uncomfortable at some point while using public transportation in the previous year. 21% (50 respondents) said they had "many times" felt uncomfortable or harassed by men's behavior while commuting on a public bus or at the bus stop in the previous year; 41.7% (96 respondents) said they "sometimes" felt uncomfortable or harassed.

Gender Mobility Scenario – Karachi City

Various modes of public transportation are available in Karachi, Pakistan, including cars, taxis, auto rickshaws, buses, minibuses, and qingqi. Buses, minibuses, and qingqi charge on a per-passenger basis, whereas taxis and auto rickshaws are privately hired and charge by the trip. Minibuses are popular because they cover a greater number of routes than standard buses. Minibuses have a seating capacity of 25 people, 7 of which are located in a women's section. Because minibuses cover a greater number of routes and have less capacity, they generally tend to be overcrowded. The qingqi has no seats reserved for women. Social norms dictate that a woman can only sit next to another woman, although women and men can sit facing each other. Auto rickshaws have the capacity to carry three people at a time and are privately hired. They are relatively more expensive than buses because the passenger pays the entire cost of the trip. Car taxis are even more expensive and are seldom used by lower-middle-class riders, and almost never by the poor.

Source: Policy Brief: A safe public transportation environment for women and girls, Asian Development

CASE STUDY KARACHI

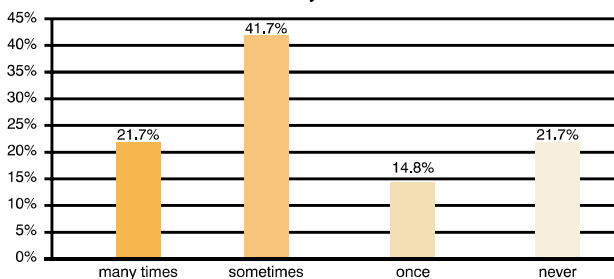
A total of 230 female respondents were accessed during this research in Karachi. Following are some findings from the policy brief.

The research found that in Karachi, a little more than half of the respondents said that they used public transportation every day, whereas 24.4% used buses or Qingqis one to four times a week. About 77% of the women who used public transportation daily reported that they had been sexually harassed.

Data from respondents in Karachi showed that students, teachers and lecturers, domestic workers, and retail and office workers most frequently used buses, minibuses, and Qingqis. Homemakers, by contrast, used public transportation less

Frequency of Harassment among Respondents in Karachi, Pakistan

Have you ever felt uncomfortable or harassed by men's behavior while commuting in a public bus or at a bus stop during the last year?

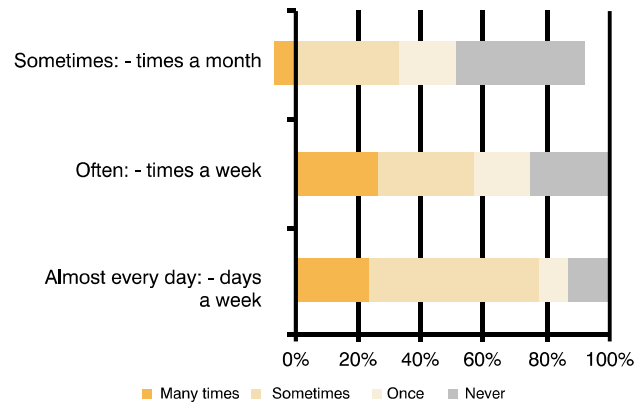


Source: Data generated from ADB, 2014, Rapid Assessment of Sexual Harassment in Public Transport and Connected Spaces in Karachi. Consultant's report Manila

frequently—one to four times a week or two to four times a month. This suggests that public transportation is critical to women who are engaging in productive and human capital-related activities.

In Karachi, the majority of the female respondents said that they had never helped a woman they had seen being sexually harassed by a male commuter. Among the 180 survey respondents who had experienced some form of harassment, 26.1% never responded to the offender, while another

Public Transportation Use and Sexual Harassment, Karachi, Pakistan



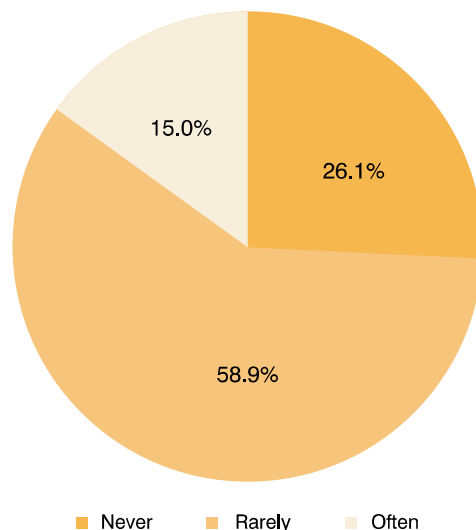
Source: Data generated from ADB, 2014, Rapid Assessment of Sexual Harassment in Public Transport and Connected Spaces in Karachi. Consultant's report Manila

58.9% said they rarely responded. Of the total respondents, 52.8% of those experiencing sexual harassment said that it has affected their use of public transportation. In Karachi, the majority of the female respondents said that they had never helped a woman they had seen being sexually harassed by a male commuter

of homemakers reduced their use of public transportation and instead chose to use privately hired taxis or rickshaws. Additionally, women in Karachi were more likely to wear 'cover-up'

Respondents' Reaction to Sexual Harassment, Karachi, Pakistan

Have you ever reacted / taken action when someone harassed you?



Source: Data generated from ADB, 2014, Rapid Assessment of Sexual Harassment in Public Transport and Connected Spaces in Karachi. Consultant's report Manila

OPERATIONALIZE A SEXUAL HARASSMENT FREE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION ENVIRONMENT

- i. Require public transportation operators to have, advertise, and enforce a public safety policy and related initiatives to ensure that the public transportation network and related spaces are free of sexual harassment. Local governments should work with transport companies and associations to integrate such strategies into a broader “safe city” plan
- ii. Improve coordination between transport security and police in monitoring, responding, and tracking violent sexual harassment cases
- iii. Set up databases to track sexual harassment cases on each public transportation network to identify mitigation measures, such as increased capacity, to prevent crowding; better lighting; security patrols in known hot spots; and closed-circuit television
- iv. Promulgate behavior-change communications (e.g., posters, cell phone applications, advertisements, stickers, or social media campaigns) empowering men and women to discourage sexual harassment perpetrators
- v. Sensitize transport company officials about handling gender-related cases so that sexual harassment targets are more confident in reporting an offense
- vi. Develop safety and security teaching materials related to sexual harassment free environments, and use these materials in training and consultative workshops targeted at transport owners, drivers and conductors, and all other public transportation personnel and staff. Transport owners, drivers and conductors, and personnel and staff should be issued clear guidance on how to respond, report, and document sexual harassment cases
- vii. Make drivers and conductors aware that they should eliminate inappropriate and antisocial behavior on buses. In addition, drivers and conductors should ensure that seats reserved for particular people are made available only to them. Cities that employ inspectors (such as Karachi, which monitors noise from bus radio/stereo systems) could include monitoring of reserved seats.
- viii. Ensure that uniformed security officers patrol metro platforms, train station entrances and exits, and bus stops so that targets can get immediate help and the police are quickly alerted to any serious sexual harassment incident. In this connection, police and security personnel should work collaboratively, and both groups should receive training on anti-sexual harassment legislation or policy and how it is implemented.
- ix. Sensitize all public transportation staff to sexual harassment and grant rewards for recognition of good work. In this case, staff would include drivers and conductors, whether working on the metro or on buses
- x. Encourage women to work in the public transportation and security enforcement sectors. This should include increasing the number of uniformed women security officers in the transport sector and increasing the number of women in the police force overall
- xi. Identify unsecure spaces through consultation with public transportation commuters. Monitor these unsecure spaces and ensure better lighting and use of closed-circuit television in these areas
- xii. Establish a hotline for reporting complaints, including complaints of sexual harassment. Complainant confidentiality be maintained. Analyze the complaints data for patterns and sexual harassment hot spots
- xiii. Include women participants in transport planning and design of future upgrade programs
- xiv. Provide larger buses and increase the frequency of trains to reduce overcrowding, which is linked to increased sexual “harassment”

INFRASTRUCTURE AND SECURITY TECHNOLOGY

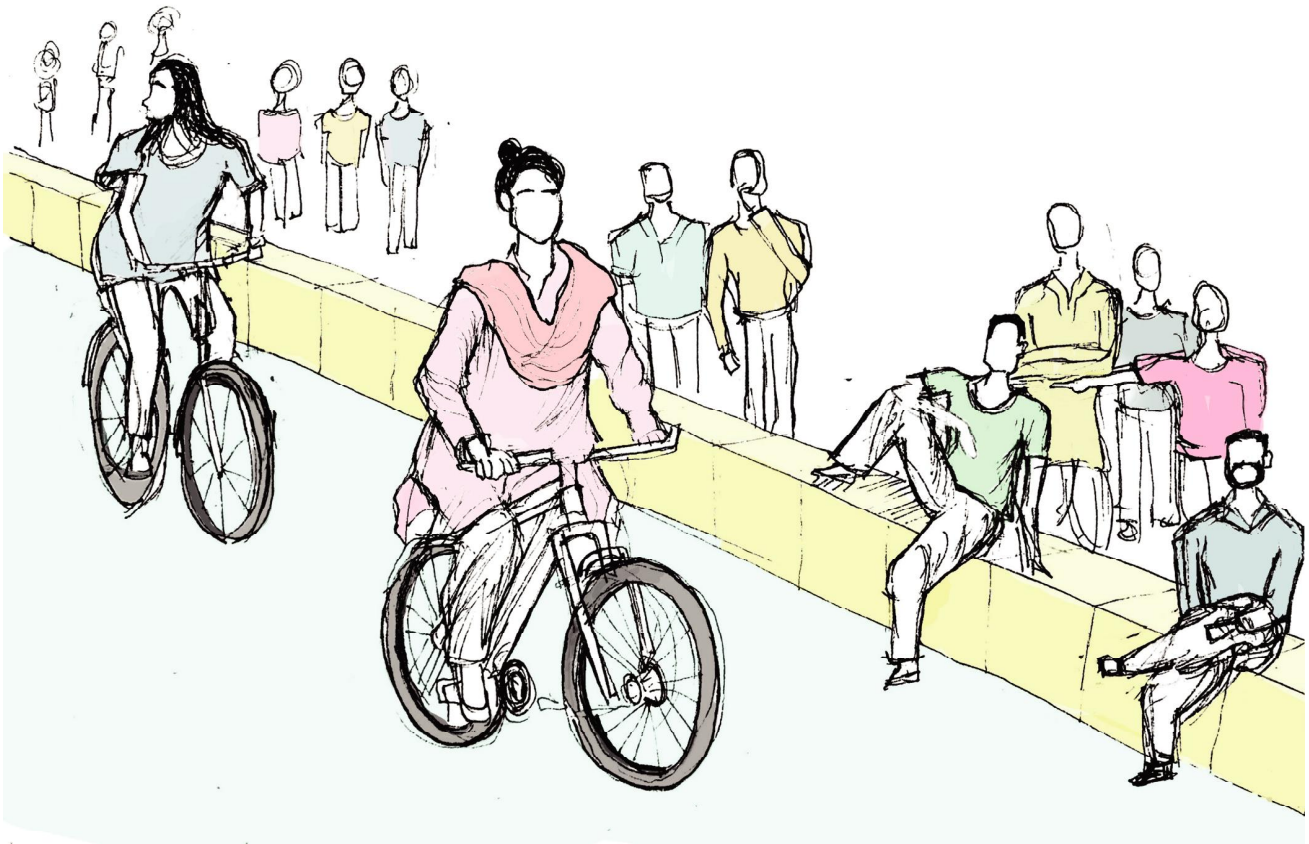
- i. Make infrastructural changes, such as installing closed-circuit television in buses and metro cars, along the metro platform, in bus terminals, and at bus stops
- ii. Provide lighting in all dim areas, whether in the metro, on buses, at bus stations, or on metro platforms. Parking areas also should be well lit, especially at night
- iii. Install emergency telephones at metro platforms, metro stations, bus stations, and bus stops

PUBLIC EDUCATION

- i. Develop behavior-change materials to raise awareness of and sensitivity to sexual harassment in public transportation networks
- ii. Communicate the purpose and import of the new policies to the public through campaigns; advertisements on television, social media, and radio; and through radio talk shows that highlight and discuss the issue
- iii. Ensure that the language and visuals used in all communication efforts are unambiguous and direct, yet culturally sensitive
- iv. Develop signage and posters to be displayed in public transportation networks and other public spaces. These posters should also highlight the role fellow commuters can play to improve safety
- v. Develop banners to raise awareness about sexual harassment in public transportation networks. Include messages that encourage men to stand up for women being harassed
- vi. Develop safety-and-security teaching materials targeted at secondary school children and at young adults in tertiary education. These materials should promote interactive learning and the building of social solidarity around individual and collective responsibility for safety in public spaces
- vii. Utilize the public address system in metro stations to raise awareness about sexual harassment. In this case, recorded or verbal messages should be used to highlight antisocial behavior and to stress that sexual harassment is unlawful
- viii. Conduct regular passenger satisfaction surveys and safety audits. The sex-disaggregated data from these surveys and audits might be collected through apps or through a website, with information on how to participate displayed on trains and buses. Participation could be rewarded with a onetime fare discount. Results should feed back into planning initiatives
- ix. Grant recognition to witnesses of a sexual harassment incident who help a target
- x. Name and shame perpetrators as one of several strategies to raise awareness that sexual harassment is shameful for the perpetrator, not for the target

Source: Policy Brief: A safe public transportation environment for women and girls

4. RESPONDING TO THE TRANSPORT CRISIS IN KARACHI



In the year 2015, the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) published a paper, titled, 'Responding to the Transport Crisis in Karachi' that was authored by Arif Hasan and Mansoor Raza.

It looked into various aspects of the transport sector related crisis in Karachi and presented a historical perspective on the causes of the current crisis, and its repercussions on transporters, fuel suppliers, and the public; outlining current government plans and made recommendations for sector reforms.

As part of the research that went into structuring this paper, in-depth open-ended interviews with 15 women were arranged by the Urban Resource Centre (URC), Karachi. The interviewees came from various walks of life and all used public transport for commuting. They comprised of domestic help workers;

maids, cleaners and caretakers at schools and offices; white-collar workers at banks and other corporate sector entities; school teachers; and students at high school and universities. The main objective of this survey was to document their views on the transport system and how it affects their lives. The following discussion is based on some key findings

It was also found that many of the respondents had to walk long distances to save on bus fare. To save money, some preferred to take one crowded and uncomfortable bus trip rather than spend more money taking two buses which are not so crowded and involve shorter routes

of the research. The research states that 'the most important common thread in all the interviews was that the interviewees get tired (exhausted) and mentally stressed due to pollution, discomfort and long hours of travelling.

Some also say that it is a physical and mental torture travelling by bus and on returning home they are in a bad mood and not capable of doing any other work.

During pregnancy (and by implication in various other more difficult circumstances), it is almost impossible to use the public transport buses. Due to the unreliability of transport, especially when there are demonstrations in the city and on non-CNG days, it is common to arrive late at work. In such cases, the interviewees get scolded by their bosses and in some cases there are heavy deductions from their salaries.'

It was also found that many of the respondents had to walk long distances to save on bus fare. To save money, some preferred to take one crowded and uncomfortable bus trip rather than spend more money taking two buses which are not so crowded and involve shorter routes. For comfort they also get together to share a QINGQI. An effort was made to document how much of the earnings of the women were spent on transport related expenses. It was found that the highest earning interviewee, whose income was Rs 25,000, spent Rs 4,000 on commuting.

There were interesting findings for job choices related with mobility options. It was found that usually, one looks for a job in the neighborhood even if it is relatively poorly paid; 'one of the interviewees changed her profession and another turned down a good job offer because of transport-related discomfort. However, many interviewees felt that (motorized) rickshaws and QINGQIs have made life easier and more comfortable provided you can afford them or share them with a group'.

The research also looked into issues of walkability. It was found that the recent push at making major traffic corridors 'signal free' had added to walkability challenges as Karachi's recently developed fast signal-free roads have

made it extremely dangerous for anyone to try to cross a road in any way other than using a pedestrian bridge. However, as the study notes, 'these bridges are not enough in number and are not appropriately located with the result that where it used to take five (5) minutes to cross a road, now locating and using a pedestrian bridge can take over fifteen (15) minutes'.

Issues of harassment were also considered. Findings indicated that many of the interviewees felt insecure while travelling and faced some form of sexual harassment. They preferred the use of a QINGQI which is open and visible, or a crowded and uncomfortable bus, rather than a taxi because it has locked doors. However, when they travel in groups then the feeling of insecurity disappears. Most interviewees

It was found that the recent push at making major traffic corridors 'signal free' had added to walkability challenges as Karachi's recently developed fast signal-free roads have made it extremely dangerous for anyone to try to cross a road in any way other than using a pedestrian bridge.

said they experienced some form of sexual harassment, not just while in mobility modes but also while standing at bus stops where men in cars and on motorbikes often stop and offer lifts. While recounting their experiences they said that men enter into the women's compartment of the bus and refuse to leave when asked to do so. Rickshaw drivers constantly stare at the women passengers while driving.

An interesting observation was that this was made possible because of huge rear view mirrors in the rickshaw which focus more on the passenger than the oncoming traffic at the back. All this influences even the choice of dress for women travelers. In one case, a woman took to veiling herself while travelling so as to feel more secure. It is generally common for women to wear the hijab (veil) or cover their heads while travelling and to remove them once they are at their work place.

GRASS ROOTS LEARNING AND INNOVATION

In March 2012, the URC social organizer noticed that groups of women at bus stops or cross roads stop vehicles to get a lift as a group. The vehicles they usually stop are trucks and/or vans carrying cargo. He observed this for some time, then gave a group of six women a lift in the URC Suzuki van. Discussions followed. After these initial discussions, further discussions with women at the crossroads were initiated.

A number of findings emerged. The women were domestic workers and consisted of various ethnicities. However, members of a group belonged to the same ethnicity and came from the same area. The URC focused on the group belonging to the Baloch community who live in Macha Goth, Yousuf Goth and Saeedabad, all in North Karachi. Contacts in these settlements led to the discovery that between 1,500 to 2,000 women move every day from these low income settlements in the north of the city to the middle and elite areas of the city in the south, to work as domestics.

On their way from their homes to work (a 25-kilometre journey) they take public transport which costs them Rs 35 to Rs 40. For the journey they have to change buses. If they did not have to change buses, the cost would be Rs 16 to Rs 20 one-way. To save costs they try and get a lift on the way back.

Thus, they save about 8 to 10 per cent of their income. The journey from their home to their places of work can be anything between 90 to 120 minutes and they have to be punctual which is not required on their way back. Discussions with the women showed that not only would their transport costs be halved if they did not have to change buses, but travel time would also be reduced.

Understanding this, the URC approached the general secretary and coordinator of the Sindh Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) which was the in government party in Sindh in August 2013 and discussed what could be done to provide transport for these women.

It was suggested that a new route be developed from the settlements to the areas where these women worked. The URC identified such a route and made it pass through locations that would be lucrative for the operators. With the PPP coordinator, a visit was made to the Regional Transport Authority (RTA) Secretary's office and the decision to issue a route permit for the URC-identified route was agreed. On 10 February 2014, the route permit was issued in the name of the URC. Since then, URC has been trying to get the transporters to operate 10 buses (the minimum required under law) on this route. However, the transporters say that given the low fares, they are not willing to invest in this venture. The URC is currently looking for alternatives.

Source: Urban Resource Centre, Karachi

5. REIMAGINING URBAN TRANSPORT MOBILITY & POVERTY: A CASE STUDY OF LOW INCOME HOUSEHOLDS OF KARACHI

This reference is being made from the Final Year Thesis of Omema Akhtar, student of Habib University, submitted in the year 2020 (*Reimagining upon transport mobility & poverty: a case study of low income households of karachi*). in pursuance of Bachelor's degree in Social Science in Social Development and Policy. Those sections are being sourced that relate with the gender mobility aspect as it was addressed in the Thesis and contributed for this study by the author.

The female stories about their mobility revealed the utilitarian nature of the transport system. Despite, juggling between their roles of being house managers and working women, it is the men, who are considered the household head, and those having primary access to transport with their traveling needs being prioritized. They are the owners and drivers of motorcycles, while the females remain the back seaters. These patriarchal values are deeply rooted in female mobility, where the women see themselves as the least-mobile citizens of the city (Joshi, 2014). The low purchasing power of the women leaves them to make major compromises by walking for longer distances and thinking twice about using motorized transport to save the cost. Spending hours walking causes no time left for them to perform other productive tasks.

The social expectation of females to balance between the household and work responsibility means that they have to find work in nearby locations and keep their work and traveling schedule fixed, and be back at home to look after their children. This not only restricts women's livelihood opportunities but mobility choices as well (Joshi, 2014; Wootton, 2018).

Accounts were also made of tiredness and fatigue common among working females who end up walking for more than 7-10 km, making multiple short trips per day as they can't afford to spend on every other motorized trip. Part of the interview asked the women about their desire to travel alone, to work in distant places, or to own a private vehicle to which they mentioned their preference for walking or traveling with their husbands. Considering it as a safer option rather than being victims of harassment, abuse, sexual assaults in vehicles, and in spaces specially designated for the females where they were the primary targets of these behaviors.

Demographic-based Exclusion: Women Issues

"If it's getting late to reach home and to give roti (food) to my children then I do rikshaw, at times..... Yes, it is costly, but I have to manage my role as a mother too. So, the next day I compromise this by either walking for half of the journey or getting a qinqi."

"During the lunch break hours, it's so difficult to find any transport because it's the peak hour. I want to come back to my kids, and I'm simply compelled to opt for a faster mode which is expensive as well because there isn't any other option."

"I haven't traveled beyond the Maskan or Nipa area. Once or twice I went to Tariq Road for Eid shopping only, it's the maximum that I have traveled.... I have lived in Karachi all my life, but I have never visited any places beyond these."

"I leave for work at 7 am, dropping my children to school through waling then I take a qinqi to the house where I work. Till 1 pm I work in that area, then I take a bus and qinqi again to pick up my children and give thm food, Then around 4 pm, I work in a day care center in Gulshan for which I take a bus. So, per day I at least perform 5-6 or more trip, thus spending my days and weeks buson ke dhakay khatay way (while jostling in the bus)."

"I can't travel safely at night using public transport, especially alone, even in the day time. It's a greater risk at night when you know most of the drivers are drunk."

"The driver makes young college going girls to sit next to them, so they can touch them again and again intentionally when changing the gear or steering wheel"

"It's so humiliating when the male sits next to us in the qinqi when there is no space on the male side. The same is the case with males coming to female areas to share compartments with us when the male areas are filled. I get uncomfortable with strange men sitting so close to me. They keep staring at me. It's embarrassing."

"The height of bus rods is so high that it's difficult for us to catch hold of it and in doing so a lot of times our kameez pulls up or some part of other body becomes visible then the men keep staring at and giggle on our faces. This doesn't go on for 5-10 minutes, but till the time you get off the bus."

"Even if I fully cover myself, males sitting at the back of female seats observe us, especially the conductors they try to stand as close to the girls intentionally and make slight movements to touch them. You can't even do anything about it. It's like being put on that spot where you can't argue or fight back because you need to travel. If I even get off the vehicle because of this, then I don't know when the next bus will come."

"There are only 8 female seats in a bus. Imagine just eight seats and all of them are so uncomfortable. This includes sitting next to the driver on the engine which is so hot that it feels like it will explode. The seats at the back and perpendicular to the driver's seat where he observes us from the mirrors. The front-facing seats near the bus door with the conductor standing close to us and with the male passengers sitting at the back passing their fingers through the seat gaps to touch and harass us and to take our purses. There are just too many issue when it comes to females using public transport. There won't be any single women in the country who wouldn't have experienced these incidents in any way."

"The conductor doesn't wait for us, especially if we have a kid along. They shout at us to step on quickly and not to waste time. He keeps on banging the door until we have boarded, indicating us to hurry up by saying, Chalo! Chalo!... Jaldi! (move fast). Trying to create a panic while we board."

"I heard from my friend that qinqi and rikshaw wala change routes in between the journey and take the most sunsaan (silent) route... I also skip rickshaw and qinqis having lots of mirrors because through them the drivers constantly notice us from different angles. This has made me uncomfortable many times and so, I get off the vehicle before my destination and walk for the rest of the journey."

"Some rikshaw wala's seeing female passengers ask us for more money. If we refuse, they don't take us or drop us off at the gate of our colony and then we have to walk for 10-15 minutes to reach home and still they ask for full payment of the trip."

These accounts make it evident that transport provision is highly gendered and is influenced by the existing societal culture in terms of its planning and design that caters to the needs of males. Making the women less mobile than men from the same socioeconomic group to access public transport services which influence their macro-economic opportunities and growth paths (Booth et al., 2000). Moreover, these stories also highlight demographic exclusion being one of the problematic elements of transport-related social exclusion particularly for elderly, disabled, children, and females; where the link between the disability and vulnerability creates mobility challenges for these groups.

Section 3

GENDER MOBILITY IN KARACHI—CHALLENGES AND LIVABILITY IMPACTS

This Section documents the primary research, findings and analysis conducted in this project where women using various forms of mobility modes were surveyed and both qualitative and quantitative data collected, tabulated and analyzed



This study particularly focuses on problems which women from different sub-sections of the society face; women in blue collar jobs, women working white collar jobs, and female students. The modes of transport and the problems faced by women generally overlap over their occupational status, however specific issues are more prominent amongst different sub-sections of women in the society.

Qualitative and quantitative field research was conducted by students of Institute of Business Administration (IBA) and Habib University. A pool of 25 women belonging from the aforementioned three distinct groups, from different areas of Karachi were selected using convenience sampling, and extensively interviewed in order to record their experience of utilizing public transport in Karachi on a regular basis. The respondent pool included 48% (n=12) of women working in blue collar jobs, 24% (n=7) in white-collar workers, and 24% (n=6) students. All women interviewed

The aforementioned problems concern all women using public transport in Karachi, however, each group's most significant problems are a little distinct. In the survey, 58.3% of women in blue collar jobs reported that their point of concern is the long walking distance to their stop. 40% of female students reported harassment and mental stress as their major problems, while the biggest problems for white collar women workers was the quality of their transport mode (20%), time consumed in transit (20%), and the physical stress they endure (20%).

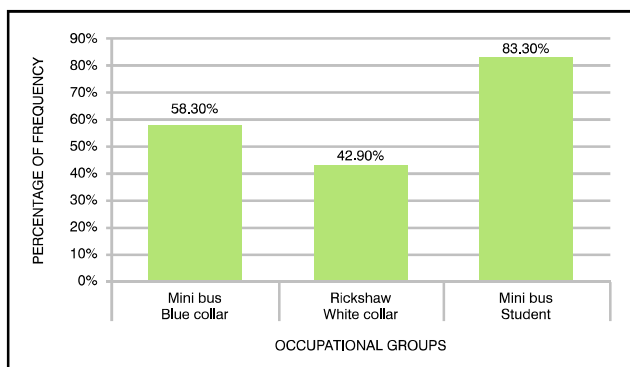


Fig : 1 Primary mode of transport for women in different occupations

use public transport on daily basis. 48% of the respondents were between the ages of 15 and 25, while 24% were above the age of 40 years. 58% of women in blue collar jobs and 83% students use mini buses as their primary mode of transport, while 43% of women in white collar jobs reported using rickshaw for their daily travel.

In both qualitative and quantitative findings, one of the main concerns for women is the number of hours that they have to spend in transit due to long and uncertain routes. The number of hour is also increasingly impacted by the comparatively longer route that women have to take to cater to all their social and personal responsibilities, between work, home, and their children.

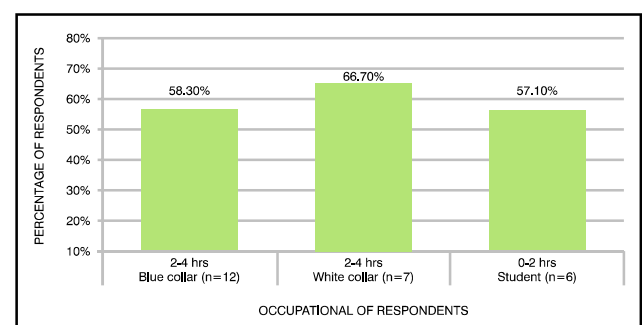


Fig : 3 Average time spent in transit

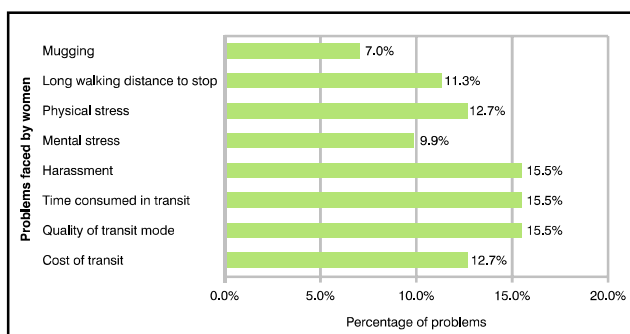


Fig : 2 Problems faced by women while using public transport

There are currently 329 minibus routes in existence, but only 111 are in operation. The drivers have their own pre-determined parking and waiting stops and fixed routes on which they run their mini buses. Due insufficient number of buses women in Karachi have to resort to using more than one transit mode for their daily activities.

In addition to the demand and supply gap, women are forced to use multiple modes of transport to cover their travel from their locations to far away bus stops, access routes which mini buses do not cover, and for security concerns.

Respondents reported that they felt more comfortable in using a rickshaw at night as it provides them with a greater sense of security, as there is an option to jump out and gather a crowd easily.

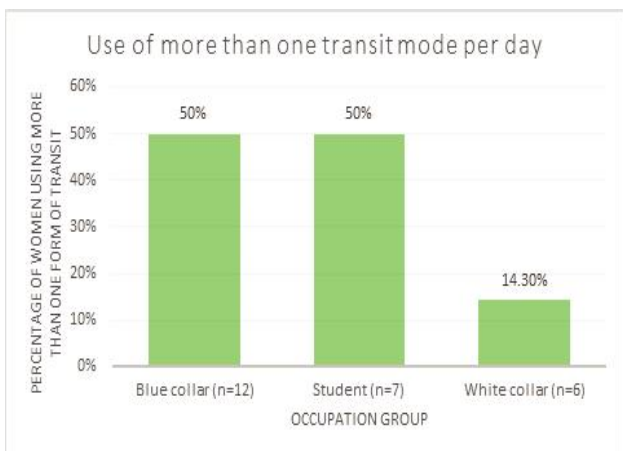


Fig 4: Use of more than one transit mode/day

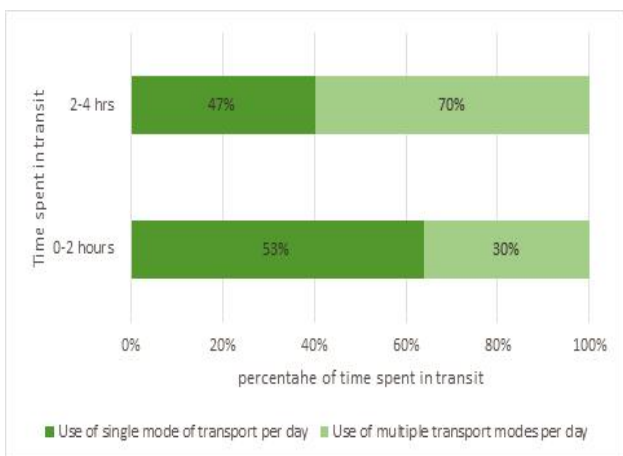


Fig 5: Time spent in transit based on use of number of transit modes per day

However, having to constantly shift between transport modes results in increased number of hours that these women spent in transit, while also adding to their mental and physical stress, and increased cost. Increase in their daily cost added a strain on women passengers belonging from a low socio-economic background.

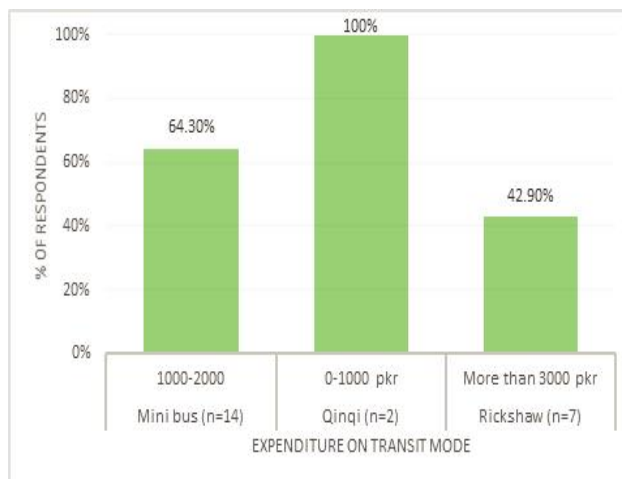


Fig 6: Monthly spent on different modes of public transport

From a pool of 25 respondents, 36% of women mentioned that they have previously changed their mode of transport due to their increasing cost. The shift was generally from rickshaws to public buses, or to rickshaws or buses from the use of Uber or Careem.

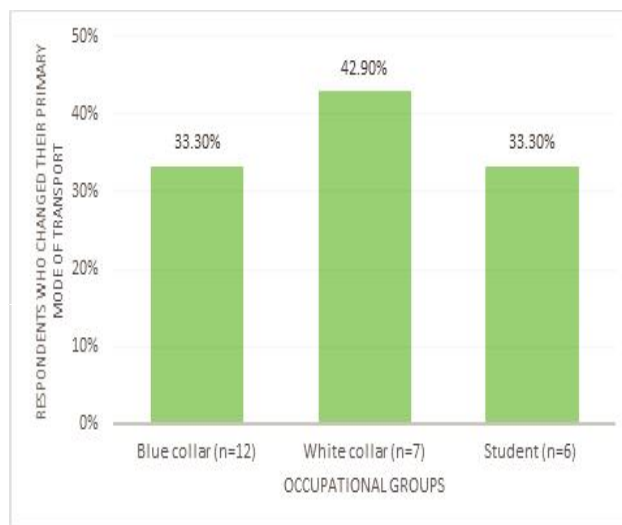


Fig 7: Change in mode of transport due to high cost

In a study conducted in 2016 in Rawalpindi and Islamabad, it was noted that women in Pakistan are more confined to their homes due to the social and cultural constraints²⁰. As per the report, approximately 78 % men, in contrast to 2% women, reported daily travel for religious activities. Whereas, 14 and 15% men reported travelling daily for social and re-creational activities as compared to only 6 and 7% women, respectively²⁰.

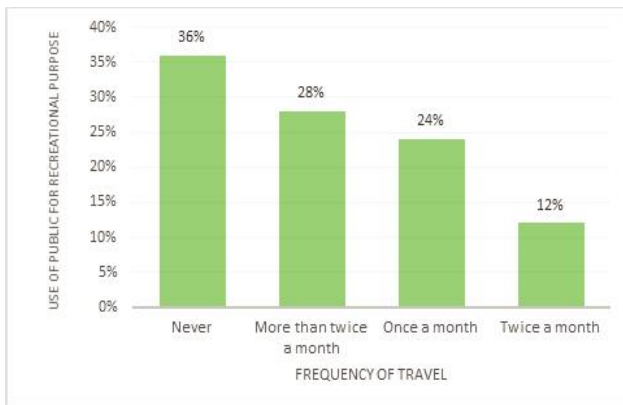


Fig 8: Use of public transport for re-creational purpose

During our study, women reported that they use public transport for occupational and educational purposes, however it drains their energy and causes mental and physical exhaustion; by the time they reach home, they are unwilling to take use of public transport again for recreational purposes. However, it is also the only option for necessary social visits for women who do not have access to a private vehicle.

NARRATIVES OF INCONVENIENCE

Women, who are majorly employed in blue sector jobs, reported that they often have to give up better paying job opportunities and settle for low paying jobs which are located in their vicinity to save money spent on transport and have easy access to and from their workplace to their homes.

This economic limitation caused by the public transport restricts women from increasing their social mobility, while keeping them trapped in the poverty circle. Wajeeha, a 23 year old, working in an administrative job in a small office in Gulshan-Iqbal, stated that due to her family's financial instability, she keeps searching for better paying jobs; however, the lack of public transport in many areas of the city has restricted her from accepting better job opportunities. She is currently stuck in a dead-end, low-paying job, but she hopes that one day, she will be able to buy a scooter for herself and make the commute easier.

Musarat Williams is a 45-year-old woman who works as part of the housekeeping department at a higher education institute, and lives in Bhattaiabad, Karachi. Similar to many other women, Musarat has had to leave better paying job opportunities due to the unviability of public transport to many such areas. She believes that the government has not provided enough facilities for the elderly and people with disabilities, and this should be their primary focus. A crippling transit infrastructure of the city has forced multiple women like Wajeeha and Mrs. Musrrat to let go of jobs that would have improved their socio-economic standing.

Mini buses are the most frequent and affordable means of transport for women in blue collar jobs. However, due to their unviability after peak hours and high cost of other means of transport, eg. rickshaws, women who work as domestic workers in elite neighborhoods of the city often have to the stay the night at their employer's home.

Nargis Khan is a 32 year old, divorced woman working as a domestic house help for the past seven years. She spends two hours in commute daily and changes the bus once during the one-way route. Public buses are hard to find for her at night and using a qingqi or taxi is unsafe and expensive, hence she also often has to spend the night in the house she works for. For Nargis, using a taxi or qingqi means giving up a part of her monthly budget reserved for food.



Social: Security concerns faced by women in public transport in Karachi

'Gender is the most consistent factor in explaining who fears the crime'⁴. Globally, especially in developing countries like Pakistan, women are the main victims of sexual and verbal harassment while using public transport. The act includes staring, groping, catcalling, and unwanted physical touch by the male passengers and passerby's. The physical structure of the bus also makes it easier for the males to physically harass women; if they are unable to grab a women, they easily press against them. Women are subjected to constant harassment by random men, who often categorize them as sex workers. Nadia, a 29 year old domestic worker reported that despite the constant harassment and catcalling, she has no option other than to continue to use the public bus.

"Sitting in the comfort of their cars, they ask her for sexual favors in return for money'. This has a great effect on Nadia's, and many women like her, mental health, as she is left

humiliated and embarrassed. She prefers travelling in a rickshaw as it is more comfortable, and drops her directly to her home, however, rickshaws are too expensive for her. "If I pay 70 rupees to the rickshaw today, where will the bus fare for tomorrow come from?"

In addition to **Prone to constant harassment and mugging, many women in Karachi adopt self-precautionary measures. These measures include the use of burqah (veil) while using public transport and avoiding buses at night, or sometimes all forms of public transport** provide ample opportunities for pickpocketing. Many women reported that harassment on the bus is a commonality which they have to just patiently endure.

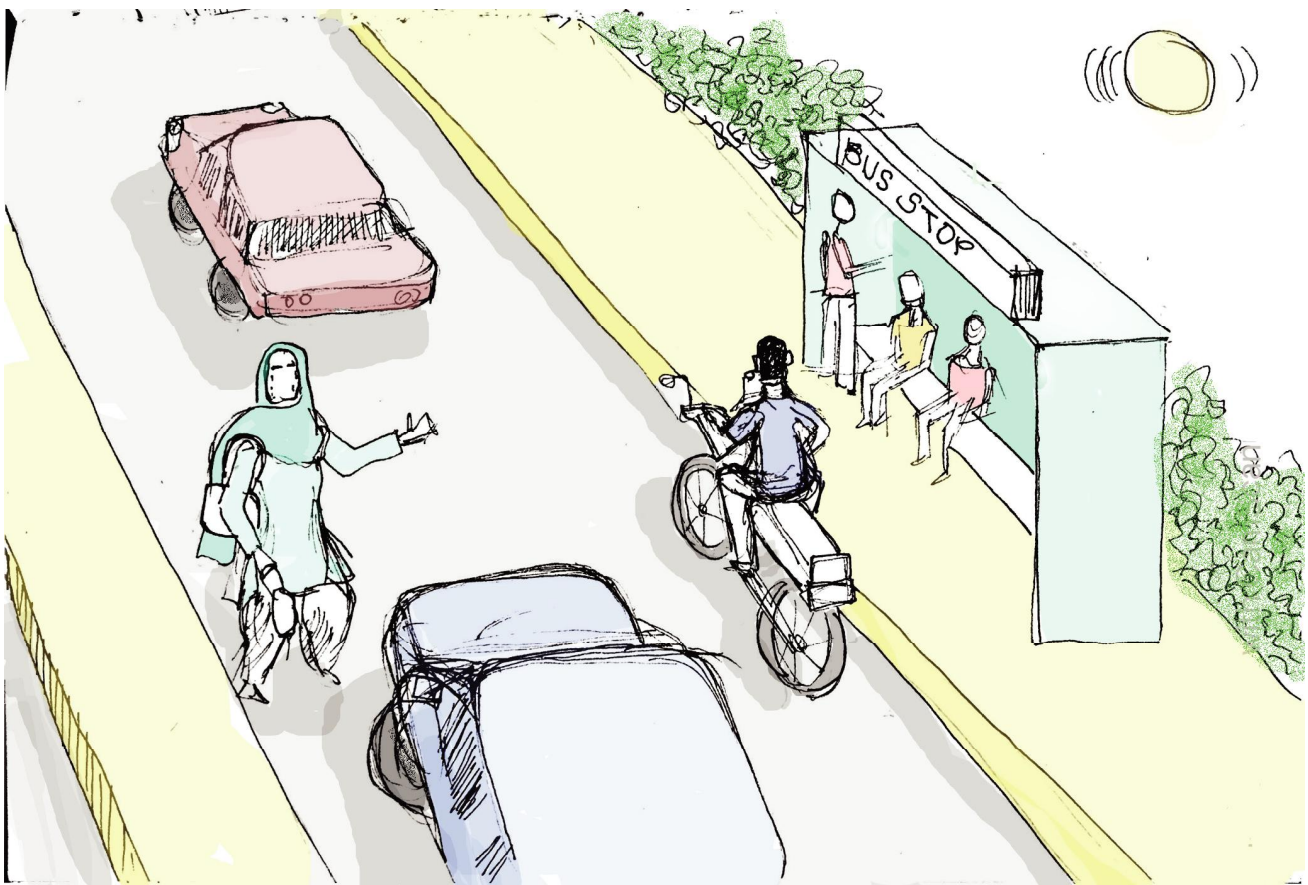
There are very few women who even retaliate to men harassing them on the bus. Public buses are also prone to theft, where if one isn't careful and observant, their possessions are stolen. A 23 year respondent, supporting her siblings alongside her mom, only opts for public transport because of their affordability. However, the increasing problem of mugging and pickpocketing in the buses have caused her severe stress. After her phone was stolen from her bag during a bus ride, it took her five months of saving to buy a new phone. Always traveling alone, she

often finds herself vulnerable and tries her best to take the morning shift at work.

Prone to constant harassment and mugging, many women in Karachi adopt self-precautionary measures. These measures include the use of burqah (veil) while using public transport and avoiding buses at night, or sometimes all forms of public transport. The aforementioned do little in protecting women against the prevailing problems and only further restrict theZir mobility.

"Being harassed by a taxi driver once on her way to work in a beauty parlor in Gulistan e Jauhar from Bangaali Paara in Gulshan e Iqbal, 28 years-old Saima had been saved that time by realizing she was being taken to the wrong location and her quick thinking. Her attempts at saving herself had caught enough public attention for the driver to fear getting caught and letting her go, followed by verbal harassment in rage. Despite the traumatizing experience lurking in her memories for a lifetime, Saima has had no other option than to use public transport for daily commute. Usually using public buses, she has now started using rickshaws and taxis but has been unable to collect enough money, even after quite some time of saving with her husband, to invest in personal mode of transport. She was once mugged by two men on a motorbike while she was waiting on a traffic signal in a rickshaw. Suspicious of the driver being involved and informing the muggers about her location on phone, Saima avoids traveling alone at night and doing so without wearing a burqa altogether at any time of the day."

(Saima, respondent)



Structural and Design issues of Public transport in Karachi

Transport modes in Karachi are at sub-par standards. Over the years, the complete transit system in the city has suffered from ethnic violence, political unrest, absence of structure and governance, and lack of funding and accountability. According to data collected in 2013, 16,494 mini-buses, 47,049 taxis, and 141,705 rickshaws were registered and operating all over the country¹⁸. The transport modes are old with poor maintenance, prone to accidents, and are accompanied by a large number of physical and societal constraints, especially for women. Mini buses, one of the most common modes of transport in Pakistan, was classified as extremely poor on basis of its availability in peak hours, followed by high risk of accidents and categorized as very old in the category for age of vehicle²¹. Qingqi's were categorized as having the highest levels of risk and level of constraints, poor availability, a facilitating attitude towards women, with a comparatively better standing in terms of age of vehicles²¹.

Qingqi rickshaws are used a by a growing number of female passengers, both students and workers²¹. Even though its routes are short and limited and it travels at a comparatively low speed, it is still a preferred mode of transportation due to its low fares. However its inherent design flaws cannot be ignored. Women passengers who sit at the open end of the rickshaw are at a high risk of falling off on the main road in case of an accident.

Similar to the qingqi rickshaw, women also have to suffer due to the inaccessibility of the mini buses. Many respondents complained that the bus is not accessible for the old and the disabled. The steps to get on the bus are steep and unstable, and the bus does not even stop for the women to be able to board and exit in a safe manner. Mrs. Sardar, who has been working as part of housekeeping staff for 18 years mentioned that she has now been forced to shift from the use of bus to

rickshaws in order to ease her growing joint pain which has aggravated due to the unfeasible physical structure of public buses. Getting on and off the bus puts excess pressure on the knees of women who already suffer from constant joint pain. Doctors advice against the use of public buses in such case, however, due to financial restrictions, many women don't have any other option besides it. Resorting to travel through rickshaws come, at the cost of exceeding their monthly budget.

Trying to catch **Many respondents** unscheduled buses **complained that the bus is not accessible for the old and the disabled. The steps to get on the bus are steep and unstable, and the bus does not even stop for the women to be able to board and exit in a safe manner** and long walks to the bus stops causes mental and physical exhaustion. Many women reported that they are often late to work because of the uncertainty; buses are often late, full beyond capacity or there is an unexpected change in their route. Lack of seating space and distant and scarce location of bus stops also contribute to the issues regarding the structure and design of public transport.

Nadia Malik, a 29 year old woman, works as a domestic worker in Defence Housing Authority DHA, phase 2, Karachi. She uses public bus to travel from Korangi to (DHA), and back, every day. During her 40 minute ride, she faces many hurdles; the biggest being the distance from her house to the bus stop. She has two options to get to the bus stop; she can either take a rickshaw or walk. Since a rickshaw is too expensive for everyday use, she chooses to walk. It takes her 20 minutes to get there and by the time she reaches, she is both mentally and physically exhausted. The bus ride is no less tiring. Most of the time there's no space and people are crammed together. Karachi's heat makes it worse. By the time Nadia reaches work, most of her energy is already drained.



CONCLUSION

Based on the secondary research, consultations with key stakeholders and the primary data generated, some conclusions have been reached that try to address the related challenges in a holistic manner by interfacing various aspects of the issue. For the framework adopted for placing the analysis and recommendations, reference has been taken from the approach adopted by the European Union (EU) countries. Gender mobility was made part of the “Strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015”, prepared by the EU. The EU identified a set of actions to move towards social equality between genders, with the aim to address some of the still remaining gender gaps.

The actions proposed followed a dual approach: gender mainstreaming and specific measures.

Gender mainstreaming was identified as the integration of the gender perspective into every stage of policy process (design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation) and into all policies of the Union, with a view to promoting equality between women and men.

The gender imbalance emerging from current patterns and trends in mobility and transport reveals the existence of a disparity, which affects different aspects.

Policies and related actions are then grouped into three main areas of intervention, listed below, assessed as being the most critical:

- Knowledge enhancement in gender mobility data;
- Developing gender-tailored mobility services; and
- Urban mobility planning & design for meeting gender need.

GENDER MOBILITY ASPECTS	EXPERIENCE / INITIATIVE
Knowledge Enhancement	Gender auditing and National Transport surveys (UK)
	Extrapolating gender data from a european survey (EU)
Developing mobility services	Gender Development of local transport services (Malmo and Kalmar Sweden)
	Mobility measures accompanying Time and Schedule Plan (Bolzano, Italy)
	Target-group-oriented local public transport (Berlin, Germany)
Urban mobility planning & design	Public space design to provide gender equality in mobility (Vienna, Austria)
	Defination of gender criteria for mobility planning (Berlin, Germany)
	Urban planning for the benefit of girls (Malmo, Sweden)

Source: Smart Choices for Cities - Gender Equality and Mobility: Mind the Gap!, CIVITAS Policy Note

Gender Based Mobility Challenges	Group of Actions		
	Knowledge Enhancement & Communication	Developing Mobility Services	Urban Mobility Planning & Design
<p>Harassment (on streets/buses/ bus stops)</p>	<p>Developing mobile apps where geo-referenced entries can be made by women victim of any forms of harassment</p> <p>A comprehensive Data-Base generated on spaces where cases have come up – stationary and mobile – known offenders kept in surveillance and mitigation measures initiated at identified hot spots</p> <p>Initiate a comprehensive Communication Strategy for Behavior-change – targeted at specified and general audience (e.g., posters, mobile applications, advertisements, stickers, or social media campaigns)</p> <p>Gender sensitivity topics and thematic studies be made essential part of school curriculum</p>	<p>From employment centers such as industrial estates, downtown, commercial districts, school districts, dedicated women only mobility modes (buses/vans) be introduced on dedicated routes – ideally driven by women</p>	<p>Monitoring of data done to identify critical hotspots and investigations carried out to determine reasons for case escalation at particular points (if in buses then routes/bus identity indicated)</p> <p>Mitigation measures, may include better lighting; security patrols in known hot spots; and closed-circuit television/w-fi availability – setting up Safe Bus-stops</p> <p>Number of safe bus-stops be increased where manual police presence/women police may also be posted in shifts and buses be heavily fined for stopping at any places other than the safe bus-stops</p>
<p>Limited/uncomfortable seating in public transport Design issues – more difficult for women to get on and off buses as compared to men Overcrowding/male dominated</p>		<p>From employment centers such as industrial estates, downtown, commercial districts, school districts, dedicated women only mobility modes (buses/vans) be introduced on dedicated routes – ideally driven by women</p>	<p>Women seating capacity be increased in buses Buses be retrofitted and womenseating/entry/exit be at the back of the bus rather at the front</p> <p>Entry steps for buses be at a lower height Number of buses or frequency, or both be increased</p>
<p>Security (on streets/bus stops)</p>	<p>Developing mobile apps where geo-referenced entries can be made by women victim of any forms - mugging/theft/harassment</p>		<p>Monitoring of data done to identify critical hotspots and investigations carried out to determine reasons for case escalation at particular points (if in buses then routes/bus identity indicated)</p>

Gender Based Mobility Challenges	Group of Actions		
	Knowledge Enhancement & Communication	Developing Mobility Services	Urban Mobility Planning & Design
	A comprehensive Data-Base generated on spaces where cases have come up – stationary and mobile – known offenders kept in surveillance and mitigation measures imitated at identified hot spots		<p>Mitigation measures, may include better lighting; security patrols in known hot spots; and closed-circuit television/wi-fi availability – setting up Safe Bus-stops</p> <p>Number of safe bus-stops be increased where manual police presence/women police may also be posted in shifts and buses be heavily fined for stopping at any places other than the safe bus-stops</p>
Long walking distances and inadequate street furniture (no end to end pavements, dilapidated streets, no shades/benches)		For the 'last mile', shuttle modes of mobility that may include women only shuttle (ideally driven by women) be introduced (e.g. the Qingqi can be reintroduced just to act as a neighborhood/commercial district shuttle service)	Program initiated to retrofit neighborhoods/public spaces with end to end pavements/safe crossings and junctions and street furniture including lights, natural and artificial shading,
Social/cultural constraints (e.g. riding bikes/bicycles)	The city government to communicate and enable a culture that promotes people walking and cycling by introducing measure's like notifying 'half a day' every month (say on the first Sunday of the month) where people just come out on the streets to walk or cycle and not use cars – Like the famous Cyclovia model of Bogota, Columbia	Introduce the use of 'public bicycles' as an inter-modality/shuttle mode linked with a primary mobility mode like the upcoming Karachi Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) service	Make it a part of mobility planning to focus on promoting Non-Motorized Transport (walking/cycling) and make appropriate urban design interventions like introducing bike tracks
Mobility modes/infrastructure non-inclusive for people with special needs			<p>Make it mandatory for any mobility related service or infrastructure development to comply with the requirements of 'Universal Access Design'</p> <p>Design streets and services accordingly like streets/side-walks to have properly engineered 'ramps' for the physically impaired and 'tactile tiles' for the visually impaired they find in braille</p> <p>Buses to have facility where people on wheel chair can easily board and have special seating spaces for them</p>

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Anwar is the Lead Author of the Sanitation Strategy, Government of Sindh and the Author of Pakistan's National Strategy and Action Plan for the Mangroves of the Future Regional Program. He has a number of publications to his credit and contributed (2013-2016) a weekly column – Elasticities focused on urban planning, environment, and development issues of Karachi City in the Express Tribune Newspaper - <https://tribune.com.pk/author/4268/farhan-anwar/>

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