

## **A STUDY OF SAFETY AND MOBILITY OF FEMALE SCOOTY RIDERS IN LAHORE, PAKISTAN**

**Raveeha Idrees**

**Al-Khidmat Foundation**

**Rubab Javed**

**Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad**

The fact that urban mobility is highly, necessarily associated with issues of gender, power, and social inclusion means that, in cultures dominated by men, women movements are still limited by cultural values, due to infrastructural factors, and safety-related issues. The recent introduction of scooty riders in urban Pakistan is a recognisable change in the trend of mobility and gendered urban access. This paper will discuss the everyday lives of female riders of scooty in Lahore and Islamabad, the processes of negotiations, challenges, and redefinitions of mobility through the use of two-wheelers by women in urban areas. A qualitative investigation based on a phenomenological research design and snowball sampling participant easily provided the necessary data collected through interviews with 20 female riders aged 18 years and older. Thematic analysis generated three major themes which included lived experiences of female scooty riders, challenges encountered by riders, and coping strategies employed in negotiating risks and limitations. Freedom and fear, gender stereotypes, safety and security issues, absence of social support, encouragement of the community, emotional coping, conformity fostered by society, and intentional use of safer paths formed sub-themes. Results have shown that riding scooty is not just a form of transportation, it is a form of empowerment that breaks the conventional gender lines. The experiences of women point to the continued struggle between cultural and structural barriers as well as reflects changes of female autonomy and social action. This research is an addition to the recurrent literature available on gender and mobility in South Asia because it records the voices and lived experiences of Pakistani women who ride scooties to re-claim space in the city. It points to the necessity of policy change, less unsafe transport systems, and cultural change that will enable the mobility of women and gender equality in general.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Mobility does not simply refer to moving from one geographical location to another, but instead it is a profoundly embedded social phenomenon that is dictated by cultural standards, gendered expectations, space inequalities, and statuses of access to resources. The gender and mobility theoretical framework hold the notion that there is a difference between men and women experience of the urban space, due to the fact that societal structures based on

patriarchal relations of power constitute who is allowed to move, how to move as well as the level of freedom to do so. Their movement through the open spaces is usually curtailed by the apprehension of cultural desirability, preserving family honor, risks to security and in continuous insufficiency of infrastructures in Pakistan. Consequently, the mobility of women has a drastic impact on their access to the areas of employment, education, medical services, and social integration (Hanson, 2010; Lucas, 2012).

In this background, the introduction of female scooty riders in Pakistani cities is a major socio-cultural trend. Scooters (lightweight scooters) have caught up with women due to its low prices, consumption, ease of rides and the capability to beat congested city roads. The fact that women are visible in big cities like Lahore, Islamabad and Karachi on two-wheelers is a breakthrough in the customary gender practices that had very limited the mobility of the women, who could do the same by being driven by their relatives or poor transportation networks.

It is more than just a different mode of transportation that a woman can use in Pakistan to ride a scooty; it is a statement of independence, a renegotiation of the role that she plays in the city. When they decide to ride, women break strongly sustained stereotypes regarding femininity, vulnerability, and appropriate conduct in the public. They recover the freedom of movement that men take to be a routine. According to Adeel (2017), mobility in Pakistan is still a very unequal phenomenon, and women movement is limited by social norms, harassment, and fear. The female scooty riders are therefore an increasing group that breaks such gendered lines.

This can also be seen in the emergence of women empowerment mobility initiatives like the Women on Wheels (WoW) which clearly reflect institutional acknowledgement of mobility as an empowering space. Governmental and non-governmental bodies have started to make scooters subsidized, conduct lessons on riding and create awareness programs that will help women to be able to control their mobility. Political rhetoric on the issue of gender equality, modernism and development of cities is also facilitated through media reports on female scooty riders.

The challenges have not been eliminated despite the growing presence of women riders. The female riders are insulted, forced to ride with unsafe conditions, are looked down on, and questioned by the family members. The roads in Pakistan are not developed keeping gender needs in mind and they do not have adequate illumination, observation infrastructure, crisis assurances and secure social areas to the women (Ahmed & Batool, 2017; Naeem & Babar, 2020). These issues are aggravated by culture that deems a woman as a weak driver or unfit in other social roles.

This paper aims at analyzing the way female riders on scooters negotiate through this complicated social and physical space. It explores their experiences of life, challenges they meet, and how they cope with them using qualitative phenomenology approach. Using the voices of these women, the study will attempt to add to the expanding discourse on gender, mobility, and social change in Pakistan.

The results underline the way women are confined to structural and cultural obstacles that not only outlived but also established the current state of affairs and change that is the potential of personal mobility. Scooty riders are not just female riders who are getting accustomed to urban spaces, they are transforming them. Their mobility indicates changing power relationship in modern Pakistan, which proves that women are able and they took over the spaces even when the society does not want them to occupy them.

Finally, it is the significance of mobility that needs to be examined as a gendered phenomenon in relation to opportunities, safety, sociability, and empowerment (Guo et al., 2017). Learning about the lives of female scooty riders does not only give insights into gender processes but also give policy makers and stakeholders evidence to promote gender-responsive mobility systems be sensitive to female agency, independence, and inclusion.

### **The Sociocultural Context of Urban Pakistan**

The environment that the female scooty rider passes through has to be understood to appreciate the radical nature of the scooty rider.

#### **Family Structures and Gatekeeping**

The Pakistani family serves as the first censor to the freedom of female movement. The scenario has it that in the old system of joint family, the authority is diffused; one may have to not only get consent to ride a scooty, but also from a mother-in-law or an elder brother. It is hardly ever about physical safety but about reputational safety. The social control mechanism of the fear of *Log Kya Ka henge* (What will people say?) is a powerful force. Nevertheless, this control is starting to crack because of the movement towards nuclear families in cities. This change is brought about by economic necessity, as inflation increases, the luxury of staying at home with women is becoming an unaffordable luxury among the middle classes (Kabeer, 2012). A hard-working daughter or a wife requires a means of transport and the scooty is the most economically viable.

#### **Urban Urbanization and Mobility Barriers According to Gender**

Urban planning in Pakistan is gender-blind. Sidewalks, roads, and public transport systems often fail to accommodate women's multi-purpose travel patterns (Guo et al., 2017).

Gender-responsive mobility is not a priority of urban planning in Pakistan. Sidewalks end abruptly, roads do not have covered lanes to use by two-wheelers, and the infrastructure of public transportation is not completely compatible with last-mile mobility systems. Women on scooters thus have to maneuver around dangerous roundabouts, erratic traffic patterns as well as uneven traffic signals.

The studies indicate that the mobility pattern of women is more complicated compared to that of men. The men tend to travel in a point-to-point manner (home – work – home) whereas women tend to travel in a multi-purpose manner (home – children school – workplace – market – back home) (Mahadevia & Advani, 2016; Hanson & Johnston, 1985). A scooty helps women

to execute this mobility chain more effectively, and the built environment tends to ignore such trends. Thus, most women feel afraid, frightened or stressed during the first riding sessions.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This paper was qualitative based on phenomenological research. Phenomenology is the most appropriate when doing so as it aims to comprehend the nature of an experience as perceived by the people who are living it. This study used a qualitative phenomenological approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A snowball sampling method was used. Since female riders remain a minor population group, the first participants were located via social media communities (such as the Women on Wheels Facebook communities) and campuses. These members further made referrals. The sample was a total of 20 women aged between 18 and 45 years and living in Lahore and Islamabad. They represented the various socioeconomic classes, including low-income health workers and university students as well as corporate workers. In-depth interviews which were semi-structured were carried out. The interview guide emphasized their experience of becoming a rider, the hardships of the road every day, and the emotional influence of mobility. Thematic analysis framework provided by Braun and Clarke (2006) was used to analyze the data. Coding was performed on the transcripts, and the codes were amalgamated into potential themes which were reviewed and defined.

## **Findings: Lived Experiences and Constructed Themes**

The theme analysis of the semi-structured interviews provided a banquet of data, disclosing that the experience of riding a scooty is never a neutral ride. It is an unceasing bargaining between internal and external forces in respect to the need of independence in the rider and the spheres of gendered urban world. Three general themes were produced in the analysis: The Embodied Experience of Liberty, The Landscape of Masculine Territoriality, and Strategic Navigation as Resistance.

### **Theme 1: Freedom of Riding**

To the participants, the scooty was not just a machine, but one that would provide the shift of passivity into agency. According to the data obtained, the process of riding is very sensual and unlike the process of other travel.

The participants said that they experienced a radical change in their relationship with the city. Being in the same position as passengers on the transport or in a family car, they experienced themselves as so-called objects, being carried over by other people, being left behind, or being transported. They were the riders, and the movement became their object. The expression of one of the participants is graphic: A 24-year-old Lahore-based student says: "On a bus, I am becoming smaller not to bump into men. In a car, I am just sitting. But on my scooty, I am active. My hands regulate the rate; my feet maintain the equilibrium. I feel my own strength."

This kinaesthetic power, the physical interaction with the machine serves as a literal antidote to the cultural conditioning of female weakness.

The words wind in my face were used too often, as their use was an analogy to psychological release. Respondents talked of the domestic world and the closed area of a rickshaw as suffocating. The scooty was a literal and metaphorical place to breathe because it was open air. This sensory experience generally was associated with decompression, and a number of women mentioned the ride home after work not as a commute, but as a decompression process as they could forget the roles of employee, daughter, or wife temporarily.

In Pakistan time is gendered and the time of women is taken to be less valuable as they wait to be accompanied by male chaperons. This dependency was broken by the scooty. The fact that one can exit a place on demand – without having to call a brother to get a ride or wait 20 minutes to have a ride-hailing captain accept a fare – was referred to as the most empowering attribute of ownership. Independence from male chaperones allowed flexible social and professional engagement (Adeel, 2017).

## **Theme 2: The Landscape of Challenges – Masculine Territoriality**

The internal experience of being on a ride was freeing, but the outside world was deemed to be hostile. The Pakistani road is a hyper-masculine environment and the entry of any woman is usually perceived as a trespassing.

The respondents claimed that male drivers often indulge themselves in the behavior that can be described as punitive driving (Rizvi & Sclar, 2014). These include disruptive behaviors – tailgating, cutting in line, swerving near the ladies or blocking them. These were not referred to as mere road accidents but rather deliberate incidences of intimidation with the intention of putting women back in their line. One of the Islamabad participants said: "When I pass a man, it hurts his ego. He will accelerate, overtake me and brake check me just to show that he is faster. Traffic is not the issue, but it is about power." The action strengthens the road as a male prerogative where the women are treated like interlopers.

Foucault's Panopticon exists in the Pakistani traffic lights. Ladies stated that they were always being followed. Such gaze is between sexualization and curiosity to open hostility. This forms a Spotlight Effect in which women think they are acting on a stage. They are therefore under a lot of pressure to take part in perfect driving. The interviewees believed that when a man does something wrong it can be attributed to bad driving, whereas when a woman does something wrong it is a demonstration of the fact that women cannot drive. This mental stress leads to hyper-vigilance which is physically and mentally draining.

The hardware in the city is made to suit the men. Potholes and open manholes pose a risk to all two-wheelers, but they tend to affect women more, since they may be riding smaller-wheel scooters, which are less stable in uneven surfaces. The other important sub-theme was the alienation in the mechanic shops – male domains where women feel insecure and looked down upon. When explaining mechanical complications, the participants responded that they were overcharged (a victim of a Pink Tax on repairs). This division of labor compels most of the

women to depend on their male counterparts to be taken care of, once again replacing a kind of dependency that they had struggled to avoid.

### **Theme 3: Mechanism of Coping and Resistance**

Women do not succumb to these restrictions passively. The discussion has shown that women use complex and adaptive tactics to survive and thrive on the road.

To maneuver the male gaze, most riders turn to the practice of urban camouflage. This includes embracing certain dressings so that one can blend in. The participants said that they wore large jackets of men, bulky windbreakers, or helmets with colored visors to cover their gender. Other secular women also noted that they wore an abaya or chador only when on the road, not due to religious reasons, but to protect against harassment. They hide their identity to act like an impartial "rider" and not a sexualized "woman."

Women sketch various mental images of the metropolis compared to men. Whereas a male rider may consider the shortest or fastest route, the female riders consider the safest route. This is known as Route Sanitization – the avoidance of dark streets with high crime potential, hyper-congested bottlenecks (such as local bazaars) where physical groping is a threat, and isolated shortcuts. Women instead take more deliberate, longer, wider, and well-illuminated avenues at the cost of fuel efficiency and time in favor of physical security. Women have created a "shadow infrastructure" on technology in the space of no institutional support. Groups in WhatsApp and Facebook pages (such as Women on Wheels or Scooty Girls Lahore) are real-time networks. Here, women share safety intelligence – reports on police checkpoints, demonstrations, or roadblocks – and technical support: suggestions of safe mechanics that do not harass female customers. Online communities share safety information, mechanic recommendations, and emotional support (Arab News, 2024).

### **Theme 4: Economic Dimensions: Mobility as Economic Enfranchisement**

The economic consequences of the phenomenon of the female scooty in Pakistan go way further than the mere mechanics of commuting; they constitute a break of the so-called Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis, which holds that low-income people lack access to economic opportunities due to their limited mobility. Mobility barriers are not an incidental social inconvenience in Pakistan where female labor force participation rate is hovering around 21%, but also the major economic obstacle.

Women in Pakistan are forced to pay a steep price in the form of a Pink Tax to have the freedom to move around safely and modestly. Where a man commuter can jump into an overcrowded wagon or swing on the carrier of a Chingchi rickshaw at a nominal fee, a woman is usually culturally obligated to find transport with enclosed spaces in order to escape hassles. This compels one to use ride-hailing applications (Indrive, Careem, Uber) or own auto-rickshaws. Women spend more on safe commuting options, a manifestation of structural gender inequality in transport (Duchène, 2011; Turner & Grieco, 2000). Scooty ownership drastically reduces costs (Adeel, 2017).

A working woman in Lahore commuting from Johar Town to a workplace on Jail Road would have a daily ride-hailing expenditure of PKR 600–800, totaling PKR 15,000–18,000 per month. When the salary of an entry-level teacher or nurse is PKR 40,000, almost 45 percent of it goes on transportation. Conversely, a scooty averaging 40–50 km/liter of fuel consumption needs about PKR 3,000–4,000 as monthly fuel expenditure. This radical cut is tantamount to a 30 percent pay hike and transforms dead capital spent on commuting into disposable income that can be re-invested in education, nutrition or family stability. Saved commuting time reduces burnout and supports work-life balance (Colangelo et al., 2023).

The ownership of a vehicle turns a woman from a passive passenger to an asset owner. This change paves way to the gig economy that has always been dominated by men in Pakistan. Female entrepreneurialism based on mobility is emerging – home-cooked food delivery services, boutique clothing drops – where women do not have to use unreliable third-party services. In the case of women working in the informal or service sectors, e.g. lady health visitors (LHVs), beauty salon service providers, or tuition teachers, the scooty increases their service radius and potential earnings.

Pakistani women are being plagued by time poverty because of the burdened workload and household chores as they work in the company (Turner & Grieco, 2000; Grieco et al., 2015). The public transport is not only costly, but it is also inefficient. Waiting at the bus, the last mile, and negotiating with rickshaw drivers take hours. This is reclaimed by the scooty. The 40 minutes of time saved during a commute is usually used on home management or sleep, which minimizes the burnout that causes most women to quit the workforce after they marry.

### **Theme 5: Challenges Faced by Female Scooty Riders**

Despite the growing visibility of female riders, the urban environment remains hostile. Women must navigate a landscape riddled with social, structural, and psychological barriers that their male counterparts do not face (World Bank, 2018; Yeboah & Appiah, 2019).

#### **The Mobility-Safety Paradox: Negotiating Physical and Social Risk**

The meaning of safety to the female riders in the urban Pakistan setting is dichotomized into physical safety and social safety. The traditional transport research is usually concerned only with physical safety – road accidents, helmet use, and inadequate infrastructure. Nevertheless, mobility for women is inseparably connected to the sense of social security, as it is determined by the risk of sexual harassment, verbal abuse, and reputational losses.

Researchers claim that females fear the possibility of violence in social places in a phenomenon known as the Fear of Violence Paradox. Men are more likely to be involved in a fatal road accident (physical risk) whereas women report to be much more anxious about their presence on the road (social risk). This enforced trade-off means women cannot fully exercise their rights to the city, as they have to engage in a mental calculation of safety that their male counterparts have the privilege to disregard.

#### **Harassment and Verbal Abuse**

The next immediate issue that the participants report is the presence of harassment everywhere (World Bank, 2018; Naeem & Babar, 2020). Women also complain that they are often stared at, trailed, mocked, and photographed against their will. This vehicular harassment is usually done to the point of aggression, like when men ride their motorcycles so near the female riders that they run them off the road, or when they scream inappropriate and unwanted advice to scare the women. This is not just a nuisance, but a kind of spatial policing that is aimed at ensuring that women feel unwelcome in the public space.

### **Psychological Implications: Identity and the New Woman**

The psychological changes that took place in women riders is a serious re-architecture of individual identity – from a state of learned helplessness to one of embodied agency (Ali & Mustafa, 2022).

In a patriarchal society where female dependence is an indicator of decency (where the ideal woman is the one who is chauffeured and guarded), free movement messes with the pro forma. Respondents said that they had a cognitive transformation: the understanding that they were no longer reliant on a male guardian opened the mental shackles of dependency to them.

This new agency hardly keeps on the road. Interviews revealed a spillover effect – the confidence negotiating chaotic traffic applied to other areas. At home, women said they became more assertive in financial decisions; at workplaces, they said they became more vocal in meetings. The reasoning: "I am able to manage a hectic intersection at Ferozepur Road on my own, thus I am able to manage a tough conversation with my boss."

### **Resilience vs. Vigilance Fatigue**

The psychological experience is dialectic; it is full of liberation and exhaustion.

Riding develops resilience. The little victories (changing a spark plug, dealing with a flat tire, maneuvering through a flooded road in the monsoon) give a strong feeling of self-esteem. This is consistent with Colangelo et al. (2023) who posit that active transport is associated with an increased level of self-efficacy.

Women riders are not able to switch off as their male counterparts do. They are always on threat alert – a vehicle trailing them too closely, a group of men lingering at a signal, or an aggressive advance. Such conditions of hyper-arousal may result in a particular form of psychological exhaustion known as vigilance fatigue, which is peculiar to marginalized populations that enter privileged locations.

Oldenburg defined the Third Place as a social environment distinct from home and workplace. Home is a duty place, and workplace is a performance place to most Pakistani women. The scooty transforms itself into a portable Third Place – a personal enclosure within the space of the city, where she is answerable to no one. Riding itself, with the wind and the sound of the engine, is an unusual sensory experience of being alone and in control.

### **The Media and Representation**

Media is a two-sided sword in the naturalization of female mobility, as both a mirror of changes happening in the society and a formative element that creates new archetypes (Barker & Scheele, 2016; Zohir, 2018).

Corporate ads (by banks, telecoms or fashion brands) have begun to exploit the trope of the independent woman. But such representations are usually biased in terms of class. They are generally inhabited by upper-middle-class ladies on retro-designed Vespas in clean surroundings (such as DHA or Bahria Town). This metaphor is juxtaposed against the actuality of the working-class rider on a battered Chinese scooty, who is forced to fight pollution and traffic in Shalimar or Rawalpindi. The media glorification of the cool rider tends to exclude the necessity rider whose mobility is a survival mechanism, rather than a matter of choice.

The actual war on normalization is fought on TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube. Digital creators upload videos of them riding and give tips: How to handle a heavy bike when you are short? How to deal with catcalling? What are the safe mechanics for women? These social media channels offer social proof. The psychological entry barrier is reduced when a young woman in a small town watches a hijabi rider on TikTok ride through the traffic in a calm and self-confident manner. The popularity of the Rowdy Riders (Arab News, 2024) and female moto-vloggers visiting the Northern Areas confronts the biological essentialism purporting women as being physically too fragile to operate motorcycles.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE**

To make the social change of female mobility sustainable, the focus must shift from individual courage to the system of institutional support. The burden of safety is now solely placed on the woman rider, and they must move within a hostile environment by employing hyper-vigilance. This is a policy failure. To streamline feminized mobility, the state needs to intervene in four dimensions: infrastructure, economics, law enforcement, and multimodal integration.

### **Infrastructural Interventions: The Gendered City**

Traditionally, urban planning in Pakistan has been gender-blind, hence the infrastructure caters to the default user who is a male (Sohail et al., 2006; Venter et al., 2007). We suggest a change to Gender-Mainstreaming in Urban Design.

**Pink Parking & Secure Pit Stops:** Risks of being harassed are the most when a rider is not in motion (parking, waiting, or breaking down). The municipalities (MCL, CDA) are supposed to establish Pink Parking areas around the entrances to markets, universities, and office complexes with CCTV cameras. In addition, all licensed petrol pumps should be mandated to have functional, well-lit and locking female restrooms declared as Safe Havens.

**Lighting as a Security Resource:** The Safe City projects in Lahore and Islamabad are usually concerned with observation cameras at highways. Nevertheless, women riders become most susceptible on service roads and connecting streets. The focus of municipalities should shift towards lighting the last-mile arteries. Darkness is one of the major discouraging factors to

female movement beyond sunset; streetlights are not merely infrastructures – they are appliances of social integration.

**Specialized Two-Wheeler Lanes:** City planners should implement special lanes for two-wheelers on main streets (such as Canal Road or Jinnah Avenue). This helps all motorcyclists, but women are disproportionately helped, as they are lower-speed riders more at risk of aggression by vehicles of greater size.

### **Financial and Economic Policy: Diluting Barriers to Entry**

One of the major obstacles is the cost. Although scooties cost less compared to cars, an initial expenditure of PKR 200,000+ cannot be afforded by students and working-class women.

**Green Banking and Subsidized EV Schemes:** The State Bank of Pakistan's green banking guidelines should be used to develop a special financing offer for women who buy Electric Scooters (EVs). Banks such as Bank of Punjab (BOP) or Akhuwat are supposed to provide zero-interest micro-loans without collaterals to female students and low-income working women, with the vehicle as security.

**Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) & The "Pink Mechanic":** Large manufacturers (Honda, Yamaha, United) should go beyond tokenism. CSR programs should develop a system of Female-Friendly Workshops or mobile mechanic offices oriented to serve female riders. The establishment of a certified group of safe repair-shops will help fight the workshop anxiety directly.

### **Legal and Institutional Support: Between Policing and Protection**

Harassment on the road has a loose definition in the law. It has to be institutionalized and implemented. **Making Vehicular Harassment a Crime:** Traffic regulations have to be revised to provide Vehicular Harassment as a specific crime. This involves swerving, continued tailgating, and blocking. The Dolphin Force and traffic wardens must be trained to recognize them as directed harassment, not merely reckless driving. **Digital Evidence & Accountability:** A special helpline/WhatsApp portal (integrated with Safe City Authorities) needs to be created where female riders can provide dashcam or helmet-cam recordings of assaulters. Such digital evidence must be allowed to be used in producing e-challans or FIRs.

**Curriculum Integration & Civic Education:** Cultural transformation at the classroom level. The curriculum in high schools and colleges should incorporate road ethics and gender sensitization. Young men need to be instructed that the road is a civic space, not a male territorial place.

## **CONCLUSION**

The advent of the female scooty rider in urban Pakistan is not just a change in the transportation demography but a sociological breakage (Cresswell, 2010; Porter, 2011). It is the recovery of the Right to the City by a group of people that had long been marginalized in history. Whenever any woman in Lahore or Islamabad finally switches on her engine and joins a traffic jam, the

woman is performing an invisible political performance. She is demolishing the patriarchal monopoly of mobility, subverting the idea of honor associated with immobility, and redefining the space contract of the city.

Moreover, this phenomenon heralds a very important crossroad of economic necessity and cultural development. With inflation and urbanization being experienced in Pakistan, the luxury of women's seclusion is economically being worn off. Families are revising their patriarchal deals, and daughters are allowed to ride not due to ideological liberalism, but due to survival. This change indicates that economic enfranchisement is a strong force of social change – as women become mobile, they become a visible part of the economy and their non-participation in the life of the people becomes even more unsustainable. But this social change should not be placed on the shoulders of courageous people only. Personal strength is no alternative to organizational safety. Women riders now have to ride through a city that was not built to accommodate them and must use individual bravery to work around the lapses of the infrastructure. To ensure that Pakistan maximizes the economic and social potential of this change, the state should act. Moving the status of women on wheels from novelty to norm will require gender-sensitive governance – vehicle ownership as an economic inducement and culturally a zero-tolerance attitude towards vehicular harassment.

Finally, the scooty girl-rider is an omen of a new urbanity. She embodies the future when the Pakistani city will not be a land to survive and fight, but a place to coexist. It is not only a journey to a destination but also an extension of the boundaries of possibilities of Pakistani women.

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