

FOCUS ON DEVELOPMENT POLICY

KfW Entwicklungsbank Position Paper

August 2007

Urban mobility and gender

Promoting the regional public transport system in the greater Jakarta area

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The promotion of gender equality (gender mainstreaming) at all levels of society is not only enshrined in the UN Millennium Development Goals and thus an internationally recognised field of action, but also an integral part of German development cooperation (DC). In the gender mainstreaming approach, constant account needs to be taken of the different circumstances of men and women in all fields of DC action and in all project phases, the aim being to achieve positive gender impacts systematically by helping to solve essential gender problems (gender potential). In accordance with the BMZ's gender equality concept, in July 2005 KfW Entwicklungsbank adopted a gender strategy, the objective of which is to put its operational work in the area of gender equality on a more professional footing and hence to enhance the quality of the FC programmes by better poverty reduction and MDG impacts. At the same time, a new understanding of gender impacts has taken hold since 2005; this trains the spotlight on the structural impacts of development measures on gender. This means that instead of seeing women merely as target groups for specific promotional measures, projects will now focus on achieving positive impacts with regard to gender equality (dismantling structural differences between the sexes and enabling equal participation in social reform processes).

Gender equality – a fundamental principle of German DC

“Equal rights, equal duties, equal chances and equal empowerment for men and women” is a fundamental principle of German development policy. Gender equality is a topic that cuts across all development cooperation sectors. The Federal Republic of Germany gears its work to the international agreements on women's rights. The BMZ's gender equality concept addresses the rights and duties of men and women that are socially determined and can be changed. As men and women are very interdependent, men must be involved if gender-specific disadvantages are to be countered. The aim is for men and women to participate equally in the development process. In the long term this should lead to an improvement in the position of women and their empowerment.

In the course of implementing its gender strategy, in 2006 KfW Entwicklungsbank commissioned a study to examine the gender impact of local public transport and mobility in the Asian megacities, taking the greater Jakarta area as an example. The study, which largely covered completely new ground, set out to expose gender problems that are created or reproduced because of urban transport policies and to determine ways of promoting positive gender impacts through urban transport projects. For this purpose a team of experts developed an analysis model, known as the Transport Development – Gender Impact Assessment (TD-GIA), which can be used in various

socio-economic conditions as well as for urban and rural transport projects. At the same time, instruments were developed to enable KfW Entwicklungsbank to pinpoint and evaluate the contribution made to achieving gender impacts in the areas of project planning, the further development of existing project concepts and the ex post evaluation of completed projects.

Because both megacities and transport are relevant to possible modernisation processes, urban transport is of particular significance with regard to improving the position of women and their empowerment. Owing to its very dynamic growth, the greater Jakarta area in Indonesia was particularly suitable for a gender analysis of urban transport. Moreover, it also allowed the appraisal of an ongoing urban railway project that is being supported by Financial Cooperation (FC). Acting on behalf of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), KfW is financing, as the first package of measures aimed at reinforcing the local public transport system in the Jabotabek region, ten new trains and the most urgently needed improvements to the repair shops, electricity supply and signalling equipment for the urban railway network, which is around 160 km long, in the region around the cities of Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi (known as Jabotabek).

With regard to its gender potential, the project was assessed as tackling that very area where, as far as infrastructure construction to date, the perception of transport problems and the establishment of priorities when designing a transport system are concerned, the most severe gender-related difficulties have occurred. In addition, it also addresses those areas where – apart from decreasing traffic generation – transport measures can make the greatest contributions to reducing gender inequality. This Position Paper summarises some of the main results and draws some initial conclusions.¹

• **Gender analysis of urban transport – Greater Jakarta**

Jakarta, the capital of the predominantly Muslim island state of Indonesia, is, with around 8.5 million inhabitants, one of the fastest growing and changing megacities in the world. Around 21 million people now live in the greater Jakarta area; in the next 20 years this figure is expected to increase to around 30 million. This rapid growth goes hand-in-hand with migration from rural areas to the cities, an observable feature of most developing countries in Asia and one which is also related to transport and gender.

Urban transformation is not gender neutral. Urban development and modernisation policies are frequently based only on male perspectives and interests. Accordingly, unpaid housework and the task of caring for oneself and others (care economy) are not the focus of economic activity – contrary to the situation for most women. The care economy is therefore not considered worthwhile enough to (continue to) provide space for it in the city centre and it tends to be ignored. At the same time, gainful employment, sellable products and marketed services are defined as activities that are distinct from the care economy (in terms of people, space and time) and they are allocated valuable shares in the limited space available in city centres – with no account being taken in the plans of their dependence on place and the amount of time and human input needed (the possibility of combining work and family life).

The consequences are complex and to an extent contradictory. On the one hand there are the shopping malls with goods for wealthy sections of the population, a boom in hotel construction, business districts, roads with more than eight lanes for business and motorised private transport

¹ The results of the full study, including the instruments and recommended procedures that are not discussed here, are presented in Meike Spitzner: Urban Transport, Megacities, Modernisation Channels and New Transport Development – Gender Impact Assessment (TD-GIA) – results of gender adjustment in German development policy. Theoretical, methodological and practical approaches from the case study on “Urban Transport and Gender” in Greater Jakarta commissioned by KfW. November 2006 (publication pending).

and a city that operates around the clock. On the other hand, there is clear evidence of poverty, a multiplicity of small businesses, housework, informal employment and public life in the few areas available for public use, badly neglected, extremely narrow footpaths, completely disrupted mobility networks, air pollution and environmental noise – that only ceases for a few hours at night. Frequently, the only areas where people who have moved into the metropolis can find somewhere to live are on the city's outskirts as rents in the centre of Jakarta are geared to commercial use and, as a consequence, are usually too high for the care economy.

Separating living, caring and working areas off from one another and the impediment of street traffic make independent mobility for vulnerable sections of the population (elderly people, the sick, children, etc) largely impossible, with the result that they need to be accompanied and they need transport. All in all, this leads to huge volumes of traffic and at the same time disrupts mobility in the sense of freedom of movement, ease of access and flexibility. This development of the urban settlement structure leads to increasing distances with high costs in terms of time and travel. The current transport infrastructure clearly privileges motorised private transport and neglects the local and regional public transport infrastructure. This leads to a growing symbolic and material dependence on private motor vehicles such as cars or motorcycles. Private vehicles are only a feasible option for those whose income is high enough to afford them. Owing to the frequently low level of their income, women, in particular, are dependent on public transport. These problems can only be overcome by taking a gender-specific approach.

Men and women are affected differently, especially as men rarely assume responsibility for most of the care economy (housework, shopping, providing and caring for oneself and the family, etc); they rarely need to combine these activities with gainful employment and thus have more time at their disposal than women. It is therefore hardly surprising that women are harder hit than men by the spatial disintegration of the working areas and the building of roads that are geared to motor vehicles and to a lot of traffic. Women are far more dependent on reliable and affordable means of transport. They therefore place far more importance on the local public transport systems than men do.

Day in day out several hundreds of thousands of women and men commute from the suburbs of Jakarta to the centre of the megacity and back. They mainly use public transport as poor people cannot afford taxis or private cars. It is also expensive and, due to the traffic, extremely dangerous to use motorcycles; gender-specific risk awareness and specifically gender-related motives (the use of primarily masculine models) largely make motorcycles vehicles that are for men only. Buses also often get stuck in the traffic and contribute to a downgrading of the city area from the care economy point of view – because of the danger to pedestrians, for example, and the noise and air pollution. A positive exception is the Trans-Jakarta Bus Rapid Transit System that has been gradually introduced in recent years. This is an inner-city bus system with dedicated traffic lanes that are banned to cars. The system is largely proving to be congestion free and is making use of the limited amount of public space in a way that is accessible to the public and more efficient than the use of private motor vehicles.

The urban light rail network also connects the peripheral housing and housework locations and the city centre. It makes it easier for people in Greater Jakarta to get to social and caring infrastructures, public and political life, places where they can earn a living, other households needing to be cared for, places of education, freely chosen social contacts and “leisure time”. The urban light rail network is less exclusive from the social, physical and economic points of view; it is more environmentally and climate friendly, more efficient in terms of energy and land use and is considerably less prone to accidents than road transport. The old urban light rail network is, however, in a poor state of repair, has few lines and far too few trains. By contrast with motorised road transport, little has been invested in the infrastructure or trains in recent years.

• Gender impact analysis – dimensions and results

Although mobility and transport are considered internationally as very gender-relevant fields of activity,² there is hardly any literature on the subject of gender and urban transport in developing countries. There is an extensive, up-to-date study by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) on gender issues and policies in Indonesia, which, however, explicitly refers to the quite considerable need for research and data. Issues relating to gender and transport in Indonesia have not previously been studied. This study on urban transport and gender in the mega-urban greater Jakarta area, together with the gender study on the Jabotabek urban light railway thus has largely ventured into new territory.

Well-founded statements were initially derived from the gender analysis of the current transport development plan, together with information from the country gender paper, participative observations in the field and the gender analysis of the project concept. An Indonesian transport expert who was part of the international study team conducted a survey that analysed the responses down by sex of the respondents and gender problems. She interviewed 150 passengers in the urban light railway – 100 women and 50 men, the latter forming a reference group. The experts also conducted structured interviews that focused on gender with high-ranking male and female representatives of official institutions: government ministers, the leading female professor for *Gender Studies* at the University of Jakarta, gender and resettlement officers from ADB and stakeholders in the gender-oriented nationwide women's magazine, which forms the hub of the major women's movement, representatives of the Indonesian railway PT.KAI, and the Indonesian passenger association.

The gender potential of the Jabotabek project was analysed on the basis of the six TD-GIA dimensions (see Box). This set of dimensions was designed for development cooperation work and is based on the Infrastructure Gender Impact Assessment (Spitzner for DifU/ISOE commissioned by the BMBF in 2004), which was a further development of the European Gender Impact Assessment (GIA 1996/2002) and the GIA of the German Federal Ministry for the Environment (BMU 2002) to cover transport and other networked infrastructures.

The main results of the study on the Jabotabek urban light railway project can be outlined as follows:

- **The urban light railway system has a very high gender impact potential.** Particularly high demands are made of women in Greater Jakarta in terms of mobility. They spend roughly twice as much time on care activities as the male respondents in the survey. Mobility facilities that are efficient for the care economy are the precondition for managing the care economy (Gender dimension 1: Care economy). According to the ADB gender study referred to above, 37.5% of all working-age women in Indonesia carry out paid work; in Greater Jakarta, however, this figure is probably twice as high. Given, in particular, the double burden of earning a living and caring for the family, the time and reliability aspects of transport systems play a very important role: the more time is taken up by work and travel, the less time there is to take advantage of the “emancipative potential” which urban areas offer women (Gender dimension 2: Resources). The survey carried out as part of the gender study revealed that 59% of women (as opposed to 42% of men) prefer to use the urban light railway because it makes their travel time considerably shorter than with any other public means of transport in Greater Jakarta; 37% (as opposed to 34%) referred to

² From the perspective of overcoming the problems, because of its impact on daily life accompanied by calls for large amounts of public money and, from the perspective of design and empowerment, because of the predominantly male orientation of planning and decision-making institutions and methods that is still the case today.

the favourable urban light railway tariffs as the most important reason for using it. For many men and women, the urban light railway is likely to be one of the factors enabling them to fulfil their care economy duties, exploit the equality potential of the megacity and pursue gainful employment. In accordance with gender mainstreaming, it is just as important to limit the cause of gender problems as it is to overcome the consequences, i.e. the imbalance at public institutions on the design and empowerment side described above needs to be addressed. The promotion of the urban light railway makes a positive contribution to the public revision of current transport system priorities (Gender dimension 3: Androcentrism), for which support is being provided. In that respect it makes a positive contribution to the gender mainstreaming policy.

- **The urban light railway can be made even more suitable for women.** Besides a general expansion of the capacities in order to reduce the current overload – which puts women in a particularly difficult situation because of the very cramped space in the compartments and the associated risk of harassment by men (Gender dimension 6: Male incursion), the survey showed that 100% of the women and 48% of the men would favour the introduction of special compartments for women. The important thing is to ensure that the designation of women's compartments does not indicate the need for women to be protected but symbolises the male propensity to “encroach on others' territory” and hence takes an offensive public stance (Gender dimension 5: Symbolic order and 3: Androcentrism). A sign “Not for men” is more appropriate in this respect than a sign “For women only” or “For women and children only”.
- **The project executing agency/operator is willing to take the subject of gender seriously.** The partner country has an institutionalised gender policy, although it suffers from a lack of resources and has so far hardly been integrated into finance-intensive infrastructure planning and decision-making processes (Gender dimension 5: Gender composition). The Indonesian Cabinet is preparing gender mainstreaming for all departments; the lead-managing Development Ministry has shown great interest in KfW's work on gender and transport as it will also shortly be addressing this issue. The rail company and the Ministry of Transport were also interested in the topic. The rail company associated the topic with the task of maintaining and expanding the number of its female passengers, operational optimisation wishes, company modernisation issues and operational problems caused by male incursion. For the Ministry of Transport, the topic related to its own search for acceptable modernisation approaches, autonomous state structural development that is independent of the West, and enlightened social development. In relation to the sixth gender dimension and given the research into cases of sexual harassment on the urban light railway, both saw immediate possibilities for action and initiated, in a concerted action organised by the Ministry, the introduction of women's compartments, which had failed in an earlier pilot attempt carried out by the railway company for lack of institutional support and an offensive information policy, among other things.

Dimensions of the gender impact analysis for transport projects (overview)

1. **Care economy:** Does the project take a balanced view, compared with other economic sectors, of the mobility requirements of the care economy, for which women, because of the role assigned to them, bear a disproportionately large share of the responsibility while too little responsibility in that respect is borne by men (for example, reducing the time taken, time horizons, physical and social appropriateness of transport between the home and place of work and everyday shopping facilities, the location of the workplace, self-determined social contacts, family members, schools, medical health centres, etc), and not place too much importance on the traffic requirements of the work economy, which is the main concern of men (transport between the home as a place that is free from work and places of gainful employment, business commuters)?
2. **Resources:** Do the financial resources and measures of a project benefit women to the same extent as men? Does the project lead to a more balanced distribution of public space and public money between men and women? Is economic development required which takes as much account of the interests and priorities of women as of those of men?
3. **Androcentrism:** Does the project promote the view in institutions and situations relevant to the decision-making process that male lifestyles and ways of thinking are central and the norm while women's lifestyles and thought patterns are seen as a deviation from the norm and hence as "other", "specific" and "an exception to the rule"? Or does it support the need to revise previous generalisations of the male perspective and their claim to "objectivity" or "general usefulness" and contribute to their institutional enshrinement (revision/adjustment of conventional methods, definitions, procedures, criteria, etc)?
4. **Gender composition:** To what extent does the project contribute to giving women and gender mainstreaming representatives greater influence in design, planning and decision-making processes? What contribution does the project make to increasing the share of women and gender mainstreaming issues in important positions?
5. **Symbolic order:** Does the project create or reinforce symbols which enhance the importance of women or do devaluing symbols weaken or undermine it completely? Does the project stabilise a gender-biased allocation of duties or rights or does it promote individualisation opportunities for women and the sharing duties of men?
6. **Harassment:** Does the project contribute to reducing male harassment and the exploitation of women? Does it contribute to making this the object of political, public, infrastructure, or entrepreneurial problem solving? Does it contribute to relieving women of threats, restrictions and sanctions?

• Recommendations for the further involvement of KfW Entwicklungsbank in the Jabotabek regional railway

The results of the study show support for the Jabotabek urban light railway to be appropriate from gender perspectives, too. In order to take greater advantage of the gender potential of the project than to date, a series of very practical recommendations was prepared and their implementation is to be discussed with the project partner. Further recommendations are an appropriate subject for the sector dialogue. The main recommendations are as follows.

- **Women's compartments:** The spontaneous reintroduction of women's compartments is a welcome move. They should be available around the clock throughout the entire network and appropriately marked and backed up by gender sensitive information and advertising ("modern urban railway", "women – an important group of railway customers", etc). In addition, it needs to be checked that the women's compartments are not used by men (possibly by women who also help women to board the trains and hence enhance women as a customer group, which requires a symbolic reorganisation by giving women the power to impose sanctions).

- **Straps or handrails:** Equipping the compartments with straps at a height that is appropriate for women (or with vertical handrails); straps that are too high encourage sexual harassment in compartments that are used by both men and women.
- **Boarding:** Making it easier for women to board the trains, e.g. by steps on the side of the carriages or on the platforms, as the traditional female attire (sarong) makes it difficult, if not impossible, for women to board trains.
- **Toilets:** Provision of a sufficient number of clean toilets for women.
- **En route catering:** The current provision of soft drinks, fruit, haberdashery, etc at the stations and, to an extent, also on board is a very good and appropriate to the needs of women and should definitely be maintained and not fall victim to a supposed “modernisation of the urban light railway”.
- **Stations:** Sufficient lighting and a certain degree of activity on platforms and in station passages, which is partly prevented by the prohibition of informal employment.
- **Integration into other transport systems:** Better integration of the urban light railway system into existing transport systems, in particular bus and footpath networks (securing traffic-free access to the stations) as well as long-distance transport networks, would go some way towards meeting the mobility needs of women.
- **Fares:** High transport fares place a burden on households and, owing to the far higher mobility requirements placed on women and their far lower income (the estimated average monetary income of women is, according to ADB, around 51% that of men) have a particularly negative impact on women. To date, the tariffs in the cheapest class have been regulated and subsidised by the state. This has a positive gender impact. However, in the event of these subsidies being reduced, resources should be mobilised not via the transport tariffs but via the other beneficiaries of the urban light railway system (e.g. restaurants, hotels, enterprises) and by penalising motorised private transport. Tariff integration (one ticket for bus and rail), specific tariffs for women or families (mother and child or family tickets, lower-priced tickets for off-peak travel times) could enable the public transport system to maintain its clientele and to gain new customers, thus helping to improve its financial situation.
- **Gender skills at the project executing agency/operator:** The gender mainstreaming process should be intensified at the project executing agencies and the operators, on the basis of the UN obligations for the partner countries and their own regulations. This requires organisational changes. At the railway company, for example, there has so far been neither a plan to promote women (specified deadlines, responsibilities, resources for achieving equality) nor an organisational unit to manage the personnel policy (equal opportunities office) and the professional removal (equal opportunities oriented infrastructure design) of gender-specific disadvantages. In addition, efforts should be made to work towards networking gender and transport expertise.
- **“Gender sensitive” transport system planning:** In planning transport systems, greater account should be taken of the requirements of the care economy – as far as possible by involving women and competent female representatives of gender mainstreaming interests. Where this is not the case, insufficient attention is frequently paid to the fact that road transport disrupts straightforward access and removes key surface areas from the limited space available in the inner city – space which is largely used by women, as traders, to live in or to enable women simply to move around together on foot. Redefining this public space solely for the purpose of motorised private transport, which women use far less than men, has extremely negative gender impacts.

• Conclusion

The gender analysis of urban transport and the urban light railway project in the greater Jakarta area underscores the developmental significance and gender impact of the project. The recommendations made in the new Gender Impact Analysis (GIA) make it clear that a systematic procedure that is geared to the gender dimensions can make positive contributions to the establishment of gender equality and that it is possible to achieve better exploitation of the gender potential at various levels – at the project level, the level of the project executing agency and the sector (railways) as well as at the overarching planning level (urban planning in connection with local, regional and long-distance transport). In addition, the recommendations deal with very different gender mainstreaming dimensions: greater account taken of the mobility needs of women, greater participation by women, equal opportunity officers and gender expertise in decision-making processes, a more objective perception of transport tasks that are more strongly geared to the general well-being, and a new appreciation of the rights and duties of men and women. Not all aspects of these dimensions can be addressed in the context of private transport projects. However, the recommendations show that a thorough gender analysis can lead to very concrete proposals for improvement within a project that can be discussed with the partners and lead to an improvement in project design and the initiation of further projects. The need for change that has been identified at overarching levels can be addressed in the context of a political or sector dialogue.

It has also been shown that the topic of gender does not necessarily meet with rejection in local discussions but rather evokes great interest in ministries, the civil society, research and enterprises and can trigger a dynamic response, as is apparent from the spontaneous development of a round table on gender and transport in Jakarta and the reintroduction of women's compartments. The common prejudiced view that gender is "not an issue" in the partner country is often no more than a prejudiced view. The existing institutional establishment of gender interests or gender competence can be strengthened by including them in the professional project preparation and decisions on how to use resources – both here and in the partner country. This is already a contribution to gender mainstreaming that should not be underestimated.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that the chances of women participating more in socio-political reform processes are greater in urban areas than in rural areas. To enable men to make a greater contribution to gender equality, they need gender-competent resonance and expert information, particularly in transport and development cooperation. Women need affordable mobility, which, as urbanisation and traffic increases in major cities and agglomerations, makes it urgent to establish and expand socially acceptable public transport systems that are more efficient for the care economy and environmentally and climate friendlier. The support provided for the Jabotabek urban light railway is seen as helping to achieve that goal.

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