

**SEXUAL HARASSMENT AGAINST GIRLS ON PUBLIC
TRANSPORTATION: understanding, experience and reaction**

A DISSERTATION

**SUBMITTED TO THE CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY**

**IN THE PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE MASTERS OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY**

Submitted by :

ALISHA POUDYAL

T.U. Regd. no: 6-2-0406-0049-2013

Roll No.: 32

Symbol No.: 281377

Central Department of Sociology

Kirtipur, 2020

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This thesis entitled **Sexual harassment against girls on public transportation: Understanding, Experience and Reaction** has been prepared by Alisha Poudyal under my supervision for the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Masters of Arts in sociology. I am satisfied with her dissertation, so I would like to recommend this dissertation to be examined by the dissertation evaluation committee of Tribhuvan University.

.....

Prem Bahadur Chalaune

Associate professor

(Dissertation Supervisor)

Central Department Of Sociology

Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal

Date: 1 March, 2020

LETTER OF APPROVAL

This dissertation entitled “ **SEXUAL HARASSMENT AGAINST WOMEN ON PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION: UNDERSTANDING, EXPERIENCE AND REACTION**” prepared and submitted by **MS. Alisha Poudyal**, has been evaluated and approved for the partial fulfillment of the requirement of Master Degree in Sociology by the dissertation evaluation committee.

Approved by

Dissertation Evaluation Committee

Dr. Tikaram Gautam

Head of Department

.....

Bishnu Basel

(External Examiner)

.....

Prem Bahadur Chalaune

(Supervisor)

.....

Date:

LETTER OF DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation entitled **SEXUAL HARASSMENT AGAINST GIRLS ON PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION: UNDERSTANDING, EXPERIENCE AND REACTION** is my own work done to fulfill the partial requirement for Master degree in sociology under the guidance and supervision of Prem Bahadur Chalaune sir.

.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I was very touched and felt sad when I heard about harassment suffered by girls while using public transportation. As a girl from a middle class family, i was also a regular user of public transport and i also suffered from sexual harassment multiple times. I still remember the first day when I was attacked sexually inside a micro-bus. That was the worst experience ever because I was new to this city and that was quite a bad experience of a girl of sixteen. From that date, i suffer from sexual harassment several times, i gradually change my mindset from remaining silence to raising voice to slapping and punishing the harasser by myself. Sometimes I got help from bystanders and bus-staff also. When I joined a masters degree in sociology, I became more conscious about women and their rights and I decided to work in women's field. I choose many subjects of my interest so that i could develop a good dissertation & at last i choose this one because at that time i think that, the sexual harassment issues on public transportation is the most neglected issues but the situation is worst and after completing my field work, my thought becomes more stronger.

First of all, i would like to express thanks to The central department of sociology, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal for providing me a golden opportunity to study and research on Sexual harassment against women on public transportation : understanding, experience and reaction.

I would like to offer my special indebtedness and gratitude to my supervisor Mr. Prem Bahadur Chalaune sir for his continued support and guidance in enabling me to proceed ahead with my research. Without his valuable guidance and support this research remarks would not be possible.

I would like to express gratitude to Dr. Tikaram Gautam (lecturer of sociology in the central department of sociology) for guiding me while choosing subjects for project work which is included within the curriculum. He says that we can develop our project work to thesis and I do the same. I am so thankful to him.

Without respondents, the study would not have been possible. I would like to thank all the respondents who participate in my interview and case study, who share their experience of harassment while using public vehicles. I would like to thank my family and friends who supported me to complete this task successfully with passion. I would like to thank them all who motivated and inspired me to do my work properly in my lots of hardships within this period.

ABSTRACT

This study is aiming to examine the understanding, experience and reaction of girls when they suffered from sexual harassment inside a public vehicle. Sexual harassment against women on public transportation is the most heard problem of girls among their friend-circle. From bachelor level, i heard the experience of my friends regarding sexual harassment but when i started searching about the research conducted on this subject only one academic research is found. So, thinking this issue as a worst but neglected subject I decided to conduct the research in this subject matter.

Narrating the statement of the problem and research questions the objectives of this research is to find out the understanding of women about sexual harassment basically focusing on symbolic and verbal abuses. How they react and what are the structures responsible for supporting sexual harassment inside a public vehicle. Taking an interview of 30 girls and doing case study of 5 girls research is concluding finding the result that 87% of girls using public vehicles daily suffered from sexual harassment atleast once in their lifetime. Blaming the crowd inside a public vehicles girls though take symbolic and verbal harassment as sexual harassment, but they share only physical harassment when asked about their experience on sexual harassment. And, that 87% is the percentage of girls who suffered from physical harassment inside a public transport. Only 5% of women raise their voice when they suffer from harassment for the first time.

This study concludes that the transportation system (crowd inside it), men's sexist nature and capitalist patriarchy are responsible for sexual harassment. Thus, it is concluded that Nepalese Transportation is not women-friendly and the perceived help from by-standers is less than the actual help when girls suffers from sexual harassment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Letter of Declaration	ii
Letter of Recommendation	iii
Letter of Approval	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Abstract	vi
Table of Contents	vii
CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION	1-7
1.1) Background of the study	1
1.2) Statement of the problem	3
1.3) Objectives of the study	5
1.4) Rationale of the study	6
1.5) Limitations of the study	7
CHAPTER TWO : REVIEW OF LITERATURE	8-17
2.1) Review of previous studies	8
2.2) Theoretical review	13
2.3) Conceptual framework	17
CHAPTER THREE : RESEARCH METHODS	18-22
3.1) Rationale of the selection of the study area	18
3.2) Methodology and Research Design	18
3.3) Nature and Sources of Data	19
3.4) Sampling procedure	19
3.4.1) Sampling method	19
3.4.2) Sampling Universe	20
3.4.3) Selection of sample	20
3.5) Techniques of Data Collection	20
3.6) Reliability and Validity of the Data	22
3.7) Constraints in Data Collection	22

CHAPTER - 4 : DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS	23-24
4.1) Categorization of the Data	23
4.2) Coding the Data	23
4.3) Interpretation of the Data	23
4.4) Maintenance of the privacy of the respondents	24
4.5) Process of Data Analysis	24
CHAPTER - 5 : INTRODUCTION TO STUDY AREA AND SOCIAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS	25-27
5.1) Study Area	25
5.2) Reason to choose this area as a research field	26
5.3) Age of Respondents	26
5.4) Occupation of Respondents	26
5.5) Area Respondents belongs to	27
5.6) Economic profile of the respondents	27
5.7) Caste and religion of respondents	27
CHAPTER - 6 : SEXUAL HARASSMENT MEANT TO ME	28-31
6.1) Introduction	28
6.1.1) Sexual harassment is an offensive and inhumane act	29
6.1.2) Act that took women as objects	29
6.1.3) Unwelcome sexual behaviour and forceful act against women	30
6.1.4) Behaviours that makes someone discomfort	30
6.2) Verbal and symbolic harassment and its acceptance	30
CHAPTER - 7: LIVED EXPERIENCE OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT	32-46
7.1) What do I face physically? - Do you want to hear? (Respondents shared experiences)	32
7.2) Experience of verbal and symbolic harassment	38
7.3) Capitalist Patriarchy, Women employment and public transport	39
7.4) Normalization of sexual harassment , ignorance to the verbal and symbolic harassment.	40

CHAPTER - 8 : RESPONSE AGAINST HARASSMENT	47-54
8.1) Response as a whole	47
8.1.1) I screamed silently- no one listens	47
8.1.2) Raise voice, Take Action against harassment	48
8.2) Silence, Shouting and fighting - reaction against harassment	49
8.3) Silent scream- encouragement to the culprits	50
8.4) Harassment, Patriarchy and Social support	52
8.5) Bystanders support and Resistance	52
CHAPTER - 9 : PERCEPTIONS REGARDING HARASSMENT	55-59
9.1) Why do some men harass? - ans. From girls	55
9.2) who / What is to be blamed?	56
9.3) Sexism, Patriarchy and Harassment	57
9.4) Crowded vehicles - a platform for harassers	58
9.5) Transportation system and capitalism - structures responsible for harassment	58
CHAPTER - 10 : SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	60-63
10.1) Summary of the study	60
10.2) Conclusion of the study	61

Questionnaire

References

CHAPTER- I

1.1) Background of the study

MacKinnon (1979) defines sexual harassment as “the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of the relationship of unequal power”. Judith Berman Brandenburg (1997), defines sexual harassment as ‘ Unwanted sexual attention that would be offensive to a reasonable person and that negatively affects the work or school environment. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) defines sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination under title VII of the civil rights act 1964. It defines sexual harassment in its guidelines as unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature when:

Submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual’s employment, or
Submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as a basis for employment decisions affecting such individual, or
Such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual’s work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive working environment.

Sexual harassment is an action within men and women which is related to the unwelcome behaviour on sex. It is characterized by a wide range of offensive manners including teasing, staring, pinching, sexual comments, telling jokes of a sexual nature, spreading sexual rumors, displaying porn videos, drawing pictures of a sexual nature and squeezing or touching the private organs of women. In Kathmandu , among the public transport users most of them are students and women who can’t afford their own private vehicle because of their low income. So, they use public transportation on a daily basis . It is found that about 80% of women aged between 12-35, using public vehicle suffers from various types of sexual harassment. Despite the rate of sexual harassment, it remains as a silent issue in society due to the social, cultural and even political factors. Women of all age experience sexual harassment on public transport but students are more victimized. Studies have shown that students and women remained silent or ignored the harassment because reacting or speaking against the

harassment would lead to further violence or harassment (Gautam et al. 2019). Sexual harassment is any form of unwelcome sexual behaviour that's offensive, humiliating or intimidating. Most importantly it's against the law. It can be written, verbal or physical and can happen in person or online. Both men and women can be the victims of sexual harassment. When it happens at work, school or uni, it may amount to sex discrimination. Sexual harassment can include someone Touching, grabbing or making other physical contact, Making comments that have a sexual meaning, Asking for sex or sexual favours, Making sexual gestures or suggestive body movements, Cracking sexual jokes and comments, Questioning about someone's sexual life, Insulting with sexual comments (Reachout, 2019).

Sexual harassment to women in public transport is a serious problem of Nepal. But people or the victims of sexual harassment donot raise their voice. Binita kc, a social activist says, women and girls are facing sexual harassment on a daily basis but they donot speak up. Such abuses are tolerated because the victims have the lack of confidence and knowledge on how to fight it (Xinhua News 2014). Recognizing the seriousness of the sexual harassment on public transport, police held the safety-pin campaign on August 2, 2017 in order to discourage the sexual harassment in public transport. A flash survey by The Himalayan Times shows that out of 15 women, 13 women were suffered from sexual harassment on public transport, 6 said that they had suffered from severe forms of harassment on public transport. Police claims that 421 people were arrested for harassing women, 21 cases were filed under public offence act in the first six months of the current fiscal i.e. 2017(The Himalayan Times 2017). The public vehicles are overcrowded during office hours and it has been a compulsion to travel in such vehicles where there is more chance of being harassed. If a traveller is a woman and in a crowded public vehicle she will get more pushes and touches than the fellow male travellers. This problem is burning these days in kathmandu, also the reserved seats for women have minimized the problem (Baniya 2019).

There is no single definition and concept of sexual harassment. It changes according to place, time and situation. Sexual harassment is also common in public transport but it is not much studied in the case of Nepal. According to UN women, in 2019 about 80% of Nepalese women who used to travel in public vehicle reported

sexual harassment. But when talking about the academic research and studies in this subject matter, i found only one study by Gita Neupane and others are just a newspaper articles which are not so much beneficial for my research. As a girl of 23 and had to travel twice a day from home to university using public transport, i have had suffered from sexual harassment multiple times in public buses. So, being based on these background and personal experience of harassment in public transportation, i will conduct my research in the topic “Sexual Harassment Against Girls On Public Transport.”

1.2) Statement Of The Problem

Especially in the college and office time, public vehicles become more crowded. At that time, there is more chance of being harassed. When girls suffer from such mis-behaviour many of them do not raise their voice because they feel ashamed of such behaviour. Sexual harassment on public transport is problem in itself and remaining silent by the victim of such harassment is another major problem. Maintaining silence perpetuates courage to the person who molests the ladies passenger and he may try to take benefits from other ladies passengers too. That’s why it is a problem. Studies suggest that incidents of sexual harassment are the common occurrence on the public transport of Kathmandu.

The experience of sexual harassment on public transportation not only makes women traumatic but also ceates a long-term effect on women’s access to socio-economic opportunity and their mobility. A study by Poudyal and Thapa found that women abandon the good paying evening shift jobs because of safety returning back to their home from work. They claim that there are many families in Kathmandu that don’t allow female counterparts to take up outer economic employment due to lack of safe travel options and for study too, parents give priority to viable transportation over quality education. Although women have to encounter the various types of harassment while using public vehicles women tend not to report the majority of such problems fearing that they will be accused of being over reactive or not taken seriously (Poudyal and Thapa, 2018). Out of 396 female health science students using public transport , 79.6% of them suffered from harassment. Out of total harassment cases, 67.1% were physically harassed, 61.2% suffered from verbal harassment and 34.6% suffered from non-verbal harassment. They also ask about the response of the victims

when they face harassment. After the incident, 44.6% scolded the harasser, 29.1% remained silent, 17.3% dropped at the nearest bus station and 9% reacted in different ways (mishra & lamichhane, 2018).

Sexual harassment against women on public transportation is not only the problem of Nepal. It is wide-spreaded all over the world. A research conducted by Oxfam International found that the sexual harassment to women, girls and transgender have been tolerated in Srilanka. According to the study by UN in 2017, about 90% of Srilankan girls and women experienced sexual harassment in buses and trains at least once in their lifetime and over half says that they have experienced violence in regular basis. We can imagine the worst situation of public transport in the case of female passengers where about 90% of them suffered from harassment at least once in their lifetime. Oxfam result shows that women and girls were blamed for sexual harassment. The women harassment is taken as a normal male behaviour and srilankan thinks that it all happens because of the fault of the women as they were not submissive, obedient and dressed properly. If some women and girls raised voice against such behaviour they were criticized for creating a scene. While reading this, I recall my mom saying. She says: when she was young, my granny used to tell her, stay quiet although someone misbehaves and harasses you. Good girls stay passive. This research shows the same case of Srilanka. UN data shows that only 8% of women seek help from law when they have faced harassment while 82% of bystanders said that they rarely intervene when they witness abuse. As like the 'safety-Pin Campaign' in Nepal, a new campaign ' Not On My Bus' have been launched in March 2019 in Srilanka which aims to reduce the sexual harassment in public transport by promoting bystander intervention through public awareness (Oxfam international, 2019).

Meligren et.al takes a survey of 473 students sample to know about the sexual harassment and its consequences in the public spaces. The result shows that 7% of students suffers from sexual harassment on public transportation in the last 12 months. And the consequences of these types of harassment are fear, behavioral adjustments, anxiety, depression, stress and lower self-esteem. The shocking truth is that, the women normalize the unwanted sexual charges upon them. A respondent says that a girl should be able to enjoy herself out without worrying about being

grabbed and touched without invitation. Another one respondent writes, maybe I gave some wrong signs and symbols to him so that he, come closer and touch me. Look, how they normalize the sexual violence in their daily basis (Meligren et.al, 2017).

Sexual harassment to women public transport is a widespread problem of the world and studies by different NGO's and INGO's in Nepal in this topic gives the worst picture of sexual abuse in Nepalese transport system. Although it is the major problem of female passengers, it is not much studied by academicians, students and researchers. Why do some men abuse women in public transport? What is the driving force behind the sexual harassment in public transportation? Is it only because of man's sexist nature or there are other factors such as patriarchy, lack of law related to sexual harassment, transportation system or any other factors that contribute for the sexual harassment in public transportation? These issues are not yet studied in the case of Nepal. How the sexual harassment is shaped by the nature of our society, transportation system, class, women empowerment and employment opportunities? So, I made a decision to conduct research in this subject matter for my master's level dissertation. This paper will answer the following questions:

Research Questions

How do women perceive sexual harassment and what is their lived experience of harassment on public transport? Do they take symbolic and verbal harassment as the sexual harassment?

How the women respond with the problem of sexual harassment? How sexual harassment and women's reaction is shaped by the structure of society, their knowledge, their age, social-cultural background and the transportation system?

1.3) Objectives of the study

The objectives of this research paper are as follows:

To find out the understanding of women about sexual harassment, whether they take symbolic and verbal harassment as sexual harassment or not,

To find out the reaction of women when they experience sexual harassment,

To find out the cause that influence the sexual harassment in public transportation, reaction against it by women.

1.4) Rationale of the study

Many studies by NGO's and INGO's have been done in this subject matter concerning the safety of female passengers. In the case of Nepal it is not much studied although it is the major problem of Nepalese females as they have to travel on a daily basis for work, for study and for other different purposes. So, it is most important to study this subject. Mainly, the studies done in this topic focuses on the number of victims and their reaction. Basically, These studies stands on the view point of feminist theory and blames patriarchy, sexist thinking as the root cause of sexual harassment. And the outcome of results is the number of victims and their reaction is mainly tolerance because of various reasons. The research gap is 'The understanding of women about harassment', 'the lived experience of sexual harassment in public transport' and 'the reasons behind their action' In order to address these research gaps , study in this topic is very very important. The researcher uses three theories - Marxist Feminism, symbolic-interactionism and agency-structure while studying this topic. Using only one theory and analysing the data cannot give the appropriate picture of the subject. So, this research paper uses the 3 theories. The data is primary. Researcher goes to the field, distributes the questionnaire and t interviews by herself. So, the data comes from this study is more significant and viable. Researcher is sure that this research has both theoretical and empirical importance as the collected data are primary and uses three theories to analyse it. The other researcher who wants to research on this topic, this research paper can be good literature for them after its completion.

As no research can be conducted without hypotheses which gives the estimation of the outcoming result of the research, this paper's hypotheses are:

Women's understanding about the sexual harassment is good. They knew that using bad symbols that makes them uncomfortable (i.e symbolic abuse) and making jokes, making comments of sexual nature, catcalling (i.e. verbal abuse) as sexual harassment.

The cause of sexual harassment against women on public vehicle is men's sexist nature and crowding in the public transportation.

Women raise their voices and take sudden action against harassment and they also get the social support.

Zero tolerance on sexual harassment by the victims, by-standers and the vehicle staffs.

1.5) Limitations of the study

Research is the scientific and systematic investigation of new facts. However, it is not totally perfect at all notwithstanding. The researcher will try to make this research more scientific and systematic. Although, due to lack of perfect knowledge, constraints of time, money and other resources the research will limit within a certain geographical locality and certain issues. Following are this paper's limitation

This research will be conducted only for the partial fulfillment of the master's degree in sociology. Therefore, it will not have wider application.

The findings will be based on the information collected from the area of Kathmandu. Therefore, the findings will not be generalized in wider area or another locality,

Similarly, the findings will be based on the information collected in a specific time period. Therefore, this finding will not be applicable to all time.

CHAPTER - 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1) Review of previous studies

Sexual harassment to women is a serious problem of Nepal as well as other countries and many research have been conducted in this topic. I read many literatures to find out the research gaps. I reviewed some of the literature that I have read in this topic.

According to the report published by The world Bank, recent research has shown high levels of violence against women and girls (VAWG) in public transport and adjacent public spaces in many cities around the world. Common types of abuse on public transport range from leering looks and offensive gestures to unwanted touching and sexual assault. A feature story was by the world bank on the title “Preventing violence against women in transport systems” where it highlights the issue of women’s security in public transportation. It says that men and women’s experiences with transport systems differ greatly, particularly when related to their physical security and safety. According to this report women depend more on public transport rather than men to meet their mobility needs. Therefore, The World Bank focuses on women’s safety on public transport. So, to increase women’s security in public transport, the World Bank is collaborating across sectors to identify innovative, practical and proven solutions that will enable women and girls to safely access services, markets and jobs. Focusing on the priority of men and women travel purpose and decisions in this article says that,” high levels of harassment and other abuse in public transportation can limit women’s willingness to travel, reducing their earning options. Women are at greater risk of violence from strangers on public transportation and walking to and from transportation.” Concerning different types of abuse and risks on different cities this report focuses on designing the intervention (The World Bank 2016).

Gita Neupane and Meda Chesney Lind (2013) studied to examine the prevalence, dimension and consequences of sexual harassment in public transport of Nepal. In this study they explore both types of abuse reported by girls and young

women as well as they studied how girls and women respond to such experience. This study is quite similar to what I decided to study. Here they said that the main means of transport in Kathmandu are large public buses and tempos. The new responsibility for work or opportunities for study requires women to be more mobile and to access public transport alone. As all of them do not have their own private vehicle, the easiest means to travel are public vehicles. Using mixed method approach, they have conducted a research in order to explore the extensiveness of the problem of sexual harassment in Nepal in public spaces and to explore the consequences both psychological and legal of such victimization. Survey data were collected from 238 college-age women to explore the frequency, type and seriousness of sexual harassment and assault. Interviews with 35 women were done to find out the reaction. While researching, they give choices to the respondent for individual interview, paired interview or focus group. 11 individual interviews, 6 paired and 6 focus group discussions were done. The result suggests that, out of 238 women, 4.6% i.e. 11 women do not use public transport as they own scooters. Out of remaining 227 women, only seven i.e. 3% said that they do not experience harassment. This indicates that, according to their result, the remaining 97% of women using public transport experienced harassment at least one or more times. When they ask their respondent about why they became victimized almost half of the respondent i.e. 46.29% (81 women) blames the male-dominated society, male superiority as the root cause of harassment. 41.7% i.e. 73 women considered women's weakness as the cause of harassment. They believed women were physically weaker than men and unable to take action against such behaviour. 6.86% i.e. 12 respondent blames women's sexy outfit as the cause of harassment in public transport, 12.57% i.e. 22 women blame for no rules against such misbehavior and 17.14% i.e. 30 women replied that for getting sexual pleasure men harass women in public transport. The data from their study suggest that male perpetrators use public transport as a space to exercise their power and reproduce social inequalities in the form of sexual harassment and women's responses are feeling of fear, emotional distress and disempowerment. It also limits women's freedom and mobility and prevents them from appearing alone in public spaces.

I found the results from this study are different from other studies. While in other research articles, they mentioned the crowded public vehicles as a reason for

sexual harassment in public transport. But in this study by Neupane and Lind, no one respondent blames crowded public vehicle as the reason for sexual harassment. Isn't it strange? & their result suggest that 97% of women using public vehicle have to encounter with sexual harassment. The result shows the vulnerable condition of women passengers in public transport.

Jana Korn (2018), collected data by using a survey method from college-age women in Santiago, Chile. This study seeks to understand how the pervasive fear of sexual violence that women face while travelling affects both their travel habits and their urban life. This study examines sexual violence on the mass public transit systems in Santiago, Chile and develops an understanding of how the nature of transit system facilitates the prevalence of sexual violence in that city. The data is collected from 407 women of three of the largest universities in Santiago. She connected and collected data from the respondents by contacting them through the universities private facebook groups and electronic mailing lists. The experience of these 407 women provides an understanding of how one population of women might be affected by the threat of violence on cities public transportation system. Respondent's aged between 18 and 35. Out of 407, 72% i.e. 293 reported that they are being victimized while using public transportation. Out of it 45.1% reported that they suffer from sexual harassment 2 to 5 times, 14.3% reported that they suffer from harassment 5-8 times, 5.1% experienced violence 8-10 times in public transport whereas, 20.8% experienced harassment more than 10 times while travelling in public transport. About 90.4% of respondents had either been subject of violence while travelling in public transport in Chile. The responses demonstrate how violent and dangerous the public transportation space is for women not only in the case of Chile but all over the world. It suggests that the threat and prevalence of sexual violence on Santiago's public transportation restricts the mobility of women and perpetuates the system of exclusion. The travel decision of women depends upon whether she previously been the subject of violence or not in public transportation where 39% of women who had experienced violence earlier prioritized safety. The woman used to alter the way she travels after she met with an incident.

J. Harrison studies how the issue of sexual harassment on public transport is framed by South Asian Media where she presents the headlines and the main points of

the article published on different newspapers of different south asian countries in order to find out the condition of women traveller. Pakistan Today on 20-10-2011 published an article entitled, "Harassment on public transportation a daily ordeal for women " where, claims that about 92% of women prefer to travel in women-only public transport. Women were also harassed by the male drivers. Pakistani government planned for the gender-segregated public transport strategy but not implemented due to the financial restraints and current legislation for sexual harassment is ineffective. Srilanka News published a news titled, "70% sexual harassment in public transport" where says that there is the practical difficulties with imprisoning culprits for the maximum 5 years. The Women are reluctant to complain to the bus drivers and conductors and the police . The bus drivers and conductors cannot stop the problem alone. They don't want to go to court as it affects their daily income. So the police receive very few complaints. The Times of India on 20-04-2012 published an article in the title "Male passengers forcibly occupy women coaches in mainline electrical multiple unit trains' ' where men enter into the women-only compartments on trains to harass women and commit crime. Though, there are separate compartments for men and women due to the unavailability of space for men in the main compartments, they entered the women compartments. There is almost no monitoring by authorities as well as any warnings in the coaches. So, people recommend launching surprise checks and fines to men to stop this problem. In the similar topic, The Hindu, India published an article on 24-12-2011 in the title, "The other half - You too Mumbai?" where it makes a claim that, the separate compartments on Mumbai's local trains help to minimize the chances of sexual harassment and most cases of harassment is reported by women on buses because there is no separation of spaces. Parakhi Nepal on 08-12-2012 published an article entitled, "sexual harassment rampant in public transportation" where says that women were compelled to ignore the harassment as they have no other choices. The police have taken no initiative to prevent the problem which mostly happens when the vehicles are overcrowded and the issue of harassment has never been raised publicly before (Harrison, 2012). After the analysis of these articles published in different newspaper of South Asia, we came to know that, sexual harassment is much more common in South Asia. overcrowding of public transport, lack of laws and rules, lack of awareness etc are the main cause of the problem. Also the drivers and conductors can play the role of harasser and the protectors of women passengers.

Literatures- supporting crowded public vehicles as a platform for the harassers

I learn from other harassment related literature that the crowded public vehicles are the good platform for harassers to perform their evil act. So, I decided to review some literature related to crowding public vehicles as well.

Overcrowded public transport makes women vulnerable to harassment, Rajiv Bhaskar published an article in Hindustan Times in this title where he says that overcrowded public transport are identified as vulnerable spots for sexual assault and snatching to women. He says, in the peak hours the city buses as well as auto-rickshaws are over-crowded. Auto-rickshaw drivers accommodate about eight to ten passengers to earn more. Mentioning the name of a lecturer, he quotes his saying here. The lecturer says, in auto rickshaw, some people use abusive language while talking on the phone which is quite embarrassing for women. There is also a threat for physical assault. He also quotes a student saying here who says that during peak hour, even the reserved seats for women were used by men and if you ask any male person to vacate the reserved seat, either he doesn't reciprocate or starts misbehaving, Even conductors remain mute spectators in such a situation. Police also revealed that the police control room receives a number of complaints of harassment in the public vehicles but in a number of cases, either women don't lodge a written complaint or compromise is reached (Bhaskar, 2013).

My views on these literature as a whole and my standpoint

When i search the literatures related to sexual harassment , i found much of the literature related to this topic is work place harassment. There are very few literatures related to my topic. Much of the studies in this subject are done by NGO's and INGO's. There is very little academic research. According to the UN Women data of 2019, 80% of Nepalese women who used to travel in public vehicles reported that they were sexually harassed. The Mishra and Lamichhane's report shows that 67.1% of medical science students who used to travel in public vehicles suffered from physical harassment. While talking about their reaction, 44.6% replied that they scold the harasser whereas 29.1% remained silent and 17.3% dropped at the nearest station. This research is conducted in 2018. Nepal Police launched an anti-harassment campaign for protecting women on public transportation which started from August 2

2017 and lasts for 3 months. Under this program, Nepal Police launches awareness campaigns, publicity, sting operation and legal action. But no one respondent of Mishra and Lamichhane talk about taking legal action, neither the researchers nor the respondent talk about safety-pin campaign. Here we can raise a question, is this campaign really effective? Although, police claims that 421 people were arrested for harassing women. The study of Gita Neupane and Meda Lind shows that only 3% of women who used public transport says they don't experience sexual harassment. It indicates that 97% of women experience sexual harassment in public transportation. It is the result of a survey which was held in 2013. And the report of UN women shows that about 80% of women who used to travel in public transport experience sexual harassment in public transportation. Combining these results, it shows that the cases of sexual harassment is decreasing. But 80% is so high. We can say that Nepalese transport is not safe for women travellers. The report by Korn on 2018 shows that 72% women traveller suffers from sexual harassment in Chile where 20.8% respondent replied that they experience sexual harassment more than 10 times in public vehicle. Likewise, Oxfam International srilanka's report of 2017 shows that 90% of srilankan women and girls experience sexual harassment in Trains and Buses. And the shocking truth is that women and girls were blamed for that situation, when someone tries to speak up, they were scolded for creating a scene.

From these studies we came to know that women were sexually harassed on public transportation but maximum victims do not speak up. For what reason? It is not much studied. Which factors determine the behaviour of male and female passengers? It is not clear. So, we need to study whether the situation of the female passenger is that worst shown by the previous literature from different parts of the world. What factors and who is responsible for those actions? Is it only the fault of male or society, societal values, transportation system, law etc also play some role for the harassment against women on public transportation? We need to be clear about these issues too.

2.2) Theoretical Review

There are various theories which talk about women's issues. Like feminist theories, intersectionality, organizational theories, sex-role spill over theory, Natural-Biological theory, marxist-feminism, social-cognitive theories, psychological theories

etc. As my research topic is related to the sexual harassment, I can apply these all theories while studying my subject matter.

Feminist theory believes that sexual harassment is the logical consequence of the gender inequality and sexism that already exists in the society. This theory believes that sexual harassment occurs because of the sexist male ideology of male dominance and male superiority. (Mackinnon & deSouza 2000). Men and women are socialized differently where both sexes have different gender roles, expectations. Men and women are socialized in such a manner that the stereotyped interaction occurs and are expected to occur; men are expected to be aggressive and dominant whereas females are expected to be passive and accepting. Therefore, according to feminist theory, men believed that their behaviours were justified and women blames themselves for being victimized. (Vaux, 1993). Mackinnon first wrote on the topic of sexual harassment. Catherine MacKinnon published a book entitled, "Sexual harassment of working women: A case of sex discrimination". She argues that pornography is a civil rights violation and that sexual harassment in education and employment constitutes sex discrimination. She defines sexual harassment as, 'the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of the relationship of unequal power.'

Sexual harassment can also be studied by applying intersectionality. Intersectionality is a term coined by Kimberle Crenshaw, an American feminist, where she relates the oppression of black women as the oppression of being a woman as well as being black. So, by using intersectionality we can relate the structures of harassment with the social background of the harasser, their mentality, particular age groups being more victimized and we can also relate it with the economic condition of the men and women, as the travellers of public vehicles are mostly those who can't afford their own vehicle.

Organizational theory explained sexual harassment by a wide-variety of organizational related issues including power and status inequalities within the organization, which increase the likelihood of sexual harassment occurring. (Gruber 1992)

Although there are various theories that can be applied to study the sexual harassment against women in public transport, I like to apply three theories. They are i) Marxist feminism, ii) symbolic interactionism and iii) agency-structure. I think these theories are perfect for my topic to capture the understanding of women regarding sexual harassment and the action against the harassment as our society expects women to be more submissive, shy, passive and accepting which influenced the male sexist and dominant ideology. So, to study the sexual harassment against women on public transport, I would like to apply the Marxist-feminist theory, symbolic interactionism and the agency-structure theory.

Symbolic interactionism is a micro-level theory that focuses on the relationships among individuals within a society. It explains the social behaviour in terms of how people interact with each other via symbols. Under this theory, people interpret each other's behaviour by addressing the subjective meanings that people impose on objects, events and behaviours. George Herbert Mead introduced this perspective to American sociology in 1920. George Herbert Mead argued that people's selves are the social products but these selves are purposive and creative. People develop self-images through interaction with others. Or we can say that, self is the production of social interaction and experience. Likewise, CH Cooley is one of the founders of symbolic interactionist theory in sociology. He gives a concept of '**The looking glass self**' where he describes the three phases of development of self. They are

We imagine how we present ourselves to others

We imagine how other people evaluate us

We develop some sort of feeling about ourselves based upon our perception of what we think others have of us.

Likewise, Judith Butler's concept of '**Gender as Performativity**' is another influential analysis in symbolic interactionism. Butler in this concept, says that, performativity of gender is a stylized repetition of acts, an imitation or miming of the dominant conventions of gender. He argued that gender is socially constructed through commonplace speech acts and nonverbal communication that are performative, in that they serve to define and maintain identities. So, in this paper I use symbolic-interactionist theory to find out how certain symbols contain sexual

meaning or how those symbols are used to harass girls and women. As this theory talks about the development of self depending on our imagination on How other people evaluate us. I link this same concept to a girl's reaction against the culprit who harasses them.

Marxist feminism is a variant of feminism which talks about the relationship between patriarchy and capitalist mode of production. It focuses on the social relations of production which is unfair. It also analyzes the ways in which women are exploited through capitalism and the individual ownership of private property. As society transforms from hunting and gathering to slave society, the division of labour begins. Women become busy taking care of their baby and doing the household tasks whereas men actively participate in the production process. As a result means of production is automatically captured by male and female becomes the unpaid and unrecognized worker, as the household work is not defined as work. But as a result of two world wars and influenced by the capitalist economy and modern education system, women started to come outside and start to work as a paid worker. It makes women empowered and independent. Along with it, they suffer from different types of harassment. We can find various studies related to workplace harassment, harassment that happens to school, colleges and university students etc. in the case of Nepal too, Nepalese women become more mobile these days. They frequently travel for their education, work and many other purposes. And for those who can't afford private vehicles, for them public vehicles are the right choices. So, we can say that the public vehicle users were from the same class. So, i have decided to use marxist-feminist theory to study my subject.

Another theory I am using for this study is Agency-structure. Agency is the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices. Whereas, structure is the recurrent patterned arrangements which influence or limit the choices and opportunities. Anthony Giddens talks about the structuration theory where he argues that individuals' autonomy is influenced by structure and structures are also maintained and adopted through the exercise of agency. Our society is patriarchal in nature. So, to study the sexual harassment against women on public transportation, i have to see the patriarchal structure of Nepalese society which determines both men's and women's action and reaction related to this topic.

Considering patriarchy, education, age and the transport system as a structure that shapes the harassment pattern, action and reaction, researcher analyse the data.

2.3) Conceptual Framework

Socio-cultural variables play a crucial role for molding human's behaviour in society. Society teaches men to be more active, confident and defines men as a superior one whereas women are submissive, passive and inferior. So, the socio-cultural variables are the major variables. After reading various literature of the similar topics, i came to know that sexual harassment depends upon the patriarchal concept of male superiority and due to the lack of women empowerment. To go to the office and workplace, to go to schools and colleges women use public transport. If they can afford their own vehicle, they donot have to suffer from sexual harassment at least while travelling. So, low income of women and their family also helps in creating the problem of sexual harassment. Sex is stereotyped in the society. Lack of sex education and lack of laws related to sexual harassment on public transport are also the important variables of sexual harassment. While sexual harassment is the dependent variables, other variables which i mentioned above are the independent variables which plays the role in creating the sexual harassment to women in public transport. These all variables perpetuates each other and creates the situation of sexual harassment.

From the literature review, Researcher came to know that most of the literature in my topic mainly focuses on the number of sufferers of sexual harassment while travelling in public vehicles. Some literature also talks about the girls thinking about sexual harassment in public transport., some talks about the safety pin campaign. As like the data from srilanka on sexual harassment, same cases can be found in Nepal. In informal talks to the women and girls, they says that they suffers from sexual harassment, afraid and tried to escape. It means they react silently. The researcher know this from informal talk. And this issue of remaining silent is neglected by the researcher who research in this topic in Nepal. So, the social-cultural factors of remaining silent is the research gap.

CHAPTER- 3

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1) Rationale of the selection of the study area

Since the subject of this research is related to females who used to travel in public vehicles on a daily basis. So, for this the researcher choose the RNAC bus stand and Ratnapark bus stand because the research topic is about the sexual harassment that happens in public transport. This study needs the respondents who used to travel in public vehicles daily. So, To study this subject matter if a researcher chooses the people from particular areas it may not be beneficial. By recognizing it, I chose the bus-stand around as a study area where I can find the respondents and can collect the empirical data.

3.2) Methodology and Research Design

Every study has a research design which sets the logical and systematic planning as well as direction of the study. According to the nature of study different types of research designs are used. (Young 1988, kothari 1988). My research objectives includes the understanding of women related to sexual harassment, it includes the lived experience of harassment faced by them so, my data will be of qualitative types. A qualitative data i got from the open-ended questionnaire and case study will be good for understanding the the context of sexual harassment. So, for this I will directly collect the original data through case study and semi-structured interviews. This is an exploratory type of research as it aims to understand the understanding of sexual harassment, lived experience of harassment and their reaction against it. So, this study uses qualitative content analysis to answer the research questions. Qualitative content analysis is considered as the most relevant approach in qualitative analysis of documents as it comprises understanding the underlying ideas and themes in the materials being analyzed. (Bryman,2004; 392). So, to get answers to the research questions, qualitative content analysis will be adopted as an appropriate approach.

Researcher have used the Descriptive Research design for my research to find out all the aspects of sexual harassment against women on public transportation. As

we know that, the research in this topic is not much more studied in Nepal, though it is a major problem faced by the women public vehicle users. This research use the descriptive research design to give the insight view of women about sexual harassment, to describe their understanding and suffering of sexual harassment during their travel in public transport., to describe the socio-cultural factors that insist women's reaction when they suffers from sexual harassment. To meet the objectives of this research, the researcher will adopt the descriptive research design and qualitative data analyses.

3.3) Nature and sources of Data

The nature of the data of this subject matter is of qualitative types and it will be collected from both primary and secondary sources. So, qualitative research is done in order to obtain the data of sexual harassment to women in public transport. Qualitative research has been described as a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live (Holloway,1997). The primary data will be collected from the observation, structured interview and questionnaire method. Where as the secondary data will be collected from published articles, journals, online and other documents like filed cases of sexual harassment etc.

3.4) sampling procedure

3.4.1) Sampling Universe

The Bus-stop around Ratnapark is the universe of this research. The Ratnapark bus stop, RNAC bus stop, Bhrikutimandap bus stop and Bhaktapur bus stop are the Universe, from where i choose the respondents by using simple random probability sampling methods and do my interview. For case study, Researcher chooses a respondent from my personal contact who always travels from Nepaltar to RNAC by public transportation and after that through snowball sampling method researcher choose other respondents and collect data. Total 35 respondents were selected for this study.

3.4.2) sampling method

Researcher has used the probability, purposive and snowball sampling methods to find out the respondents and collect the data. Simple random sampling is used for semi-structured interviews as it is the easiest method of sampling and it is also adopted in order to minimize the bias of the researcher. Purposive and snowball sampling are used to find out the indepth live experience of harassment and to ensure the reliability of the collected data. Since, i am also a girl travelling in public transportation, i have had heard more cases of sexual harassment from the suffered girls themselves during informal talk. So, researcher used these sampling methods because this researcher doesn't want to choose respondents by herself only through her personal contacts.

3.4.3) Selection of Sample

Thus, from the universe of the women, who were waiting for the bus in the bus-stop, I selected 30 respondents aged between 20-45 . I chose 30 respondents for a semi-structured interview by using a simple random sampling method. Each day I interviewed with two women using public transport. I have done case study of 5 women who used to travel in public transportation and had experienced physical harassment more than two times. As harassment is that issue where the subject of victims have faced the troublesome situation. It is the most sensitive issue.so, the researcher chooses one respondent from her personal contact and recruits other respondents from them & does a case study.

3.5) Techniques of Data Collection

There are various methods of collecting data. Among them the researcher choose :

- i) Semi-structured interview.
- ii) Case-study

The major tools of data collection for this research are semi-structured interview and case study.

Semi-structured Interview

A semi structured interview is done to 30 respondents and collect the data. For this researcher each day go to the bus stops around Ratnapark using simple random sampling randomly selects 2 women/girls each day and distributes them a questionnaire containing open-ended questions. An open-ended questionnaire is the set of questions which allows someone to give a free form of answers. Researcher choose this type of questionnaire method so that women can share their understanding, experience of sexual harassment in their own words without restrictions. Thus, the researcher randomly selects 2 persons a day, gives them a questionnaire and collects the data.

Case Study

The case study is a common qualitative method which allows for the use of multiple methods and reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon in question. Yin defines case studies as, 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident'. The researcher will also use the case study method to collect the in depth live experience of girl who were harassed while using public transport multiple times. understanding of the harassment of women on public transport. the Researcher can also use the personal contact and snow-ball sampling method for case study. 5 respondents were chosen purposively in order to listen their lived experience of sexual harassment in public transportation who were victimized more than two times. Life-history, in-depth interview were done in order to know their experience of sexual harassment, their reaction against it and the consequences resulted from that type of harassment. The first case study was of a girl who is a student & who has faced physical harassment multiple times inside a public vehicle from an unknown person. The second case study is of a civil servant & a student who was verbally & symbolically harassed multiple times inside the bus, in bus-stops while waiting for the bus and on the road-side as well. She was physically harassed two times. The third case study is of a house-wife of 45 who shared her experience of sexual harassment 15 & 20 years back. The fourth case study is also of a student & a part-time job holder, who was harassed by her male colleague while returning back to her room from work in the

evening, & being afraid from his habit, she left her work. The fifth case study is of a teacher, who is symbolically harassed by the regular traveller who always approach her for sex, she also shared her other experience of physical harassment.

3.6) Reliability And Validity Of The Data

The collected data is reliable because the researcher myself visited the research area, conducted an interview and collected the data. As well as, i choose the cases for case study by using purposive and snowball sampling to find out the depth of sexual harassment. To find out the objectives of this thesis paper I myself visited the study area and collected the primary data. As well as, secondary data were collected from the newspaper articles, different reports of NGO/INGO. So, the data in this thesis are reliable and valid. I am sure. This study is qualitative in nature, so researcher have tried to cross-check the data with various methods of triangulation and cross-questioning.

3.7) Constraints in Data Collection

Despite being a girl using public transport for travel, researcher have encountered various problems while collecting the data. The most difficult situation researcher have faced is to make girls concerned about this neglected issue. Although they suffered from sexual harassment, they were not ready to share their experience of harassment with a researcher. To build trust among women so as to make them ready for an interview is most challenging.

CHAPTER - 4

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

4.1) Categorization of the Data

Researcher had finished her field work by the end of December 2019. The data obtained from field visits were disorganized and haphazard. As harassment is the sensitive issue and researcher have conducted a semi-structured interview, women/ girls shared their experience of sexual harassment not only happens to them in public transportation but also in their home, school and workplace. As topic is sexual harassment against women on public transportation, those data were unnecessary for the researcher. So, at first the researcher cut the unnecessary data. The results from case studies and semi-structured interviews both were of qualitative type. Then categorized the data based on the type of harassment i.e. physical harassment, verbal harassment and symbolic harassment.

4.2) Coding the Data

After categorization of the data, researcher have coded the data according to their types i.e. physical harassment, verbal harassment and symbolic harassment. Most of the obtained data is already coded. As all obtained data are of qualitative types, it is easy for me to code the data. I go for manual coding where I use deductive methods by starting with a predefined type of harassment and I also go for inductive coding as I do not have predefined responses of girls against such harassment. Coding helps us to make interpretation easier as this helps us to define the data according to their types and to show the relationship between the data.

4.3) Interpretation of the Data

The most difficult part of the research was the interpretation of the data and it is most exciting too. As my research is of qualitative type, I have to interpret them in words. What my research data shows regarding sexual harassment on public transportation and what other literatures shows, I have to make a connection between them. It is so difficult as not much study is done in this subject. Only, one academic research is done earlier by Gita neupane in 2009 and her data shows that 97% of women using public transportation suffered from sexual harassment at least once in their lifetime. After ten years of her academic study, I work on this topic. So, I have to

show the condition of harassment on public transportation linking the two different phases of time. While interpreting the data I showed the relationship between the cases. Where they agreed and where there was a difference. Harassment is the person's personal feeling, I interpret the similar type of feeling by combining them with the opposite type of feeling.

4.4) Maintenance of the Privacy of the respondents

Nepalese society is still conservative regarding sex, we all knew that. After Nirmala's rape & murder, girls were afraid of talking about sexual harassment even though they suffered. & the harassment in public transportation is neglected as both the harasser and harassed were travelling mostly short distance. It's the saddest part that harassers can't hesitate to harass anyone in a crowded vehicle, but those who were harassed feel shy, become afraid and hesitate to raise their voice and take action against those people.

Conducting research on sexual harassment is itself a tough subject as many girls don't want to tell anything formally to the researcher when they knew that she is a researcher who is working in this topic. Informally, when I started to talk to them in public buses, they shared their experience. When I introduce myself as a researcher, they give best wishes to me but when I ask them to give an interview, many hesitate. They feel embarrassed and shy. It was too difficult to make them understand about the importance of this research and to make them share their feeling regarding sexual harassment. So, all my respondents were ensured about the maintenance of their privacy. All the names presented in the research paper are fake.

4.5) Process Of Data Analysis

The collected data were presented in systematic and scientific ways. However, the presentation of data is determined by its nature. The data obtained from my research questions is of qualitative types. So, the qualitative data are analysed in words. At first, the researcher will reduce the data. The unnecessary data will be removed. Then, present it in a systematic way to strengthen the arguments and analyse them in a logical way. And at last the researcher will draw conclusions based on obtained data. I used the content and narrative analysis to analyse the data obtained from interview and case study.

CHAPTER-5

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AREA AND SOCIAL-STATUS OF THE RESPONDENTS

5.1) study Area

The study area researcher chose for study is the bus/tempo stops around Ratnapark. RNAC bus-stop, Ratnapark bus-stop, Bhrikutimandap bus-stop and Bhaktapur bus-stop (Bagbazar) are the study areas. These bus-stops are in the center of Kathmandu valley. Kathmandu is the capital city of Nepal lies in Province No. 3. This district is famous as it is the capital city, only one international airport lies here, it has many historical monuments, temples, museums etc, so it is the tourist attraction place of Nepal.

Kathmandu has an area of 433.6 square kilometer, it is the most populated city of Nepal with a population of around 2.5 million. The population density is so high as people migrate from different parts of Nepal to the capital city either for permanent or for temporary settlement. To search for a better life, for getting education or for job opportunities, people come here. & much research shows that the middle class is enlarging in kathmandu. People's mobility, especially women's mobility is increasing in Kathmandu along with its rapid urbanization. Girls are getting more opportunities for education and employment here. As most people can't afford private vehicles, public vehicles are the major means of transport in Kathmandu. The main means of transport in Kathmandu are large public buses, micros and tempos. For grabbing different opportunities, girls travel frequently. The challenges women have to face in the form of sexual harassment is not unique in the case of Nepal and it also appears in public transportation. The growing trend of women coming out of their homes for a more mobile life has presented problems of sexual harassment and assault in public places on a global scale. (chokalingam and Vijaya 2008; Schultz 1988; welsh 1999).

Being a middle class student, I have always traveled in public buses from home to college and from college to home twice a day and had to change two buses. I catch a bus from my home to RNAC and from there I catch a micro for kirtipur. & i suffer from sexual harassment multiple times. So, I have decided to choose the bus-stop around Ratnapark for my study.

5.2) Reason to choose this area as a research field

Ratnapark is a park which is situated between Ranipokhari and Tundikhel. Infront of Ratnapark gate there is a bus-stop from where we can get the vehicle of Jorpati, Narayantar, Thali, sankhu as well as we can get micros for satdobato, Lagankhel, Maitighar, Patan, Jawalakhel . Bhaktapur Bus stop is in Bagbazar where we can get vehicles for Bhaktapur. From RNAC bus stop we can get vehicles for Kalopul, Ratopul, Nepaltar, Swayambhu, Raniban, Paiyatar, Tokha, Samakhusi, Gongabu, Baneshwor, Gyaneshwor, Maitidevi etc. They are my study area. I choose this area because my topic is about sexual harassment that happens to women on public transportation. So, it's easy to get respondents in these places and can cover the Kathmandu valley as we can get the local buses to every place of Kathmandu from these bus-stops.

5.3) Age of the respondents

Age in years	No. of interviewee	No of respondents
16-20	7	1
21-25	15	3
26-30	8	1

The focused group of research subjects are the girls aged between 15 to 30 and who is the regular user of public transportation. Researcher randomly select the girls for semi structured interview, talk to them and request them to give their views and share their experience of sexual harassment while travelling in public transportation. There are seven respondents in the age group 16-20, two respondents are 18 years, one is Nineteen years old and another four are 20 years old. The maximum respondents comes under the age group 21-25 where there are 15 respondents of semi structured interview and 4 respondents for case study. In the age group 25-30 there are 8 respondents of interview and 1 respondent of case study.

5.4) Occupation of the respondents

Out of 30 respondents of the interview, 12 respondents are students. They use public vehicles regularly in order to reach college from home or for their study, they use public vehicles regularly. 16 respondents whom I interviewed are the jobable girls and some of them are students as well. Only 2 respondents say that they are neither a student nor a jobholder. They are housewives. The student studies at various levels.

Likewise the jobholders are from various fields. Some are teachers, some are translators, some are media persons and some are researchers.

5.5) Area respondents belong

As this study is based on Kathmandu valley only, but, here many people from different parts of the country come and settle here temporarily or permanently. So, I don't ask my respondents where they permanently belong to. So, my research covers the respondents living in three districts of Kathmandu valley i.e. Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. Although I take interview here, some respondents shared their experience of sexual harassment while travelling outside the valley. The four respondents of case study are from outside the valley and 1 is from Lalitpur.

5.6) Economic Profile Of the Respondents

All the respondents who are interviewed and case-studied are from the middle class whether it is upper middle class or lower middle class. When I ask them why they don't buy their own vehicles. Private vehicles indicate the scooter for all of them. Mainly students replied that they can't afford the private vehicle i.e. scooter. When I asked the same question to the job-holder girl, many of them replied that they have no license and without a license they can't drive a scooter. Only one respondent says that, she has a scooter as well as a license but she got into an accident 3 months ago and by the fear from that accident she used to travel in a public vehicle these days. This suggests that mainly the lower class and middle class people used to travel in public vehicles for different purposes and my respondents all belong to the middle class family.

5.7) Caste and Religion of the respondents.

Although I don't choose respondents according to caste and religion, I got respondents belonging to different social groups. Out of 20 respondents of the interview, 16 said that their religion is Hinduism, 2 respondents are Kiratis and 1 respondent is Newar Buddhist. All the respondents of case study are Hindu. Majority of respondents belong to the high Hindu caste- Brahmin, Chhetri. 19 respondents belong to this caste. 7 respondents are Newars, 2 are Kiratis and 1 respondent is Magar and 1 respondent is Pariyar. Among 5 respondents of case study, 3 belong to high Hindu caste, 1 belongs to low Hindu caste and 1 belongs to Newar.

CHAPTER- 6

SEXUAL HARASSMENT - MEANT TO ME

(Intentional speech, look and touch on anyone which makes them feel insecure physically and mentally is sexual harassment.)

I named this chapter *sexual harassment-meant to me* because i want to discover what girls understand when they heard this word “sexual harassment”. So, sexual harassment- meant to me , this chapter is about the understanding of this research respondent’s about sexual harassment. So, this chapter reflects the understanding of evry single girls understanding about sexual harassment. So, researcher give this heading to this chapter.

Sexual harassment is a form of gender-based violence. Although some boys and people from LGBT community also suffer from this type of harassment, in the case of Nepal, girls are in a vulnerable position. They suffer from different types of harassment on a daily basis and abuse against women on public transportation is a type of abuse girls have to suffer from. Although most of the girls and women traveller suffers from sexual harassment, it is not much raised issue. Till now it is hidden,as most of the victims remain silent, as no studies are done on this topic, as sexual harassment is a personal feeling, as girls donot have enough knowledge about being harassed, as there is less knowledge about types of harassment etc. This chapter tries to find out the understanding of harassment.

6.1) Introduction

Sexual harassment against girls on public transportation is a everyday happening of our society and it is the most neglected issue too. As we have a severe condition of harassment like rape, acid-attack, domestic violence, alive-burnt, murder etc. The government, police, and media were busy solving these problems. Despite their efforts these types of inhuman acts can’t be controlled and many cases are dismissed and un-resolved. People were busy talking about these breath-taking inhuman acts and I chose the mostly happening and neglected issue of harassment against girls.

We know that our society is male dominated. A man can't hesitate to grab a girl's breast on a crowded vehicle whereas, a girl who is a victim has to shut her mouth, have to bear her pain so that the other traveller can't raise questions on her character, on her dress and makeup. Studying this topic is itself a challenging work. This chapter tries to uncover the understanding of girls about sexual harassment, whether they take verbal harassment and symbolic harassment as sexual harassment or not.

From the answers of 30 respondents of interview, their understanding of sexual harassment is quite similar. For them, sexual harassment is the inhuman, unlawful, offensive act which can destroy someone's freedom to live freely and to enjoy their rights of freedom given to every individual by the constitution of the country.

6.1.1) Sexual harassment is an offensive and inhumane act

When I ask respondents about their understanding of sexual harassment they replied it, as an offensive act. It is an offensive act performed by male traveller to the female traveller while travelling. How is it an offensive act? It is offensive because touching one's body part without that person's will is an offense. This type of act can create fear, depression and many other types of mental problems. Leading someone forcibly to such types of fear and mental illness is an offense. Touching, staring, grabbing etc is the physical molestation. So, it is an offense. Sexual harassment is an offensive act. All people get equal rights from nature but society is forced to think women as inferior and men as superior. Everybody has the right to live free and to enjoy the freedom as given by law and society. The harassers are so cruel that they disobey the law as well as custom of the society and harassed the women. These types of acts can't be tolerated. These types of acts raise question marks on humanity and ruin it.

6.1.2) Act that took women as objects

Some of the respondents replied sexual harassment as an act performed by men over women thinking them as an object. Objects to which they can do whatever they want, objects that have no feelings, no sounds and that can't respond. They believe that patriarchal society treats women as an object. Object of beauty, object of

pleasure. For getting pleasure they can play with the beautiful objects. Sexual harassment is that act of objectification of women where men can get sexual benefits and pleasure from the women whom they knew and also whom they don't know.

6.1.3) Unwelcome sexual behaviour & Forceful act against women

Sexual harassment is an unwelcome sexual behaviour & forceful act against women where men having more power, status, resources etc forced women to engage in sexual activities either of or not with their consent. In the case of sexual harassment against girls on public transportation, the more aged men than girls harassed them by touching, rubbing, grabbing their body parts, showing their own body parts, making symbols having vulgar meaning, sending porns, showing pictures, cracking jokes etc. these all activities are done forcibly to the inferior ones by the superior. I.e. by male to female.

6.1.4) Behaviours that make someone discomfort

Sexual harassment is that behaviour which makes someone uncomfortable physically and mentally. When someone touches, pushes, grabs someone that makes them physically and mentally uncomfortable whereas making jokes, signs and symbols, talking using nonsense words that harms the people's mental condition, which is sexual harassment. The unwanted thing always makes people feel discomfort. And sexual harassment is that unwanted action which can't be tolerable, which can't be comfortable.

6.2) Verbal and Symbolic harassment and its acceptance

When researcher asked about what is sexual harassment to the respondents their concentration was mainly towards the physical harassment like touching, grabbing, rubbing, pushing, hitting etc. only few respondents were aware about verbal and symbolic harassment and they took using dirty words while talking in front of girls, cracking adult jokes, making symbols related to sex, cat-calling etc as a sexual harassment. And very few defined these type of action as a sexual harassment when i ask them about their understanding of sexual harassment. Many of them concentrated on the physical harassment that used to happen with girls. But when they reach to the question number three where i submit the questions related to the type of harassment

with some examples they accept those acts as a sexual harassment and out of 20 respondents of interview, 19 suffers from these type of harassment. I.e. verbal and symbolic harassment. Only 1 respondent replied that she doesn't suffer from any types of harassment till now.

It suggests that when we talk about sexual harassment the main concentration of the group of victims goes to the physical harassment they had suffered from. While I try to talk to girls regarding my subject matter, they ignore my request saying that they haven't bear such type of action while using public transport. This is because of their understanding of sexual harassment as only physical. The acts, language and symbols which is related to sex and which makes them discomfort is sexual harassment. Although the image of physical abuse comes in mind first, they takes verbal and symbolic harassment as sexual harassment because it cause embarrassment, fear, torture, discomfortness. So, these are also a sexual harassment. The sad part is that many of us ignore this type of harassment.

CHAPTER-7

LIVED EXPERIENCES OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

(I was harassed by a conductor. That asshole comes to collect fare, stand behind me and start rubbing his genitals between my ass. That incident is still stuck in my head. - a respondent of interview)

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the experience of sexual harassment that women suffered from on a daily basis while travelling in a public transport. Here, i will share the women's experience of sexual harassment, their response against it and how the response against such action is shaped by the nature of transport, society, social support, understanding of girls, their age and how they normalize the sexual harassment basically verbal and symbolic harassment on a daily basis. The impact of capitalism on patriarchal Nepali society and objectification of women through verbal and symbolic form of sexual harassment is also discussed in this section.

7.1) what do i face physically?- Do you want to know? (Respondents shared experiences)

Maximum girls who used to travel in public transportation had to encounter physical harassment. What they experience. Let them speak for themselves.

Respondent 1)

When I was 12 years old and grade 6th student, i suffered from sexual harassment. That day, a madhesi boy grabbed my small breast so hard that I bear pain for a week. This is the first and last experience of physical harassment till now.

Respondent 2)

When I was returning back to my home from college with my friends in a micro bus which was crowded, that day, a conductor harassed me. He comes to collect a bus fare, stands beside me and rubs his penis between my ass.

Respondent 3)

People come so close that I can listen to their heart-beat, this used to happen many times. I also suffer from physical harassment like, pulling my hair, touching my organs, stuck on my body, whispering in my ear etc.

Respondent 4)

During the late and early teenage years, several times I was attacked with this incidence. Once I was sitting and a man who was standing rests his erect penis on my shoulder.

Another time, a middle aged man touched my breasts. Whenever someone touches me with bad intentions, I find them aged between 35 above.

Respondent 5)

I have not much experience of sexual harassment on public transportation. I had experienced it only one time. That day one person touched my boobs.

Respondent 6)

In my opinion every girl using public transport face some kind of sexual abuse. My experience of sexual harassment on public transport is worst. I experience physical harassment like

Putting hands on my thighs

Touching and trying to rub my organs

Showing, touching, rubbing their own body parts in front of me etc.

I have encountered this type of problem multiple times. And also I have seen such types of activities done to other women many times.

Respondent 7)

He touched my private organ that day.

Respondent 8)

As a regular traveller of public transportation, I have faced different types of harassment in different times.

Once a man standing beside me touches my arm slowly, he rub his fingers slowly there, when i stare at him, he acts like he doesn't know anything

Another time a man brings his leg and touches mine

Another time a man hits my breast with his elbows, it cause so much pain

Staring at my chest and thighs are common

Respondent 9)

I suffers from minor type of sexual harassment many times. Minor means like staring, trying to come closer, smiling, looking at me etc. but I remember one incident happened to me when I was going to Baneshwor from Ratnapark. A man came, my thigh was pressed by his sitting. He also hits my breast with his elbow. It was such a shit day ever.

Respondent 10)

I found men trying to get sexual benefits by touching my body parts intentionally. Touching private organs, especially breasts.

Respondent 11)

I had suffered from harassment multiple times.

Once, when i was travelling in a microbus, a man sitting with me, put his legs on mine in an inappropriate way. I threw his leg but he smiled at me.

When I was a teenage girl, a man grabbed my boobs on a crowded microbus.

The pain is so hard that tears come out from my eyes.

Respondent 12)

Last year, I was travelling from Kathmandu to Jhapa with my husband and mother in law. My husband left his seat for pregnant women and he stands going to the backside of the bus. An adult man who was standing by my side hit my boobs

with his hand and acted like he didn't do anything wrong. It was just a coincidence. He repeated the same action several times. His fingers sometimes run on my neck side too. I asked him not to do such activities but he disobeys. So, I changed my seat with my mother-in-law.

Respondent 13

A lot of time, i suffered from sexual harassment. As I have big ass and breast, men continuously stare at me and their greedy eyes on my breasts.

One day, when I enter the bus and try to go to the backside, a person hits my ass. I don't know who he is because of the crowd.

Another time a boy threw a chewing-gum wrapper, wrapping it, from the front side of the micro where I was sitting in a single seat.

Another time, an adult man touches my boobs

A person stuck himself with me from backside, i feel so discomfort

Respondent 14)

9 years ago, I had such an embarrassing moment. A man standing opposite me rubs his thighs over mine. At first I thought it was just because of the running vehicle, I noticed his immoral behaviour when the bus stops for passengers. I then ask him to stand properly and mind his behavior. He replied it was just an accident because he was pushed by the crowd. Although, my reaction scared him but was not enough to stop his act. He does the same activity again but my bus stop comes and I get off. Sometimes, when I get pushed, pulled, I notice people coming closer to me, trying to touch my body parts. But as the vehicle was crowded, I ignored such behavior.

Respondent 15

I suffer from physical harassment multiple times. Harassment like

Sitting by my side in such a way that makes me suffer and discomfort

Touching and trying to touch my body parts

Hit my organs with elbows

Respondent 16

In public transport, i found myself as a victim of sexual harassment several times. Sometimes people touch my genitals and sometimes they hit on my breast. One day while getting onto the bus, khalasi grabbed my breast . Also, one day a conductor,pinch on my stomach when getting down from the bus. Basically, I suffered from the bus staff.

Respondent 17

The bus was full. I was going back home from college. There are a number of college boys standing, laughing and sharing some dual meaning jokes. I feel so uncomfortable. Once, a mid-age man stuck on my body. I am a short heighted and slim girl, as you see, that man was taller and bigger than me, he stuck from the backside and left his lower body over mine. and i feel so bad because of his standing position.

Respondent 18

I was travelling in a night-bus. That day, every time when I was about to sleep, I found a head of the man sitting by my side on my shoulder and sometimes in my one breast. I ask him not to do so, but he ignores saying that he fell asleep and it was not intentional. I can't sleep for the whole night even, I can't sit well.

Respondent 19

Someone hits on my butt in a crowded micro.

Respondent 20

I saw a man sitting near to me, rubbing his penis from his pants. A man caught my boobs in a micro bus. I was sitting in the front seat of the micro, a man while getting off from the micro hits on my breast.

Respondent 21

I have a multiple abuse experience from catching my hands unnecessarily to putting their hands on my shoulder. Some man stuck on my and other girls body

thinking them as a hero of Titanic movie. Pulling my hair, hitting my private organs with elbows are common in the crowded vehicles. When I ask those people not to stick on my body, they say, in public vehicles this happens. Ride your own car, if you feel uncomfortable. We also can feel the intentional and unintentional acts year.

Respondent 22

I don't face physical harassment directly. But I saw some boys and girls doing bad things in the last seat. Also I saw some boys disturbing the unknown girls with their evil act.

Respondent 23

In the crowd of a micro bus, I found a man smooching me one time. Another time an adult man hits on my breast. Why does this always happen to me? My friend has not suffered from this type of accident.

Respondent 24

He rubs his private parts on my body.

Respondent 25

When I was in my mid-teen a person became closer to me. He stuck on my body and sometimes put his hand on my waist. I was so embarrassed. I was also harassed by my classmate on a bus. We used to go to college together. He puts his hand on my shoulder and it's common too. But one day, he moves down and catches my boobs. From that day, I never talked and went with him.

Respondent 26

I found someone's hand inside my crop-top. He was pulling me backside. I was so afraid that day.

Respondent 27

I sat on a small seat near to the driver's seat that day, because the bus was fully packed and I think it's better to sit on that small seat rather than standing. So I sat there. While driving, the driver's elbow touches my breast. It happens 3-4 times. So, I

pick my bag and cover my chest area. Another day, I shared this incident with regular passengers from our side. Other girls also share the same story of that bus driver. And said that, a girl quarreled with that bus driver in the same case.

Respondent 28

A conductor follows me always. Sometimes he whispers in my ear, sometimes he cracks some non-veg jokes. Once he touches my boobs. From that day on, I never got on his bus.

Respondent 29

In a crowded vehicle, I always feel harassed. As many people were there and sticking on someone's body is normal because of the crowd. I can feel someone's penins rubbing on my back. I can feel their heartbeat. It's a predictable happening in the crowd. Though I feel uncomfortable, I can't speak a word as there is a crowd and can't decide whether it's intentional or unintentional happening. It's so uneasy to travel in public bus because of crowd

Respondent 30

My breast is always on target in a crowded vehicle. I can't count how many times i have been attacked in a public vehicle.

7.2) Experience of verbal and symbolic harassment

(- I have faced a lot of verbal and symbolic harassment inside the bus as well as on the street. Basically using words like "auch, kya thulo thulo", "hello sexy" etc on the street. And the bus staff uses dirty language while talking, which makes the environment uncomfortable.)

Respondents whom I interviewed basically suffer from physical harassment while travelling on public transportation. Most of them say that although they suffer from all types of harassment , they takes symbolic and verbal action and speaking which makes them discomfort as sexual harassment, the most noticeable one is physical harassment that happens to them. About all of the respondents used to ignore such harassment. Mostly these two types of harassment are found to be done by the

staff of the bus. One respondent says that, since I was a regular traveller of a public vehicle for 10 years, in my earlier days, the staff while talking to themselves used such a rough word that we can't listen in front of other people specially with male passengers. But we ignore it, as it is used by the bus staff themselves. All passengers used to ignore them saying that drivers and khalasi don't have manners, they are uncivilized creatures. She further says, I was surprised, these days drivers and khalasii don't use such rough words, they speak like us and behave in a quite good manner. I am happy by their behaviour. Another respondent has also a similar type of verbal harassment experience 8-9 years back. She says, when i enter into a bus, a driver whom i knew usually teases me saying that, although the seats are packed, u can come and sit on my lap kanchhi and he laughed. I have developed the habit of ignoring his words. Many respondents say that they suffered from symbolic and verbal harassment more on bus-stops while waiting for the bus not inside the bus. Cat-calling is mostly common among boys and they used to ignore it as they suffered from such type of action on a daily basis. By interviewing with the respondents I came to know that, girls were more harassed physically inside the bus whereas, verbal and symbolic harassment takes place on streets while walking and on the bus stops while waiting for the bus.

7.3) Capitalist patriarchy, women employment and role of public transport

Eisenstein defines capitalist patriarchy as descriptive of the 'mutually reinforcing dialectical relationship between capitalist class structure and hierarchical sexual structuring. She says, In modern society capitalism uses patriarchy and patriarchy is defined by the needs of capital. With the development of capitalism, women started to come out of the home. And in capitalist society, women's class divisions are distinct. There are distinctions among i) working women outside the home, distinguishing professional from non-professional, 2) houseworkers, distinguishing housewives from wealthy women who do not work.3) women who are houseworkers(house wives) and also work outside the home, 4) welfare women and 5) unemployed women. (Eisenstein, 1978)

Among the above given categories of women, the middle class nepalese working women comes basically under 3 i.e. housewives as well as outside workers. Influenced by the capitalist economy Nepalese women are coming out of their house

and trying to replace their identity of housewives to the identity of the employed /jobholder women. And, for sustaining the capitalist economy, it needs more recruits and for this girls are getting more education. Society prepares girls as the capable recruits of the capitalist economy. For this they have to get modern education. Whether for getting education or for work or for other different purposes girls and women have to travel on a daily basis. As most of them belong to middle class families, most of them can't afford their own vehicle. Although these days, in Kathmandu and all over Nepal, scooty using population mainly girls has increased. So, the most affordable and easiest means of vehicle are public transport. We can say that public transport supports in building women empowerment through supporting them to reach their office and school colleges providing them service at an affordable rate. But with the increasing number of population travelling for different purposes, the vehicles become more crowded. And it gives space to those assholes who are seeking to get benefits from girls by harassing them. Capitalist economy which increases women's participation in different sectors, capitalist patriarchy which increases women's challenges related to work, travel where they have to face different types of harassment. And the unmanaged transportation system and crowded vehicles gives spaces to the harassers to harass women.

7.4) Normalization of sexual harassment, ignorance to the verbal & symbolic harassment

(I think girls using public transportation suffer from harassment at least once. If they don't face it by themselves, maybe they have seen the harassment with their bare eyes.It's so common in public vehicles. Don't you face and see the harassment while using public vehicles? - a respondent questions on researcher)

Yes, being a girl of 24, who used to travel in public vehicle on a daily basis, i had encountered several times with sexual harassment. Actually being sexually harassed multiple times in public transportation, I have decided to do my dissertation in this subject. Not only was it influenced by my own experience, I was also influenced by my friends' experience of harassment, especially the physical one, which they shared at our gatherings. I found it as a common problem of girls who used to travel on public transportation. So, I decided to work on this subject.

While talking to my respondents, i came to know that how women normalize the sexual harassment as a common happening on public transportation. Many of them, at first, can't realize whether the act of the person which makes them uncomfortable is actually sexual harassment or not. Out of 30 respondents, 26 says that they had suffered from all types of sexual harassment i.e. physical harassment, verbal harassment and symbolic harassment inside and outside the public transportation. And they also said that, they only share the physical harassment they suffered from while talking about harassment with their friends circle. Although they suffered from verbal and symbolic harassment they usually ignore that type of harassment.

A student of class 12, when i interviewed with her, she says - i am the luckiest one that i donot suffer from sexual harassment on public transportation. I was afraid when my friends talked about the harassment they suffer from. When I request her to share her friend's experience with me, what she talks about is physical harassment. When I talk about the symbolic and verbal types of harassment, she is surprised and says, yes I feel discomfort sometimes when men stare at me from opposite seats, when they use rough words although they talk to themselves. & it was common. Our respondents also said that they used to ignore the symbolic and verbal types of harassment but they remembered the physical harassment one. Why do they ignore this type of harassment? There are three reasons. One is they were not aware about verbal and symbolic harassment and second is they don't want to waste their time talking to those bad people. and third is, when they quarrel with those people who gave bad signs and use rough words to them, the other people standing by their side, walking on the street start blaming the girls saying that they must have to ignore such activities and walk on their own way. Although many girls said that they especially suffered from physical harassment on public transportation, they have experienced all types of harassment on bus-stops and they used to ignore it.

Girls in kathmandu were so accustomed about sexual harassment. When talking informally about physical abuse on public transportation, the women traveller also shared their experience of physical harassment. But when I introduced them as a researcher, many of them refused to give interviews saying that they don't want to share anything or they don't have time. Those girls who were ready to share their

experience were confused about what to say and what to share with me. So, to make them comfortable, I shared my story of harassment to them, what I do in that situation. After listening my stories of sexual harassment, they started to remember the incident of sexual harassment and telling it to me. They not only shared the experience of sexual harassment happens to them in public transportation but also they share the harassment they faced at home, at work or at other public places. They mentioned that they have experienced such unpleasant sexual abuse at least once in their lifetime. About 85% respondent replied that they suffer from sexual harassment while using public transportation and among them only one respondent says, she is being harassed verbally and symbolically only in public transportation. Other respondents. i.e. 80% of respondents suffered from different types of physical abuse inside the public vehicle.

How women take harassment on public transportation is strange? They define sexual harassment as per their understanding level, that's okay. But strange thing is, many of them accepts and normalize the experience of sexual harassment by accepting it easily as many of their friends also suffers from such type of actions inside bus, tempos etc. they accept it as a common incident that used to happen to all of their friends, colleagues and relatives who used to travel on public vehicle. They think that this type of acts can't be avoided. Whistling, cat-calling etc are common in streets. Using rough words by the staff of the public vehicles, staring and blinking eyes are common among male travelers, girls accept it by ignoring such actions. They basically ignore and normalize the verbal and symbolic harassment thinking it as an unavoidable part of their daily life when they come out from their home.

Case study

Introduction

Researcher have also done case study of 5 girls by using a snow-ball sampling method. These all respondents are under 30 and have experienced sexual harassment more than two times inside the public vehicle. This chapter introduces their experience of sexual harassment, their reaction against it and i also talks about the safety pin campaigns held by Nepal police. But 3 respondents do not know about such campaigns and two respondents said that they knew about it, as one is a media

person and another is a student of faculty of humanities but they can't seek help from this campaign.

Case no. 1

I have a severe experience of sexual harassment.

Sabitri timilsina is a 24 years old student studying in humanities faculty in the central department of Tribhuvan University. She is a regular user of public vehicles. She travels twice a day using 4 public buses and micros to reach college from home and return back to home from college. I have had experienced alot of sexual harassment inside the public vehicle. It causes fear, anger and sometimes I feel depressed because of such action. But what to do? She says, I am from a middle class family, studying in ktm without any job. It is hard to manage my living here, manage money for my study and living. So, i can't buy a scooter for me. That's why I use a public vehicle. She shared her experience of sexual harassment with me. She experience her first sexual harassment when she was in class 11. She says, i entered a micro bus. The time was around 12 pm. As the micro is packed as usual, I can't find a seat. So, I stand. At that time, a boy came and stood behind me. That was the first day I felt harassed. That boy stuck on my body and I can feel his growing heartbeat. I was uncomfortable but couldn't say anything as there was so much crowd on the bus. An uncle, who is sitting, may have felt my discomfortness, so he left his seat for me, and I sat there. Second time, I was on a crowded micro bus going to Ratnapark from Nepaltar. I was standing. When the micro bus arrived at Nayabazar, a man of about 40-45, entered inside. As micro is not comfortable to stand for a tall guy, he bends his head and stands. At the very moment I feel that uncle try to take his face near to mine but i ignored as he is standing bending his head. When we reached Lainchour, the micro stopped for getting off and on the passengers, that uncle grabbed my breast. Suddenly, I scolded him and scratched his face with anger. A boy standing beside us caught and bit him. That uncle got off the bus and ran. Third time, a man touches my fingers sometimes and sometimes, he puts his hand on mine as we both are standing and catching a rod upside down to handle ourselves inside the running micro. When I stare at him, he smiles. I was so angry, but, couldn't do anything because that day I was with my father and afraid of him. I also suffered from verbal harassment as it is

very common in public transportation. She says, If I go 2-3 years back, I have experienced a lot of verbal harassment using rough language by the bus staff although they talk to each other. But that type of language makes me uncomfortable. All passengers used to ignore such things and I also do the same. The bus staff whom I know used to call me by giving some nicknames like kanchhi, maiya etc. it also makes me uncomfortable. I don't know whether it is a sexual abuse or not but it really makes me discomfort.

Case 2

He doesn't touch me but by seeing his act, i feel discomfort

Sahara sharma is 22 years old and a civil servant. She worked in Nepal Airlines Corporation. She is using the public bus regularly to go to the office. She says, She has a scooter, but she is not perfect to ride it and she also doesn't have a license. So, she uses a public bus. She is another respondent of case study. At first, an act of man makes me uncomfortable. I don't know whether he was harassing me or not at that time but now, i knew it was symbolic harassment. One day, I saw a man rubbing his penis out from his pants. He noticed my look but he didn't care. Although it was his own act with his own body, I feel shy and uncomfortable. About two months ago, an adult man, sitting by my side, hit my breast with his elbow. At first I thought it was just an accident but again he repeated his action. so, I asked him to leave the bus in a loud sound and warned him, if he didn't leave, I would drag him and throw him outside the bus. Then, he left. Sexual harassment on public transport is not a recent happening to me, she says. When I was a girl of about 7-8 years old, I encountered harassment. That day, me and mummy were going somewhere and we didn't get a seat. So, my mummy asked me to sit on the lap of an uncle, maybe she knew him. I go and sit on his lap being a good girl. But that uncle puts his finger inside my panty and touches my vagina. After that incident, I avoided using buses to travel as much as possible, during my school days. He experience of sexual harassment was worst.

Case 3

A man pinch on my hip

The third case study is of a student of 2, who is studying BIT in chabahil. Her name is Anisha Nepali. She is travelling from thali to chabahil to study by using public bus. She shared her experience related to physical harassment. she first felt harassed when I was in class 12. While returning back from college. A man who is sitting with her, pinch on her hip. I was afraid, she said, so I left that seat and stood. Second time she said, I suffered from harassment when I was going to Sanga with my friends. A drunkard grabbed my boobs. I scolded him loudly and my friends and other passengers also scolded him and the conductor threw him out of the bus. I also suffered from verbal harassment. When getting out of the bus, a khalasi, looking at my skirt says... 'oho kya sexy', 'skirt lamo vayo alik chhoto lagau na' etc. these types of comments embarrass me, but i used to ignore it.

Case 4)

My neighbour used to harass me in public bus

Samita sharma, is 23 years old. She is a student as well as she works as an accountant in a school. She shared her experience of sexual harassment which she had faced when she was 8-9 years old and the harasser was her own neighbour. She had experienced physical harassment from that person two times. She said, I was maybe 9 years old, when my neighbour harassed me on a bus. His grandson and I used to read in the same school in Tripureshwor. He came to receive his grandson and sometimes when my parents don't come to receive me, I used to go home with him. One day, I was sitting in his lap and he touched my chest and said, you are becoming young. I don't like his behaviour. Second day, he rubbed his beard on my cheeks tickling on my stomach. When I explained everything to my mother, she asked me not to come with him. Although, i don't know whether i was harassed that time but i still feel discomfort when i saw him. She again shared her experience of physical abuse. Three years ago, I found a man's hand inside my t-shirt. I pinch on that hand but as the micro was so crowded, i don't know who was the culprit. She was also symbolically

abused. Another time, a person symbolically harassed me, she said. As we are in tempo sitting opposite each other and that tempo was almost empty. The boy looks at me and smiles. I smiled at him back. Then, he blinks his eyes, I feel uncomfortable, I don't respond. But when I was getting off the micro, he showed me his middle finger.

Case 5)

A man stuck on my body, I bent my hip and pushed him back.

Anita Malakar is 30 years old, she is a media person and is studying MA in RR campus. She shared her experience of sexual harassment with me. She says, I came to the office with my husband and after office, I went to college. My class is in the evening shift. & i have to use the public bus to go home in the evening. My friend and I used to travel together as we are from the same place. You know the public transport of evening time. It is so crowded. Once a man stands beside me so uncomfortably. He was stuck on my body & he was rubbing his body on mine. So i bend my hip & pushed him. Another time a man stares at me continuously, I stare at him back. One time, a conductor grabbed my breast when I was getting off, I caught him and slapped him. Other passengers in the bus asked me to leave him because, when I caught him and scolded him, the driver came out of the bus to know the incident. A man puts his thigh on mine. I at first threw it. But again he comes near. So, I pierced him with a safety-pin.

Summarization of all case studies.

The case study find out the strange truth of the sexual harassment that happens to girls in public transportation. when talking about sexual harassment, we find out the opposite sex as culprit. All respondents have experienced more than twice physical abuse on public transportation. Also, two other respondents i.e. respondents of case 2 and case 4 were harassed in public transportation. They also shared those experiences. Case number 4 respondent also shared her experience of symbolic harassment, which is quite clear. Other respondents basically, don't talk about this type of harassment. Basically they shared their experience of physical harassment.

CHAPTER - 8

RESPONSE AGAINST HARASSMENT

(Sometimes i raise my voice against it and sometimes i remain silent. I remain silent although I become harassed because of having a confusion of if it really happens to me or not? It's because of crowd inside the bus and micros)

Introduction

The data obtained from my research shows that 86% (86.67 %) of women suffered from sexual harassment among which 80% have experienced the physical abuse. One of my research objectives is to find out the women's response against sexual harassment. So, in this chapter I discuss the women's response as well as I discuss the reasons behind their response.

8.1) Response as a whole

While taking the interview, I saw aggressiveness on some respondents' faces, some respondents were worried whereas some even felt shy to share such incidents. When I ask them about how they respond, Almost all say that when they suffer from harassment for the first time they don't know what to do, as it was an unexpected accident. So, they remain silent. But the respondents who encountered harassment more than one time, they started raising their voice.

8.1.1) I screamed silently- no one listens

Out of the total respondent 14% (13.34%) respondents said that they had not faced any type of harassment. Out of remaining respondents who suffer from harassment, 58.85% of respondents replied that they remain silent at least for the one time when they felt harassment. Only 5% girls raised their voice and took action for the first time, when they were harassed. It means that about 95% of girls remained silent when they became victimized inside the public vehicle. So, why do they remain silent? What are the reasons behind remaining silence when they were harassed? Many of the respondents replied that, when that type of incident happens to them, they are confused, if it really happens to them or not. They felt embarrassed to say even a word. Taking action, raising their voice is far away. A respondent says that she

remains silent sometimes and sometimes she raises her voice. She says, sometimes although i feel uncomfortable, i can't recognize whether their actions which makes me uncomfortable are intended or it was just an accident. It's because of the crowd inside the vehicle. It happens to her many times, when she felt harassed but she couldn't do anything because of confusion. The girl who was harassed when they were very young, says that they remain silent because they don't know what is happening to them. They feel discomfort, they feel bad, they feel shy but they remain silent. A girl who felt harassed multiple times in public transportation describes her reason for remaining silent. She says, 'it's easy to say to the girl who doesn't face harassment to say,'i would hit him, slap him, hit him on his balls,if they harassed me or something like that but the fact is that it's very hard when these shitty actions happen to you. First you don't know what just happened and secondly, you were scared. So, when you have faced harassment for the first or second time, we can't do anything. I think girls start raising her voice, taking action, when she faces harassment multiple times while using public transportation. I also do the same, she said. When I listen to other respondents I find her reasons for remaining silent comes true. Some of the respondents suffered from harassment when they were small. Their reasons for remaining silent are common i.e. they don't have knowledge about what happens to them at that time. Now, they realize that happening was a sexual harassment. They said they felt bad for that time. A respondent who was harassed at the age of 13, remembering that time said, his touch causes so much pain that it's hard for me to digest that pain. My eyes were filled with tears but I couldn't speak a word. Scary and less knowledge are the main reasons behind remaining silence.

8.1.2) Raise voice, take action against harassment.

Mainly the girls, who faced harassment for more than one time raise their voice against such action. I also tried to know how they respond when they suffer from harassment? Mainly the girls whom i interviewed says that, they tries to raise their voice, they shouts and scold the harasser, they request them to stay away from them, they seek for help from other passengers and some also said that they complaint to the bus staff and ask them to throw that culprit out of the bus. One of the respondents said that I was sitting and a man was standing,his finger touching my chest. I don't know if it was knowingly or unknowingly. But I felt bad. So, I said to

him that I am feeling bad with his touch. But he doesn't care. So, I changed my seat with my mother-in-law. I found a similar type of case for another respondent. She said, a man stuck on my body that makes me uncomfortable, so I requested him in a soft voice to stay away. But he doesn't listen. So, I move a little bit far from that place to keep myself safe. Another respondent also says that at first they request them in a soft voice, if he doesn't care, they shout, scolding the harassor. But in the major case of physical harassment like touching body parts, grabbing breasts, sticking & rubbing genitals, in these types of cases, most of the victims don't remain silent as many of them suffer from such type of harassment earlier too. Their reasons behind their action are simple i.e. that the culprit harasses me, he needs to be treated in his way. He did wrong to us, so we need to take action against him so that he can't do that type of activity with other girls.

8.2) silence, shouting and fighting- reaction against harassment

As a whole, the reaction against harassment ranges from maintaining distance with male bystanders on a crowded vehicle to maintaining distance when they face harassment or moving out of the seat or out of the bus. Some girls mainly who face harassment more than one time (as only one respondent replied that she had faced harassment for one time only and she shouted at the perpetrator) try to overcome that situation by fighting back at the perpetrator. One respondent of case study says that she scratched the face of the perpetrator and other bystanders bit that man. Depending on the types of harassment women react differently. Mainly they ignored verbal and symbolic harassment but in the case of physical harassment many of them do not remain silent if they suffer from harassment more than one time. Depending on the situation, types of harassment women react differently. I classify their reactions on 3 categories i) verbal response ii) self action & iii) seeking help from staffs and bystanders

Verbal response starts with the requests to the person who creates the uncomfortable situation while travelling. Generally, in the case of harassment like sticking on another's body, pulling hair, touch in hand & feet by their fingers and feet etc, girls request that their action makes them uncomfortable. A respondent said, a man comes and sits by my side, by which i feel uncomfortable as that man occupies more space and when she moves a little that man also moves to my side. So, I request

him to sit properly. But he doesn't listen to me. So I left that seat and went to the seat beside it. Verbal response ranges from request to quarrel. Another respondent says, ' I request a person who is standing beside me and moving his lower part of the body slightly which makes me uncomfortable not to do that, but he doesn't stop. So, I scolded him in a loud voice. He says this used to happen in public transport, if you want sophisticated travel, you have to travel in your own car. Then, I quarrel with that man, she says.

Self action ranges from moving from that place, getting out of the bus to slap the culprit and to push him, pinch him without saying a word. A respondent of case study says, a person sitting beside me rubs his penis on my back, so I bent my ass and pushed him back. I have to say nothing to make him stop his nonsense act, she says. Self action also can be done without knowing who is the perpetrator. A respondent says, she caught a man's hand inside her t-shirt, the bus was so crowded so, she couldn't recognize who was the culprit. But she, pinch on that hand. An interviewee says that, i tried maintaining distance whenever i feel bad, or from male bystanders. Another interviewee says, a person tries to pull me back, so I kick him. One respondent of case study, try a different way of self-help. She says, she pierced one man with a safety pin.

Some of the respondents also seek help from the bystanders and bus staff. An interviewee says, when a man hit my boobs with his ankle, she warned him, but that person neglected, so, she called the conductor and complained to him. So, the conductor throws him out of the bus. Many interviewee's experience of seeking help from bystanders is good. When they raise their voice, scold the harasser or slap them and beat them, other passengers also react in a positive way. They stand on the side of the victim and punish the culprit.

From their responses it is clear that women use various techniques and methods for their safety.

8.3) Silent scream- encouragement to the culprits

First of all we need to know what forces women to remain silent. As they replied that they have no knowledge about sexual harassment, they were scared, they were shy, their mind was blank at the very moment etc. to know about the back forces

about the boys action of harassment and girls silent reaction, we need to know the society where we are living. Our society is patriarchal. And from the very beginning of life, society teaches different things to boys and girls. Patriarchy is that structure which shapes the life of every human. When society changes from hunting-gathering to slave-society, there arises the patriarchy. Engels says, by controlling women's sexuality through the requirement of prenuptial chastity and by the establishment of the sexual double standard in marriage, men assured themselves of the legitimacy of their offspring and thus secured the property interest. He also says, the overthrow of the mother right was the world historical defeat of female sex. The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude; she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children. (Engels,1844: lerner1986). Patriarchy starts from there and exists here. Our society teaches boys to be brave, intelligent, active, strong etc where women were taught to be more submissive, subordinated, shy, beautiful, weak etc. what society teaches in our early childhood remains and reflects when we become young. In our society there are many proverbs like "Marda ka jatioti ni hunxan" (means- brave man have more women), "aimai ko jaat lai dhoti fuskeko patto hudaina" (means women don't know anything, they can't keep anything secret), "marda le aatesi chhod daina" (means, what men wants, they get it at any cost). Why do I present these proverbs here? Because we are from this society, where we listen and later learn to practice these proverbs. What society teaches to females? "Aimai bhaneka dharti hun, sahasil hunu parxa" (means- women are earth, so they have to tolerate everything). And these both learning reflects when we see the case of harassment against women on public transportation. Boys influenced by brave men have more women, harassed the women traveller and women influenced by women are earth, so they have to tolerate, they tolerate and remain silent when they become victimized. So, the main cause of harassment on public transportation is the existing patriarchal thoughts of our society.

What happens when women tolerate? The girls who raise their voice against harassment, when i asked the reason behind their reaction against harassment, they replied, it was bad, so, they raised their voice and took action so that the culprit must think twice before harassing a girl. It means that, when the victims remain silent, it gives courage to the harassers to make more girls victimized. Many of the girls who remain silent say that they think they will not get help even though they raise their

voice. But this was their prediction. As a public vehicle traveller I also have faced such harassment but I raise my voice against such action, and other bystanders help me to take action against those culprits. So, every girl who is the subject of harassment must raise their voice because silent screams don't work to stop such harassment rather it gives encouragement.

8.4) Harassment, Patriarchy and Social support

Thoits (2011) has argued that perceived social support tends to be stronger than received social support in dealing with unpleasant life experiences. In the case of Nepal too, the women who remain silent say that if i complain to the person who harasses me, no one believes, as the harasser is more than double of my age. So, I remain silent. It was their perception that they will not get help from other passengers. Here, we can say that the perceived social support is weaker in the case of sexual harassment that happens to the girls public vehicle user. Although, girls who remain silent when they become victimized have a negative perception of seeking help from the bystanders, those who raise their voice against such harassment have opposite perceptions. They said that the other people also understand the situation as the society is more concerned about such harassment nowadays & society members are being more aware about sexual harassment. I don't find any respondent seeking help from the police or reported police cases against harassment that happens to them in public transportation. And only two respondents know about the safety-pin campaign of Nepal Police. During informal talk with the regular traveller whom i knew, some of them say that, if a woman doesn't give a positive sign to a man, they don't touch the girl whether it is in a society or in a public vehicle. By listening to their words, I think how patriarchal is our thought. Patriarchy still prevails on our thought and behaviour. That thought derives men to harass women and women to remain silent even though they were harassed. And some of the society member's don't hesitate to blame girls' behaviour, dress, and her attitude as a cause of harassment.

8.5) Bystanders support and Resistance

Here, Bystanders are those persons who are present in the vehicles at that time when girls/women become sexually harassed. I want to define resistance as an action taken by those girls who were harassed whether it is moving themselves out from the

bus or to throw the harasser out of the bus, Whether remaining silent when they become harassed or seeking help from by-standers, whether slapping or quarrelling. From the response of the respondent, we came to know that the perceived social support is very less in Nepal. Girls even if they face physical harassment feel shy, think what people thought about me, maybe they question me etc. The researcher don't find them thinking that if I raise my voice against this culprit, the people who are present in this vehicle will help me to punish that person or they will help me to get rid of this problem. So, we can say that the perceived social support is very less among girls. But when girls raise their voices, they get support from bystanders. One of the respondents says that when I became harassed in a public vehicle I slapped that evil man. The other person in the vehicle wants to know the reason why I slapped him. I was so angry, I quarreled with him. One aunty asks other people to beat that person. She says, 'yesta lai chhodna hudaina. Cheliibeti lai hath laune lai naxod, pit pit.' (don't leave this culprit who puts his evil on our girls. Beat him) and other people slap and throw him out of the bus. She says, though I used to be afraid of raising my voice earlier that day I developed a strength and slapped him, I got everyone's support. We can also see some pamphlets of how to deal with sexual harassment, what is the role of bystanders and vehicle staff in the public vehicles of Kathmandu these days. So, from this study we know that bystanders support is great but it is not perceived by many girls that's why they remain silent when they face harassment for the first time.

When talking about how girls resist with the problem of sexual harassment in everyday basis, I want to derive the concept of everyday forms of peasant resistance by James C. Scott where he says that peasants don't claim outwardly and are involved in resistance but they express their discontent and anger to the local landowners through low-level sabotage and private gossip which can be considered as an everyday class struggle and resistance (Scott, 1985). Girls, using public vehicles, have to resist abuse in a different way. They have developed their own way to resist with the problem of sexual harassment whether it's moving out from the bus by themselves or slapping that person. One of the respondents says that she used to keep a safety-pin with her, if someone tries to abuse or if someone makes her uncomfortable physically, she pierce that person with a safety-pin. Some girls, when they feel discomfort, they used to pinch, some girls trampled harassers hard with their

sandals, some put bags inside so that they can save their chest area from the bad person, some used to bend their back if someone came and stuck on their body from backside. These are the ways of resistance that girls use on a daily basis when they become harassed or when they feel discomfort.

CHAPTER - 9

STRUCTURES- RESPONSIBLE FOR HARASSMENT

Introduction

Researcher also asks the respondents to know their view about why some men harass women on public transportation. She wants to know whether structure like patriarchy , transportation system, law etc are the responsible factors of sexual harassment against girls or not. Or, only the agency i.e. men and their sexiest nature are responsible for such harassment. This chapter includes the women's perception of why some men harass girls in public transportation and who do they blame for such harassment?

9.1) Why do some men harass girls?- ans. From girls

When the researcher asked this question to the respondents whom she interviewed, they were confused at first thinking that this question must be asked to the men not to the girls. Or, this question must be asked for the culprit not for the victims. I request them to think and share their perception regarding why men harass girls on public transportation.

Mainly the girls said that to fulfill their sexual desire the man used to harass women on public transportation. one interviewee says, men are unable to control their immediate sexual drive, so they harass teenager girls who know less about these activities. Other respondents said that it happens because of the sick mind of the men. Another one respondent blames their upbringing. She says that maybe those harassers don't learn how to behave with girls. So, they harass girls in public transportation. Patriarchal thinking of men that women are still weak, they can't take any action against them, they are free to do anything to think anything, feeling of superiority, patriarchal social structure which treats women as an object, sick mentality etc. are the driving force of harassment against girls on public transportation. Girls believe that due to these factors men harass women on public transportation.

9.2) Who / What is to be blamed for harassment?

(Who to blame? Why blame? I don't blame anyone because if i blame that man who harasses me, other people start questioning my dress, in my nature and intention. Mostly, I was harassed by adult people. If I raise my voice, shout and scold that man what happens? No one believes it because, they think, how can an old and adult man like him harass a teenage girl like me. So, I don't blame anyone. - a respondent)

To find out the structure that shapes the life of agency i asked a question to the respondent, who they blamed as a responsible factor for causing a sexual harassment. I try to find out whether the transportation system, law, patriarchy are responsible for resulting sexual harassment or it is only the result of the men's sexiest nature. All respondents agreed that sexual harassment is caused by the men's sexiest nature and other factors are the supporting factor of sexual harassment. Respondents said that, not only these factors but also because of the girl's silence even though they get harassed is also responsible for the sexual harassment.

About 90 % of girls (i.e.27) blamed the transportation system for creating such an area which gives space to those who want to get benefits from girls. One of the respondents blaming the transportation system says, there are no rules regarding the vehicle capacity in Kathmandu, the vehicle is so crowded that one can easily put their hands on other's private organs. Another respondent blames the transportation system and says, ' I do blame the transportation system of Nepal, if there is CCTV inside the vehicle , it helps to make men aware before doing such a hatest act. 15% of girl blames patriarchy as an influencing factor of sexual harassment whereas, 10% girls says that sexual harassment occurs because of the sick mentality and sexiest nature of the person and there is no other influencing and responsible factor against it. 60% women blames all these factors as responsible to the sexual harassment. An interviewee says,first I blame the law of the country. If the law was strong and accessible to girls, they could take legal action against such happening. But our law is not applicable in daily life. Second, I blame the transportation system. If the transportation union makes law of keeping seat-full of passengers only, it automatically degrades the sexual harassment. Patriarchy possesses the sexiest nature to men which influenced them to harass women. So, I blame all these factors, she concludes. A respondent says that, despite these all factors, she also blames herself.

She says, if I have developed the capacity to take action to those people, maybe I have not faced such a type of behaviour. Maybe, I have some deformities so that men can harass me. So I want to blame myself.

So, basically all girls blame the sexiest nature of men for causing harassment on public transportation. And they believe that other structures are the influencing factors only, the main cause of sexual harassment against girls on public transport is the sexiest mentality of men.

9.3) Sexism , patriarchy and Harassment

Sexism means the discrimination based on sex or gender, or the belief that because men are superior to women, discrimination is justified. It is a form of oppression and domination. Society provides the sexiest ideology to men. Or we can say that society easily accepts the sexual nature of men. Who teaches the immoral sexiest nature of men and its acceptance in society? The answer is patriarchy. The sexiest ideology of men which is imposed by patriarchy , their freedom in sex and the sick mentality drive men to harass women and girls. Sexism develops in our society in such a way where male are considered to be superior and women to be inferior. Sexism is practiced through different ways and one is through the sexual abuse on public transportation. Sexism is institutionalised in the structures of our society. There is an institutional form to the way sexism operates, perpetuated at the individual and the organisation level through concealment with culture, policies, the hierarchies that exist within how institutions are structured and regulated and how responsibility is allocated (Whitley & Page, 2015). Sexism is practiced in our society from history and we, girls/ women accept us as inferior and men as superior. That's why about 95% of women who faced harassment for the first time said that I don't know what to do at that time or i feel shy, or i think what happens when by-standers know this, who will help me if i raise my voice etc. It means that sexism not only perpetuates sexual harassment but also it gives us the capacity to ignore various types of harassment by giving various reasons to ignore it. Women choose to ignore sexism in an effort to preserve good standing and avoid backlash (Fitzgerald et.al, 1995). Yes, this is done by the majority of Nepalese girls when they face harassment on public transportation. Thus, sexism and patriarchy are responsible for sexual harassment, its occurrence as well as tolerance.

9.4) Crowded vehicles - a platform for harassers

As we learn from various literature that crowded public vehicles are the good platform for harassers to perform their evil act. Like, Rajiv Bhaskar published an article on Hindustan Times entitled, 'Overcrowded public transport makes women vulnerable to harassment' where he says, the overcrowded public transport can be identified as vulnerable spots for sexual assault and snatching to women. He says, in the peak hours the city buses and auto-rickshaws are over-crowded. Auto-rickshaw drivers accommodate about eight to ten passengers to earn more(. Yes, to earn more the vehicle staff put so many passengers in Nepal. When the researcher asks who do you blame for this type of cases in the public vehicle all girls whom i interviewed blame the sexiest nature of men as well as they blame the transportation system. The experience of harassment is diverse from sticking on their body to smooching, from rubbing genitals from backside to catching their private organs. Though, the experience is diverse but the bus, tampo or other public vehicles where these incidents happen to girls and women are same i.e. in the crowded. Almost all girls blame the transportation system as providing a platform for the harassers. 90% of girls blame the transportation system as a cause of sexual harassment. They believe that if there is the act of putting seat-full passengers only, they won't have experienced such bull-shit in a public vehicle. Those girls whom i interviewed started to share their experience saying," the vehicle was crowded..." . i too have the diverse experience of sexual harassment in the same platform i.e. the crowded public vehicle.

9.5) Transportation system & capitalism - structures responsible for harassment

Capitalism is flourishing day by day in the world and Nepal can't leave behind it. Transportation system is much more affected by capitalism. Due to the influence of capitalism, to become more eligible recruits of capitalism they become more mobile day-by-day. We know what capitalism is? Capitalism is an economic system based on the private ownership of the means of production and their operation for profit which includes capital accumulation, competitive markets, a price-system, private property and the wage labour. We know who earns more in capitalism. As like other wage labourers, women are also working and due to their income many other reasons, many women can't afford the private vehicle. As a result they have to use public vehicles. Is our public vehicle gender- friendly? The answer is no. Do girls feel safe using public

transportation? The answer is No because they have to suffer from sexual harassment inside the public vehicles. Due to this problem, women were rejecting evening and night shift highly paid jobs. Do men feel the same level of discomfortness and awkwardness in the public vehicle? The answer is No. It happens because our public vehicles are not women-friendly. What capitalism teaches us is to earn profit. So, the bus staff puts more people to get more money and in the peak hours the vehicles are over-crowded. They give a damn to the comfortness of the passengers. And passengers have to use such overcrowded buses because they have to wait longer for getting another bus. The transportation facilities are at minimal level during morning and evening periods as the number of passengers increases and they are forced to travel in a overcrowded and unsafe vehicle. Why does this happen? It happens because the transportation sector is almost all occupied by the private entrepreneurs and they have invested more in this sector and they want to earn more. But the government fails to monitor the private sector due to which passengers are suffering. In order to make Nepal's transportation sector convenient for people and safe for women passengers, the Nepal government has to consult with all stake-holders and make a proper law, rules and regulations, also they have to consult with the passengers to make it safe. But this can't happen in the case of Nepal. There was a syndicate-system in the transportation sector of Nepal which restricted the free-competitive transport business. Syndicate means producers of services or goods of the same nature coming together under an umbrella aiming to control the price and restrict new producers in the market. In the syndicate system, many entrepreneurs are not getting the profit. One who runs the most uncomfortable vehicle is only in profit because their investment and operation expenditure are too low compared to those who operate comfortable vehicles. The new entrepreneurs who want to enter in the transportation business have to pay lakhs to those who run syndicate, revenue is almost all since committees give the same time for all vehicles and fare is decided by the Nepal government. Now, the Nepal government has abolished this syndicate system (Ghimire, 2018). But the problem of the passengers is the same. They have to travel in a crowded public vehicle which turns into the platform of harassment to the harassers and the space of becoming victimized to the women traveller.

CHAPTER - 10

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

10.1) Summary of the study

This research has primarily focused on the understanding of sexual harassment, the lived experience of sexual harassment by girls who used to travel on public transportation, whether they take verbal and symbolic harassment as sexual harassment or not. So to find the objectives of this research I selected the bus-stops around Ratnapark as the study area from where I selected the respondents by using simple random sampling and interviewed with them. Researcher also does a case study to find out the in-depth live experience of sexual harassment. For this researcher use purposive and snowball sampling methods and do study of 5 cases. Each respondent of case study suffers from physical harassment more than two times.

The study has notable literatures related to sexual harassment against women on public transportation. As this subject is not studied much in Nepal, I found only one academic literature in this case. So, I include other literature from other countries related to my topic. This research is much more reliable as the researcher herself goes to the study area and collects the data using semi-structured interviews and case study. This is a descriptive as well as exploratory type of research as it describes the understanding of girls about sexual harassment and explores different type of harassment girls suffer from and their techniques of reacting and saving themselves. The key findings of this research are as follows:-

About 86.66% of girls using public transportation suffers from sexual harassment out of which 80% suffers from physical abuse.

Mainly girls understood sexual harassment as

- i) an offensive and inhuman act
- ii) act that takes women as an object
- iii) unwelcome sexual behaviour and forceful act against women
- iv) behaviours that makes someone discomfort

Harassment that took inside the public vehicle are especially physical in nature, mainly girls face symbolic and verbal harassment in roads, streets and bus-stops not inside the vehicle.

Not only from bystanders, girls also suffers from sexual harassment from Driver, conductor and khalasi

Girls take sexual harassment as a normal happening in a crowded public vehicles. Generally, they used to ignore the verbal and symbolic harassment.

100% girls blames to the men's sexiest nature as responsible for the sexual harassment.

Only 5% of girls said that they raise their voice against harassment when they become subject of harassment for the first time. It means 95% of girls remain silent when they become harassed for the first time.

All girls blame the crowdy vehicle saying that it provides space to the culprits to harass women and girls.

10.2) Conclusion:

Sexual harassment is the major problem of nepali girls while travelling. But it has become a neglected subject till now. Although 90 % of women suffered from sexual harassment, there were not the filed cases. It is found that mainly teen ager girls are being subjected to sexual harassment on public transportation and the harassers are the adult person. The study by Gita Neupane on 2014 shows that 97% of women using public transport suffered from sexual harassment at least once in their life time. But my research shows that 87% of women traveller suffered from sexual harassment inside the public transport. It means that the rate of sexual harassment is decreasing but 87% means to much high. By recognizing the seriousness of this problem police, bystanders, girls/women need to be aware to fight against such a problem. Recognizing it as a serious problem, Nepal Police have launched an anti-harassment campaign targeted at protecting women on public vehicles. They ran a safety-pin campaign for three months starting from August 2, 2017. Police conduct sting operations on public vehicles and run awareness campaigns. But out of 35 respondents of this research, only two respondents of case study knew about this campaign. What are the factors responsible for the sexual harassment in the public transportation? The transportation system, men's sexiest nature, patriarchy, lack of

knowledge etc are the responsible factors for the sexual harassment. Even though we have law, it's not that much eligible for all who want to seek help. Because of the crowding, though they become harassed like someone's stuck on their body, catches their hand, pulls and pushes, girl's can't decide whether that act is intentional or unintentional. When some girls try to speak-up in such conditions (conditions like sticking on their body, pushing or pulling etc not smooching or finding someone's hand on their breast) that person who misbehaves with them scolds them saying that if they want comfortness they have to ride their own vehicle. So, the main cause of sexual harassment in public transportation is a crowd which provides a space for those culprits to touch a girls body or giving symbols, cracking jokes, using abusive language etc, inside a public vehicle. The data from interview and case study shows that 95% of girls who became harassed in public transportation remained silent for the first time when they were harassed. Because they suffer from such type of harassment in the mid and late teens. They become afraid at first, can't decide what to do in such a situation as harassment is as likely as an accident. Only the girls who suffer from harassment for more than one time raise their voice and take action. Social support prediction is very less though they get bystanders and vehicle staff supports when they raise their voice against such action. Having no knowledge about sexual harassment, can't decide whether that action which makes them feel discomfort is an intentional or an unintentional act caused by the crowd in the vehicles, the fear inside girls on what other people thinks about me when i raised my voice against such action etc are the reasons behind remaining silent in harassment. The girl's silence encourages the culprits to make other girls and women their prey. Thinking about this reason, some girls say that they slap the harasser, quarrel with them and throw that evil out of the bus and also they get bystanders and vehicle staff too. The girls have different resistance measures when they become victimized. Seeking help from bystanders, raising voice, slapping the harasser etc are used by them. But they also use the act like pierce with safety pin, pinching, looking at them aggressively etc. They find these things easier because they can do things easily without using a word and it's an easy way to punish that harasser as well. But i can't find anyone who seeks help from police. Maybe it's because our law is not accessible for all. Maybe it's because it's not easy to seek help from police or maybe they don't know where and how to file a case related to these issues. The law must be made & implemented and also made accessible in order to punish the perpetrator and to help the victims. As

blamed by every respondents, crowding on vehicles is the most responsible factor for sexual harassment against girls on public vehicles, government, the stakeholders of this sector must play a crucial role to overcome the crowd, to make the public vehicles gender-friendly, to save girls from becoming harassed.

REFERENCES

- Baniya, Sheela (2019). "Crowded public vehicles and sexual harassment". The Rising Nepal
- Brandenburg. B. Judith, (1997). "Confronting sexual harassment". Teachers college press, US
- Engels, Friedrich,(1884). "The origin of the family, private property and the state." Trans.Alick West, Marx/Engels selected work. Vol.4.pg 25-44
- Fitzgerald Louise, Swan Suzanne & Fisher Karla,(1995). " Why didn't she just report him? The psychological and legal implications of women's responses to sexual harassment". Journal of social issues, vol-51, pg 117-138. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.1995.tb01312.x
- Gautam Nirmal, Sapkota Nirmal, Regmi Dipika and Shrestha Sarala,(2019). "Sexual harassment in public transportation among female student in kathmandu valley". Dove Press, ktm.
- Ghimire Ramesh (2018). "Driving syndicate off: more needs to be done". The Himalayan Times
- Harrison Jennifer (2012). "Gender segregation on public transport in South Asia: A critical evaluation of approaches for addressing harassment against women". (MSc Dissertation), school of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London.
- Lerner Gerda, (1986) "origins", The creation of Patriarchy, ch-1, Oxford press, UK
- MacKinnon Catherine, (1979). "Sexual harassment of working women: A case of sex discrimination". Yale University Press, US.
- Mishra D and Lamichhane J (2018). "Experience of sexual harassment in public transport among female health science students: A cross-sectional study of Kathmandu, Nepal." Journal of Manmohan Memorial Institute of Health Sciences. DOI : <https://doi.org/10.3126/jmmihs.v4i1.21134>

- Neupane, Gita,(2014). “Violence against women in public transport: sexual harassment and the spatial experience of male privilege”. International Journal Of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice Vol-38
- Oxfam International,(2019). “Sexual harassment on public vehicle transport? ‘It’s not my duty to intervene’ say urban commuters in Srilanka.” Oxfam International
- Scott James C. (1985). “Weapons of the weak”. Yale University Press, United states
- The Himalayan Times,(2019). “Sexual harassment on public transport unabated”, kathmandu: The Himalayan Times. Retrieved jan 31, 2019.8:30 am.
- Whitley Leila & Tiffany, (2015). “ Sexism at the centre: locating the problem of sexual harassment”. New Formation Journal. DOI : 10.3898/NEWF.86.02.2015
- Wilson Fiona & Thompson Paul,(2001). “Sexual harassment as an exercise of Power”. Black-well publishers,Cowley Road,UK
- Xinhua News Agency (2014). “Feature: sexual harassment rampant in Nepal’s public transport”. Beijing: Xinhua News Agency.

Questionnaire For semi- structured interview

Qs 1) what do you mean by sexual harassment?

Qs 2) What's your experience regarding sexual harassment in public transportation?

Qs 3) what types of sexual harassment you suffer from while travelling in public vehicle? (**physical harassment** like, touching body parts, grabbing, making other physical contacts etc., **Symbolic harassment** like making sexual gestures, suggestive body movements etc and **verbal harassment** like using rough words while talking, calling by using words like sexy, doll, honey, baby etc that makes girls/ women uncomfortable, insulting with sexual comments, cracking sexual jokes in front of others etc)

Did you take verbal and symbolic harassment as sexual harassment?

Qs 4) How did you tackle that problem ? Did you resist when you tended to be harassed?

Qs 5) if you remain silent and do not take any action then why do you do so?

Qs 6) if you raise your voice and take action, why do you do so?

Qs 7) why do some men harass women while travelling in public transportation? What do you think? What's the reason behind doing such action by men in public transportation?

Qs 8) Did you blame the transportation system, law, patriarchy, or only the man's sexual nature behind the sexual harassment in public transportation?