

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN PUBLIC SPACES: ANALYSIS OF NEW SURVEY DATA FROM PESHAWAR, PAKISTAN

- Pakistan Gender and Social Inclusion Platform
- Poverty and Equity Global Practice

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*This Note analyses sexual harassment in public spaces as reported by women in Peshawar city in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan and is part of the World Bank's multimethod **Women in the Workforce** study. The data have been collected as part of the World Bank's Peshawar Urban Household Survey (PUHS). Earlier qualitative research by the World Bank's Pakistan Gender Platform team revealed that sexual harassment is pervasive, resulting in a strong impact on women's agency, ability to engage in society, and decision making (<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/30197>). It also limits their access to education and employment opportunities. Quantitative data on sexual harassment in public spaces are limited, and this Note is a first step toward measurement of this phenomenon. About 32 percent of respondents said that they had experienced at least one form of sexual harassment. The analysis shows that the threat of sexual harassment and perceptions around its prevalence and impact guide mobility and other day-to-day decisions for women and girls (potentially deterring participation in education and the labor force and curtailing access to health services). Most women and men are not aware of Pakistan's laws against sexual harassment.*

Introduction

This Note shares findings from a multipurpose household survey that also provides estimates of sexual harassment in Peshawar city, Pakistan.

The data presented here are part of the Peshawar Urban Household Survey (PUHS), a multipurpose household survey conducted by the Pakistan Gender and Social Inclusion Platform and the Poverty and Equity Global Practice of the World Bank. Following appropriate informed consent procedures, fieldwork took place between February and April 2018. The sample was drawn from 2,357 households covering a total of 21,506 individuals. Data were collected separately from 5,870 working-age men and 5,629 working-age women 15 to 64 years of age (see Appendix 1 for more details). In this Note, we present reported prevalence of sexual harassment in public spaces, measurement challenges and methods to overcome harassment, and

how sexual harassment is associated with other aspects of women's lives in Peshawar. Where relevant, we supplement survey analysis with findings from qualitative research on sexual harassment conducted in Peshawar by the Pakistan Gender and Social Inclusion Platform, in collaboration with local consulting firms, in 2018–2019. In the rest of this Note, we use the term "our survey" to refer to sexual harassment, gender, and other relevant modules from the PUHS.

Sexual harassment can be defined as "any unwelcome sexual advance, request for sexual favor, verbal or physical conduct or gesture of a sexual nature, or any other behaviour of a sexual nature that might reasonably be expected or be perceived to cause offence or humiliation to another."¹

UN Women notes that, like other forms of gender-based violence, sexual harassment of women in public spaces is a human rights violation based on gender discrimination and rooted in unequal

¹ UN Women, "Prohibition of Discrimination, Harassment, Including Sexual Harassment, and Abuse of Authority," 2013, <https://tinyurl.com/y98agw3z>.

power relations and a male-dominated culture.² This is certainly the case in much of South Asia, including Pakistan, where sexual harassment of women in public spaces arises from an underlying patriarchal structure that defines the role of women to be subordinate to men such that men are in control of women's life choices in public and private spheres.³

Quantitative data—whether national or regional—measuring sexual harassment are scant. As with other forms of gender-based violence (GBV), collecting data on sexual harassment is challenging with respect to defining “abuse”: selecting an appropriate sample, training enumerators effectively, and ensuring an ethical implementation of data collection. Even the most rigorous quantitative estimate of the prevalence of sexual harassment is likely to be an underestimate, as women are likely to be reluctant to report such abuse for fear of shame, blame, and other consequences detrimental to them.⁴ While data collection and measurement of other common forms of GBV, such as intimate partner violence and child marriage, have nonetheless been surveyed frequently and across the world, sexual harassment has received less attention. This Note starts to fill this gap.

To contribute to addressing this data gap, and to ensure that the most accurate data were collected in an ethical manner, all women in the sample households were interviewed in relevant modules of the PUHS. A key aspect of the PUHS that distinguishes it from other, more typical, community-based multipurpose surveys is that all modules that sought information on women's own outcomes were fielded to *all* women over the age of 15 in sample households. This included labor force participation, maternal and child health, gender norms and inequality, and sexual harassment.

The sexual harassment module was embedded in a broader module on gender, additional consent was taken for the sexual harassment section, and enumerators were specially trained to ask questions on sexual harassment, including how to switch to less sensitive sections if privacy was compromised. To reach all women, each household was visited multiple times, contributing to the rigor of the data collected.

Sexual harassment must be measured rigorously because of its pervasiveness, its impact on women, and the very lack of rigorous, quantitative data about this type of gender-based violence. Recent multicountry research shows that a majority of women and girls across the world have faced sexual harassment in public spaces. Estimates of sexual harassment are as high as 86 percent of women in Thailand and in Brazil, according to a recent poll conducted across the globe.⁵ Women and girls in South Asia also face high risks of sexual harassment. Such harassment can be experienced on the street, on public transport,⁶ in offices, and almost anywhere that women and girls are out in public spaces. Box 1 highlights some recent estimates from across the region.

Studies also suggest that the experience and fear of sexual harassment can negatively affect women's lives, including their labor force participation⁷ and access to education. Women who do venture outside the home try to avoid harassment by adopting an appearance that cleaves to the patriarchal notion of how women should dress and behave, especially in public, such as covering part or all of their body. Those who experience harassment are frequently unlikely to report such incidences to police or to families for fear of further restrictions on their movement.⁸ Survivors of sexual harassment may also face mental trauma.⁹

2 UN Women, *Towards an End to Sexual Harassment: The Urgency and Nature of Change in the Era of #MeToo*. (New York: UN Women, 2018).

3 Jennifer L. Solotaroff and Rohini Prabha Pande, *Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2014).

4 M. Ellsberg, L. Heise, and World Health Organization, “Researching Violence against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists” (Geneva: World Health Organization: 2005), <https://tinyurl.com/yxs7vfvx>.

5 Actionaid, “Three in Four Women Experience Harassment and Violence in UK and Global Cities,” 2016, <https://www.actionaid.org.uk/latest-news/three-in-four-women-experience-harassment-and-violence>.

6 Huma Daha, *Assessing Female Mobility in Lahore: A Step towards Sustainability* (Washington, DC: World Bank Group, 2014).

7 T. Chakraborty, A. Mukherjee, S. R. Rachapalli, and S. Saha, “Stigma of Sexual Violence and Women's Decision to Work,” *World Development* 103 (2018): 226–38.

8 Bilal Ahmed, Farhan Yousaf Navid, and Umm-e-Rubab Asif. “Combating Street Harassment: A Challenge for Pakistan,” *Women & Criminal Justice*, doi: 10.1080/08974454.2019.1644697.

9 Muhammad Nasir and Aisha Shoukat, A Study to Investigate the Physical and Psychological Effects of Sexual Harassment on Working Women in Kallur Kot, *International Journal of Educational, Science and Research* 3, no. 3 (August 2013), 21–34.

BOX 1: ESTIMATES OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN PUBLIC SPACES IN SOUTH ASIA

- *In Afghanistan*, 90 percent of 376 women surveyed in seven provinces in 2015 reported having been harassed in public spaces, 87 percent in workplaces, and 91 percent in educational institutions; the survey was conducted in educational institutions, workplaces, and public spaces, and among survivors.¹⁰
- *In Bangladesh*, in a national random survey carried out by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics in 2015, supported by the United Nations Population Fund, almost one-third of women mentioned the workplace as the most likely location for sexual violence.¹¹
- *In Delhi, India*, nine out of ten women in a representative household survey reported having experienced at least one form of sexual violence in public spaces, with comments, sexual jokes, whistling, leering, or obscene gestures being the most common (88 percent). More than half (53 percent) said their breasts or buttocks had been touched or groped, while 32 percent reported having been stalked.¹²
- *In Nepal*, an online survey garnered responses from 1,000 women across the country, of which 98 percent of surveyed women reported having been harassed in public spaces, and 71 percent reported being harassed in transportation.¹³
- *In Pakistan*, in an online survey administered to female university and college students in the cities of Islamabad, Lahore, and Rawalpindi, only 2.8 percent of respondents surveyed about experiences of nonverbal, verbal, or physical sexual harassment said they never experienced any of them.¹⁴

Underlying Context: The Situation of Women in Peshawar City

The study site, Peshawar city, lies in Peshawar district, the largest district by population in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) in Pakistan. Peshawar is the sixth most populous city¹⁵ in Pakistan and the provincial capital of KP with an estimated population of 1.97 million.¹⁶ Ethnically, the population is mainly Pashtun with a significant representation of Afghan refugees. Peshawar, and KP more broadly, have suffered from violent conflict and acts of terror for many years.¹⁷

Pashtun cultural and religious norms strongly influence the situation of women in Peshawar city.

A key aspect of these norms is that the notion of family honor is strongly tied to women's movement and bodies, and household decision makers restrict women to home or to nearby areas to protect them against sexual harassment and maintain family honor.¹⁸ Men are supposed to control and safeguard women, in particular women's sexuality. Any woman leaving her house without purdah (or covering herself) is considered to be risking her sexual purity and thereby potentially violate the honor of the household. Male members of a household go to great lengths to avoid such a situation via their control of female household members. Men and women both are socialized in these

10 Women and Children Legal Research Foundation, *Research on Sexual Harassment against Women in Public Places, Workplace and Educational Institutions of Afghanistan*. (Kabul: WCLRF, 2015), <https://tinyurl.com/y9wg9ba9>.

11 Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, *2015 Report on Bangladesh Violence Against Women Survey* (Dhaka: BBS, 2016), https://asiapacific.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Bangladesh_VAW_survey_report_2015_compressed.pdf.

12 Nandita Bhatla, Pranita Achyut, Sancheeta Ghosh, Abhishek Gautam, and Ravi Verma, *Safe Cities Free from Violence against Women and Girls: Baseline findings from the "Safe Cities Delhi Programme"*. (New Delhi: UN Women and ICRW, 2013), <https://tinyurl.com/y64nk9yh>.

13 Code for Nepal, "#iWalkFreely—A Nepali Girl's Dream," 2016, <https://codefornepal.org/2016/10/iwalkfreely-nepal/>.

14 F. Anwar, Karin Osterman, and Kaj Bjorkqvist, "Three Types of Sexual Harassment of Females in Public Places in Pakistan." *Journal of Contemporary Medicine* 9, no. 1 (2019): 65-73, doi: 10.16899/gopctd.468324.

15 Finance Division, Government of Pakistan 2018. "Pakistan Economic Survey. 2017-2018: Population, Labor Force and Employment." Chapter 12, Government of Pakistan. https://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_18/12-Population.pdf

16 Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS) 2017. *Population and Housing Census, KP District 2017*. Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Statistics. https://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files//population_census/KP%20District%20Wise.pdf

17 "City Population: Peshawar," www.citypopulation.de, <https://tinyurl.com/ybkvbsl6>.

18 Arab Naz, Umar Daraz, Waseem Khan, Mohammad Hussain, and Qaisar Khan, "The Dormancy of Empowerment: An Analytical Study of Various Impediments to Women's Education in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan" (June 12, 2012), available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2082988> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2082988>.

norms.¹⁹ Though these norms exist among Pashtun communities broadly, in Pakistan they tend to be more pronounced in KP and Balochistan provinces than in other provinces of the country, perhaps because of the higher concentration of Pashto populations in these two provinces relative to other areas of the country.

Indicators for violence against women reflect these norms. According to the latest Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) conducted in Pakistan, 52 percent of female respondents had experienced spousal violence in KP, a higher prevalence than in any other province except for Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Violence against women is often justified under the guise of punishing violations of the existing norms of honor or of expected feminine behavior, and households prefer to keep incidents within the family as a private matter. Two-thirds (63 percent) of women in KP agree that a husband is justified in beating his wife for at least one of the following reasons: burning food, arguing with her husband, leaving the house without her husband's permission, neglecting children or in-laws, or refusing sexual intercourse with her husband.²⁰

Peshawar City Survey Results: Gender and Sexual Harassment in the 2019 Peshawar Urban Household Survey

Women and girls in Peshawar city are more likely to have never attended school, and less likely to have completed secondary and higher levels of schooling, than are boys and men in Peshawar, or women and girls in Pakistan overall. The PUHS finds that almost 45 percent of women and girls in Peshawar city between 15 and 64 years of age have never attended school, compared to 27 percent of men surveyed. Women and girls surveyed in the PUHS are also much more likely to have never attended school than are women in the same age group in all of Pakistan (35 percent) and

in all of urban Pakistan (27.8 percent), surveyed by the DHS. At the other end of the education spectrum, only 18 percent of girls and women surveyed by the PUHS complete or go beyond secondary education; the PUHS estimate for men and boys in Peshawar is twice as high, at 44 percent completing secondary school or higher. However, women and girls in Peshawar have only slightly lower rates of secondary and higher schooling than do women of the same age groups in the country as a whole (19.1 percent), surveyed by the DHS.²¹

Peshawari women's labor force participation is one-fifth that of Peshawari men. The PUHS also finds that only 15.5 percent of women in Peshawar in this age group are in the labor force compared to over three-quarters (74.3 percent) of Peshawari men surveyed by the PUHS (see Appendix 2 for all sample characteristics). We cannot compare labor force participation rates between the PUHS and other surveys because of methodological differences.²²

The PUHS also shows that women and girls in Peshawar have very limited agency, in terms of age at marriage, mobility, and decision making.

Girls marry early, with 50 percent of female respondents to our survey having been married by age 18, compared to 29 percent for Pakistan as a whole. Mobility is highly restricted. Women who participated in the PUHS reported spending an average of 23.1 out of 24 hours per day inside the house, compared to an average of 13.7 hours for men. Women reported having gone outside the house for less than two days in the past week, and in most cases, they went to visit family, friends, or neighbors. Most women who go out are accompanied by someone (84.1 percent). Even children are acceptable chaperones: among those who are always or sometimes accompanied, almost one-quarter (21.5 percent) said they were accompanied by children. Almost all women also observe some form of purdah (94.3 percent) when they go outside the house, with 81 percent covering their faces and their whole body. Finally, women have little say over the main decisions in their lives. Only 3 percent of

84%
of women are always accompanied when leaving home

19 Qaisar Khan, Nighat Sultana, and Arab Naz. "The linguistic representation of gender identities in Pakhtu proverbs." *NUML Journal of Critical Inquiry* 13, no.2 (2015): 73-87.

20 National Institute of Population Studies (NIPS) [Pakistan] and ICF, *Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2017-18* (Islamabad, Pakistan, and Rockville, Maryland: NIPS and ICF, 2019).

21 For data on urban Pakistan, see NIPS and ICF, *Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2017-18*.

22 Methodological differences between the PUHS and other, standardized labor force surveys are explained in a different upcoming Note.

TABLE 1: REPORTED PREVALENCE OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT EVER EXPERIENCED (PERCENT)

Inappropriate staring or comments	28.08
Gestures or actions of a sexual nature	11.03
Inappropriate use of your phone number, email, SMS, social networking (digital harassment)	7.52
Any type of sexual harassment	31.95

Note: Women could respond in the affirmative to having experienced more than one type of sexual harassment. *N* = 5,411. Responses are weighted.

women reported having any say in whom they marry, and a minority of women decided themselves or with a spouse whether they can start or continue an education (20.9 percent), seek professional medical care (36.6 percent), or work outside the house for pay (12.9 percent).

One in three women in Peshawar city reported having faced sexual harassment in public spaces. About 32 percent of respondents said that they had experienced at least one form of sexual harassment about which the survey enquired. (Appendix 1 provides more detail on the survey methodology). Of the types of sexual harassment, inappropriate staring or comments were reported most frequently, followed by sexual actions or gestures, and digital harassment (Table 1). Survey results are consistent with qualitative research conducted last year by the World Bank’s Pakistan Gender and Social Inclusion Platform in Peshawar, in which women talked about the pervasiveness of sexual harassment in public spaces. This prevalence rate is lower than that reported in other studies in South Asia (see Box 1). A key reason for this is likely the extremely low mobility and access to public spaces among Peshawari women, as we demonstrate later in this Note, which lowers their exposure to the possibility of sexual harassment in public spaces. In addition, several of the studies listed in Box 1 (like those from Pakistan and from Afghanistan) did not survey women in the community but, rather, women already in public spaces such as educational institutions or workplaces, which would also contribute to a higher prevalence reported in those studies.

The fear of sexual harassment is also potent and pervades women’s experiences and expectations of safety in public spaces. For example, only one-third of survey respondents said they feel safe walking around outside their neighborhood at any time. When women leave the house, three-quarters of those who said they use a toilet outside of their house said they do not feel safe

doing so. On the other hand, two-thirds of women said they feel safe walking alone in their neighborhood at any time and 78 percent of those who go outside the house using a mode of transport said they feel that their chosen mode of transport is safe at all times. These feelings of greater safety may be because they are within their neighborhood and can choose what form of transport to take, and thus these women are able to exercise some control over their external environment and its perceived and actual risks. Outside their neighborhood or in a public space in general, this may be harder, and women are likely to feel less safe.

This fear of sexual harassment is likely, at least in part, to fuel the preference that employed women work from home. Among both women and men who feel that there are only certain conditions under which women should be allowed to work for pay, the majority (59.4 percent of men and 80.5 percent of women) said that working from home or close to home is one such condition. While women’s household responsibilities may be part of the reason for this preference, given Peshawar’s patriarchal norms described above, it is likely that the fear of exposure to sexual harassment is a potent driver as well.

Most women are unaware of Pakistan’s laws against sexual harassment. Pakistan has several legal mechanisms in place to address sexual harassment. Section 509 of the Pakistan Penal Code (1860) establishes sexual harassment as a criminal offence. In addition, in 2010 the Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act was enacted. However, only 6 percent of women in the survey said they knew about the 2010 Act. The vast majority (92 percent) said they had not heard of the law, while the remaining 2 percent said they were unsure or had heard about it but did not know what the law was about.

94%
of women are not aware of the law on sexual harassment

Factors Associated with Sexual Harassment in Public Spaces²³

Descriptive statistics suggest that education, employment, access to the outside world, and the extent of unfettered mobility are all significantly associated with sexual harassment.²⁴ A higher percentage of women with post-primary levels of education, who were employed and worked outside the home, and who had access to the outside world via mobile phone and internet reported having been sexually harassed compared to women who had never gone to school, were outside of the labor force or worked from home, and had little access to the outside world. Similarly, those who had unfettered mobility—or limited purdah and not always accompanied when outside—were more likely to report having been sexually harassed in public spaces than were women who were always accompanied when they left their home, or who covered head and face, or covered head, face, and body (Figure 1).

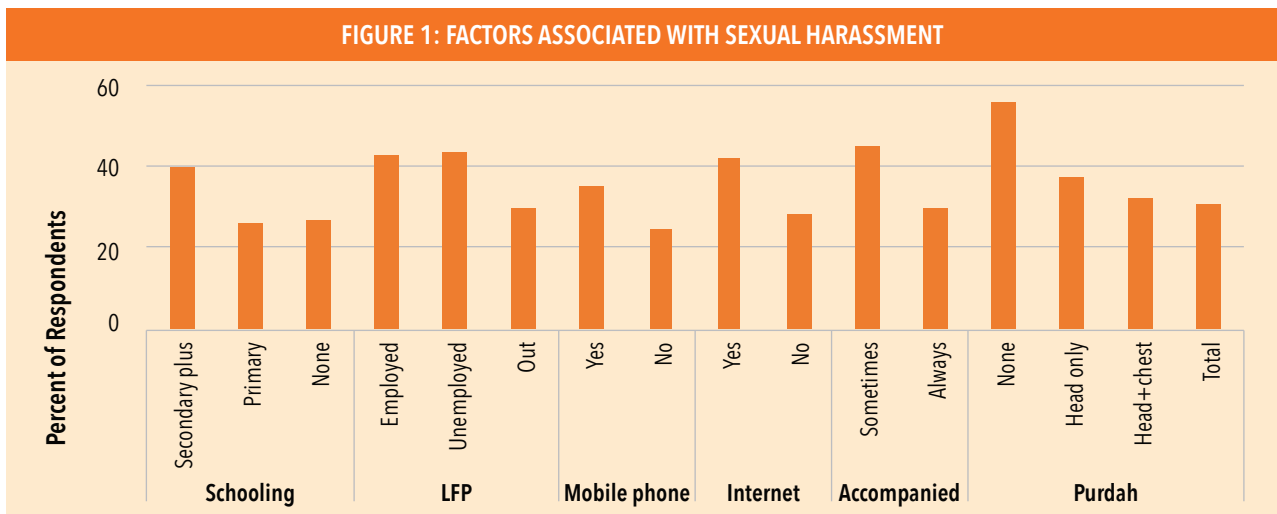
Logistic Multivariate Regression on Odds of Sexual Harassment in Public Spaces²⁵

Multivariate analysis confirms the association of reported sexual harassment with post-primary levels of education and access to the outside world via cell phone and internet. Women who had gone beyond primary schooling were almost 50 percent more likely to have said they experienced sexual harassment than those with no schooling. Those who had regular access to or used the internet were 29 percent more likely to say they had ever experienced sex-

ual harassment than those without such access. Similar results were found for access to a cellphone, though of marginal statistical significance (Table 2).

Women’s knowledge of the law is not statistically significant after taking into account the relationship of other socioeconomic characteristics in multivariate analysis. In descriptive analysis, 45 percent of respondents who knew about Pakistan’s law on sexual harassment said they had experienced sexual harassment compared to less than one-third of those who were unaware of the law. This likely reflects that women who know about the law may be more likely to report harassment, rather than that women who know about the law are more likely to actually experience harassment, compared to women who are unaware of the law. Once a range of socioeconomic characteristics such as education and access to the internet and other means of communication are taken into account, however, women’s knowledge of the law was not significantly associated with reported sexual harassment.

Employed women are significantly more likely to report having been harassed than women out of the labor force, multivariate analysis shows, though place of employment is no longer statistically significant. Employed women were 42 percent more likely to report having been sexually harassed in public spaces compared to women out of labor force, after controlling for other factors. Being unemployed did not have a statistically significant relationship with sexual harassment. While employment outside the home seemed to be associated



²³ Because of small sample sizes, descriptive and multivariate analysis is conducted on all types of sexual harassment combined.

²⁴ See Appendix 3 for the full descriptive statistics.

²⁵ See Appendix 3 for the full multivariate results.

TABLE 2: SELECT RESULTS FROM MULTIVARIATE LOGISTIC REGRESSION

	Odds ratio	Standard error	p-value
Education, employment, and communication access			
Attended/attending post-primary schooling or more (ref = no education)	1.46	0.181	0.002
Has access to cellphone (ref = no)	1.25	0.146	0.052
Has access to internet (ref = no)	1.29	0.156	0.033
Employed (ref = out of labor force)	1.42	0.225	0.027
Unemployed (ref = out of labor force)	1.64	0.517	0.113
Mobility			
Always accompanied when out (ref = no)	0.68	0.091	0.004
Cover head and bosom (ref = cover head, face, and body)	0.76	0.120	0.084
Cover head only (ref = cover head, face, and body)	0.90	0.194	0.611
No purdah (ref = cover head, face, and body)	1.69	0.595	0.139
Respondent knows about the anti-sexual harassment law	1.14	0.245	0.553
Total observations	5,406		

Source: Authors' analysis.

Note: Full results presented in Appendix 4.

Outcome: Reported having experienced sexual harassment in at least one way; pseudo- $R^2 = 0.0533$.

with higher levels of reported sexual harassment than employment inside the home in descriptive analysis, once other related factors—such as mobility—are taken into account, the place of employment is not statistically significant, while the fact of being employed remains important.²⁶

Multivariate analysis suggests that some aspects of mobility constraints may be more important factors in reported sexual harassment than others.

After controlling for other factors, women who were always accompanied when they went outside were about a third less likely to say they experienced sexual harassment than those who were never or were only sometimes accompanied. In contrast, descriptive analysis suggested that the use of public transportation, and of no purdah, was associated with higher reported experience of sexual harassment; however, transport and type of purdah were no longer statistically significant in the multivariate analysis, once overall mobility (number of days outside the home) and ability to be unaccompanied were taken into account.

Marital status is also significantly associated with reported sexual harassment. Multivariate analysis shows that women in any marital status except single are significantly more likely to report

sexual harassment than are single women. This result likely reflects both exposure and confidence. Under the strictures of Pashtunwali and, in fact, under most of the patriarchal systems in Pakistan and elsewhere in South Asia, getting married while still a virgin is strongly associated with a family's honor. Consequently, single women are likely to face much more rigid constraints on their behavior and access to the outside world than those who are promised in marriage or who are currently or have been married. This, in turn, limits single women's exposure to public spaces and thus to harassment in these spaces. Single women, whose honor and that of their families is tied closely to their virginity, may also be more reluctant to report sexual harassment than are women who are already married (although even married women have to continue to be careful of and safeguard their sexual honor).

The larger reported prevalence for women with higher education, labor force participation, exposure to communications, and mobility is likely a combination of reporting and prevalence. Women with higher education, who participated in the labor force, who have greater access to mobile phone and/or internet, and who have relatively unfettered mobility may belong to less conserva-

26 Since there was no statistically significant difference in the regression coefficients between employment inside or outside the home, in the final model we combined the two to present one single category of "employed."

tive families, given the overall patriarchal context and low female schooling levels in Peshawar. Thus, they may be more aware of, and more willing to report, any sexual harassment they may have faced when out in public spaces or via their communication devices. They also have higher exposure to the possibility of sexual harassment as a result of spending more time outside the home. In contrast, women in more conservative households that control and limit their mobility and communication to the outside world have less exposure to the possibility of—and thus may report lower levels of—sexual harassment in public. Those from more conservative households may also be less likely to acknowledge to an enumerator any experience of sexual harassment even when privacy and confidentiality are ensured, because of the strong fear of negative consequences should their experience of harassment become known to their family. The fear of such consequences is likely a strong factor influencing *all* respondents' willingness to acknowledge sexual harassment in a survey, given the consequences they may face because they live in the patriarchal system of the study area. We next turn to these consequences.

Consequences of Sexual Harassment for Women

The fear of sexual harassment and of being blamed and chastised by family for suffering sexual harassment can pressure women to withdraw themselves from public spaces and, when outside the home, do all they can to avoid being noticed or harassed. About one-quarter of the respondents in our survey who said they had never experienced sexual harassment qualified their answers with an explanation of why they thought they

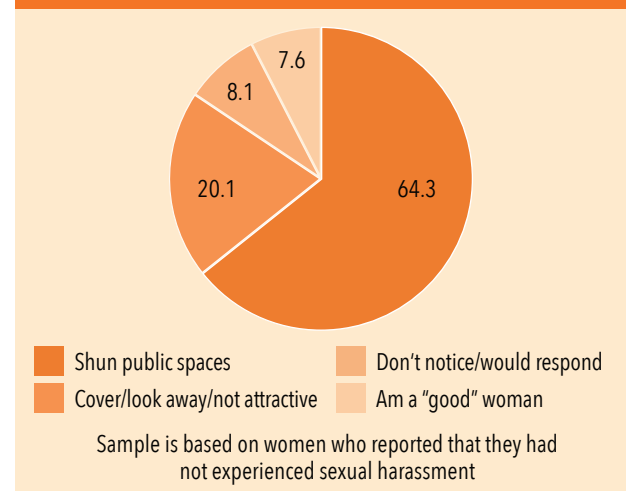
64%

of women who reported no harassment explained that they shun public spaces

had been able to avoid being harassed. Two-thirds of these responses reflected actions to withdraw from public spaces. Respondents said that they had never been sexually harassed because they either never or rarely go out, never go out alone, are explicitly forbidden from going outside the house, or when they go out, they only go close by. Another 20 percent said they always cover themselves when they go out, look down and do not look at anyone around them lest they be construed as inviting unwanted attention, dress shabbily, or think they are not attractive or young enough

to be harassed. Another 7 percent opined that they are “good” women, that is, they observe all social and gender norms expected of them. Specifically, women who gave this response opined that women who don’t observe purdah, who dress up when they go out, who are “unclean” or “bad,” or who don’t lead a “pure” life are the ones who are harassed, thus illustrating that they have internalized patriarchal norms of “good” feminine behavior. Only a minority said they do not pay attention or that they respond and challenge a harasser (Figure 2). These findings echo prior qualitative research with women in the city. As one young woman told us, *“In my university days, a man followed me in his car to my home. When I tried to run away, he grabbed my dupatta (scarf) in front of my neighbor, but my neighbor didn’t utter a single word to him. I dropped all my books... I never walk alone now.”* Fear of being blamed and chastised by the family and community if they are sexually harassed also pressures women to avoid public spaces. A working woman from Peshawar described her experience as *“We leave home [to earn] for [our] children but are blamed that she has become a bad woman. Our children are told that ‘Your mother is a bad woman. She is all dressed up while leaving home.’”*

FIGURE 2: HOW WOMEN CONSTRAIN THEIR OWN BEHAVIOR TO AVOID BEING SEXUALLY HARASSED



Family members also control women’s movement or forbid women from going outside of the house to prevent sexual harassment, thus limiting their opportunities for school, work, or other activities outside of the house. Activities related to the outside world—such as education and employment—are often restricted because a spouse or family forbid it. Among girls who reported never having attended an educational institution, 30 per-

cent said the reason was lack of permission from elders or other men in the house. Among women who worked for pay from within the home, close to 46 percent said that they do so because they are not allowed to leave home. Given the high value of honor and its link with women’s sexual safety in the study area, it seems likely that the fear of sexual harassment—and thus the knowledge that a woman was exposed to sexual harassment—is an important reason to refuse women permission to engage in activities outside of the home. Our qualitative research is consistent with this hypothesis. When asked why she does not work for pay outside the home, one respondent said “...my husband does not agree to me leaving home and going to work....

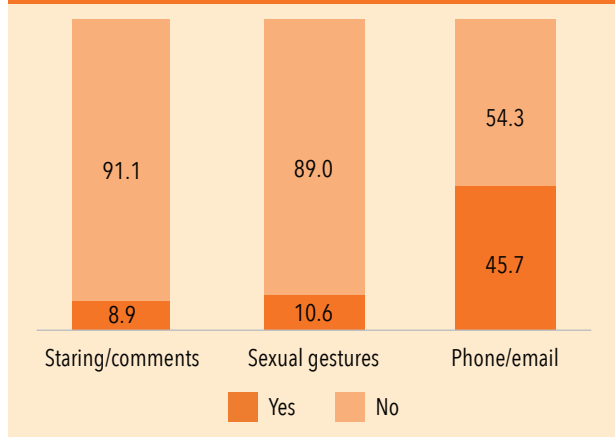
He doesn't like the outside environment”; the local terminology used (ma-haul bura hai) refers to the threat of sexual harassment for women outside of the home. Another said, more clearly: “Family

hasn't given me permission [to work] ... [because the] environment outside is not good.... You know about the harassment issues these days, bad things are being done.... Men stare at us when we walk past, they are watching our every move.”

81%

of women cover their whole body and face before leaving home

FIGURE 3: PERCENT OF WOMEN EXPERIENCING SEXUAL HARASSMENT WHO REPORTED IT TO ANYONE



These dynamics can constrain reporting of sexual harassment, and women often do not report sexual harassment to anyone. The vast majority of those who said they had experienced sexual harassment of any of the three types about which the survey enquired had not reported the harassment to anyone (Figure 3). Only about 10 percent of those who said they had experienced inappropriate staring or comments, or actions and gestures of

a sexual nature, had reported these incidences to anyone. More had reported online or phone harassment, but unfortunately our data do not allow us to determine why this kind of harassment was more likely to be reported than other kinds.

Most women also do not report sexual harassment to anyone else because they feel no action would be taken.

Of all cases of harassment documented in the survey, only 14 percent were reported either to authorities or to family. Among women who did not report harassment of any type to anyone, the most frequently cited reason given was “why bother.” Women felt that telling anyone would not change the fact that men harass women and would not lessen their chances of being harassed. Data from the few women who reported either staring or sexual gestures show that the most common consequence of reporting was that nothing changed, nor was any action taken. Once again, these data echo themes from prior qualitative research in Peshawar, in which women said there was no point in reporting incidents of sexual harassment, whether on the street or at work, because it would not change anything for them. “This is men’s nature, which is never going to change,” said one 35-year-old woman.

More than half of the 115 women who said they told someone about their experiences of visual sexual harassment said no action was taken and nothing changed, and 45 percent of the 52 women who reported sexual gestures said that no action was taken.

Women also hesitate to report or discuss sexual harassment within the family because of the fear of being blamed by family or society, or of being forbidden by family to go outside for school, jobs, or other outside activities.

Respondents expressed fear that their family would no longer allow them to work outside the home, fear that they would be blamed for the incident, and fear that—when experienced in a workplace—bringing a complaint of sexual harassment to the authorities would mean dismissal for the women themselves. Women interviewed in prior focus group discussions echoed this concern. For instance, when asked why she didn’t tell her family about the catcalling she regularly faced on her way to and from her educational institution, a focus group respondent said, “If I had told them [the family], there would have been a huge fight.... I would have been asked to stay at home.”

TABLE 3: ADDRESSING CHALLENGES IN COLLECTING SEXUAL HARASSMENT DATA

Challenge	Measures taken
<p>Collecting data on sexual harassment as part of a large survey: Experts have long noted the pitfalls of collecting data on gender-based violence in multipurpose surveys, most notably the possibility of underestimating the prevalence if a survey is not focused on, and the enumerators not trained for, collecting data on the very sensitive issue of GBV.²⁷ PUHS enumerators reported that it was often a challenge to get full responses from all women in the household, partly because male household members could get suspicious of the long time it took for women to be interviewed for the overall survey, and partly because of respondent fatigue from a long survey.</p>	<p>Strong data quality protocols:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Frequent audits were employed to identify issues in real time and conduct refresher training as needed. ✓ In addition, regular weekly meetings with field staff and the World Bank research team helped to resolve issues and gauge progress in real time as well.
<p>Enumerators were not specialized in conducting surveys on gender-based violence: As the PUHS was a multipurpose survey, the enumerators and other field staff were not experts in collecting data on GBV, including on sexual harassment in public spaces.</p>	<p>Specific, culturally sensitive training on gender and GBV, with follow-up:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Two of the six days of training for enumerators, other field staff, and senior project staff were devoted to understanding gender inequality, including sexual harassment and other forms of violence against women and girls, both in Pakistan overall and in Peshawar specifically. ✓ Where appropriate, sessions were held separately for female and male enumerators in accordance with local cultural norms so that female enumerators (who would collect the data on sexual harassment) could discuss any concerns openly. ✓ Training was conducted in an interactive way so as to engage field staff unfamiliar with the issues. ✓ Privacy and confidentiality were stressed. ✓ Repeat training in the field was conducted as deemed necessary.
<p>Strong patriarchal norms: In most large surveys, violence against women is known to be underestimated because of the fear, stigma, and norms surrounding the acceptance of such violence. In the case of sexual harassment in public spaces in a conservative setting, where such harassment is emblematic of violating foundational cultural norms of honor and thus can trigger familial retaliation, getting reliable, complete estimates is perhaps even more challenging. Fear of being blamed and fear that their mobility and opportunities would be further restricted made respondents even more reluctant to report instances of sexual harassment.</p>	<p>Training included discussion of patriarchy and what it means for data collection:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Interactive sessions held with both male and female trainees discussed the structure of society and the difficulties that structure may pose for women to acknowledge sexual harassment. ✓ All women were interviewed by female enumerators fluent in the local language and cultural norms. ✓ Women who had consented to the survey were asked again for consent before the sexual harassment module was implemented, so as to increase their comfort level.
<p>Maintaining privacy and confidentiality: The average household size in Peshawar city is 7.5 individuals. As a consequence, it was very difficult to find a private space in which to conduct interviews. The strict control of women's access to outsiders made establishing privacy and confidentiality even more difficult. Often enumerators had to get permission from multiple male family members to speak with a woman. Even after male family members agreed, and the respondent herself consented, on occasion men in the household—including teenage boys—would show hostility and suspicion to the women being interviewed, or other women would want to hear what was being discussed.</p>	<p>All efforts were taken to maintain privacy and confidentiality, as this was considered nonnegotiable in collecting data on sexual harassment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Each woman over age 15 in sampled households was separately and individually interviewed in a private, confidential space. ✓ All female enumerators were accompanied by a male enumerator. While the female enumerator interviewed the respondent, her male partner was responsible for engaging the men in the household to allay suspicion and interference. ✓ Any female supervisors accompanying the female enumerators would keep other women in the household at bay, allowing for maximum privacy for the respondent. ✓ Enumerators were trained to ask the questions about sexual harassment in the times of greatest privacy and to switch to other, more benign questions if someone entered the area in which the interview was being conducted. Respondents were told at the outset (in privacy) that this may occur. ✓ Female enumerator training emphasized the critical need to maintain confidentiality.

27 Ellsberg et al., "Researching Violence against Women," <https://tinyurl.com/yxs7vfvx>.

TABLE 3: ADDRESSING CHALLENGES IN COLLECTING SEXUAL HARASSMENT DATA

Challenge	Measures taken
<p>Providing referral information for respondent: The lack of privacy and association of harassment with honor made any admission of sexual harassment more dangerous for women in this study, and thus made providing referral information for sexual harassment equally dangerous.</p>	<p>Use of a creative referral mechanism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Study investigators, advised by local staff, decided not to give women direct information about shelters or other resources to address violence against women for fear of increasing respondents' risk of violence. ✓ In each household, enumerators gave each of the women a business card with the name of the female supervisor for the study and gave the men a card with the name of the male supervisor. Men were told by male enumerators that they could call the number on the card if they remembered any further information they wanted to share, and that their wives had been given similar cards with the number of the survey's female supervisor. Women were told by female enumerators—in private and after the sexual harassment module was implemented—that they could call the number on the card if they wanted help regarding the sexual harassment they had reported. Female respondents were also informed that the men in the household had been given a similar card, and that they had been told that women's cards were for them to add any information that may have been missed. As far as the survey team is aware, this process prevented female respondents from experiencing any negative repercussions.

Measures to Address Challenges in Data Collection

Experiences garnered in conducting this survey offer important lessons for collecting data on sexual harassment in public spaces, especially in very conservative settings. There is limited experience in the global South on collecting quantitative survey data on sexual harassment. Thus, the challenges in collecting these data in Peshawar city, and the measures taken to address these challenges, offer instructive information for future collection of data on sexual harassment (Table 3).

Being aware of potential pitfalls and addressing them prior to fielding the survey as well as in real time during survey implementation allowed us to get data that were as good quality as possible in the study context. In addition to the measures described above, World Bank study staff were especially vigilant about the data being collected on sexual harassment, paying particular attention to issues that may arise when conducting field visits. The one mitigation measure that did not work as envisaged was the referral system put in place. The team did not receive any calls from female respondents.

Rather, enumerators discovered that interviewed women tended to give their cards to the men in their household, and in a few cases, men called the female supervisors to harass or berate them. Further, women may not have had access to a phone to call the female supervisors even if they kept the referral card. Pakistan has the highest gender gap in mobile phone ownership in the world, with women being 38 percent less likely to own a mobile phone than men;²⁸ in urban Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, this difference is close to 50 percent.²⁹ Clearly, referral mechanisms need to be changed in future exercises and contexts.

Implications for Future Research and Intervention

Additional stand-alone, mixed-methods research is urgently needed to estimate the prevalence of sexual harassment faced by women in Pakistan. Our qualitative research and studies from other parts of South Asia have established that women and girls across the region are at high risk for some form of sexual harassment in any public space, including the street, transportation, schools,

28 Oliver Rowntree and Matthew Shanahan, "Connected Women: The Mobile Gender Gap Report 2020," (GSMA, 2020), <https://www.gsma.com/mobilefordevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/GSMA-The-Mobile-Gender-Gap-Report-2020.pdf>.
 29 NIPS and ICF, Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2017-18, Tables 15.8.1 and 15.8.2.

and workplaces. Yet, quantitative estimates of the prevalence of this kind of pervasive gender-based violence are scarce for Pakistan. Our experience also suggests, however, that embedding questions about sexual harassment in a larger survey is likely to yield underestimates. Thus, stand-alone, mixed-methods studies are essential to bring to light this long-standing type of violence that hampers women's engagement in public spaces.

Stand-alone experimental and behavioral research is also crucial to better understand how to address sexual harassment and provide referrals to survivors. Our experience with referrals suggests that behavioral experiments could help shed light on how best to structure referral mechanisms to survivors in highly conservative contexts such as Peshawar where providing referral itself can increase a woman's risk of other types of gender-based violence, specially domestic abuse. There are also huge gaps in rigorous intervention research to try and understand what can be done to address sexual harassment in public spaces that need to be addressed.³⁰

There are immediate policy and legal actions that can begin to address sexual harassment in Pakistan. Pakistan has a very strong law against sexual harassment in the workplace with a parallel institutional structure to ensure that actions are taken. This and other laws related to sexual harassment can be strengthened with measures such as:

- ✓ Ensure implementation of the law: while institutional structures are in place, our qualitative research showed that these are often not functional or have not gained women's trust. Thus, women are reluctant to report, even when they know the law.
- ✓ Sensitize those in law enforcement agencies who deal with sexual harassment complaints to engage appropriately with women who report such harassment.
- ✓ Increase women's awareness of the institutional structure they can use to report harassment, starting from provincial ombudspersons to workplace committees, and also counseling and legal services available for women who have suffered

sexual harassment: radio, television, and (where women have access to the internet) social media are easily accessible conduits for such awareness raising.

- ✓ Raise awareness of digital and cyber harassment, which are relatively new forms of harassment and may sometimes not be recognized as such.

Improve safety in public spaces. Women's lack of safety in public spaces is well recognized globally. Urban environments in particular are typically not structured to be gender-inclusive, and, in fact, public environments that are gender biased can exacerbate gender inequalities and prevent women and girls from contributing fully to a society's economic and social growth. Thus safety in public spaces and a broader view to urban planning that makes public spaces more women-friendly are critical.³¹ There are increasing examples of interventions to make urban spaces more inclusive and to increase safety for women and girls in public spaces and in transport, including in Pakistani cities (see Appendix 3). Improving public safety—and the perception of public safety—needs to be an urgent, explicit priority to address experiences and fear of sexual harassment and to enable women to use public spaces more freely and fully.

Address the digital gender gap so that women have more options to report sexual harassment.

Women's lack of ownership of mobile phones can hamper efforts in an increasingly digital age to provide information and raise awareness on sexual harassment among women, as well as limit women's access to recourse, resources, and assistance. In part, this digital gender gap arises from the same patriarchal norms that underlie sexual harassment, especially efforts to control women and their access to information: almost one-third of women in Pakistan in a recent survey cited family disapproval as the main reason for not using mobile internet, compared to 2 percent of men.³²

In the medium and longer term, underlying gender-unequal societal norms have to be tackled.

The underlying patriarchal structure that perpetuates and normalizes harassment while punishing women

30 Jennifer L. Solotaroff, and Rohini Prabha Pande, *Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia*, South Asia Development Forum (Washington, DC: World Bank Group, 2014), <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/20153>.

31 Terraza, Horacio, Maria Beatriz Orlando, Carina Lakovits, Vanessa Lopes Janik, and Anna Kalashyan, *Handbook for Gender-Inclusive Urban Planning and Design* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2020), <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/33197>.

32 Rowntree and Shanahan, "Connected Women: The Mobile Gender Gap Report 2020," <https://www.gsma.com/mobilefordevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/GSMA-The-Mobile-Gender-Gap-Report-2020.pdf>.

for suffering harassment and making it difficult for women to learn about or report harassment needs to be addressed for sustainable change. While this is a daunting task indeed, especially in more conservative areas such as our study site, there are multiple global examples of how to address social norms that can be adapted to the study area. Our qualitative research shows that women are aware of their status as second-class citizens, know full well the oppor-

tunities they are missing because of the constraints that current norms and fear of harassment place on them, and are looking for change. Respondents overwhelmingly said that they want a different world with less harassment and more equality of opportunity for their daughters. It is incumbent on policymakers and practitioners to use the many tools at our disposal to move in that direction.

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APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY

The Peshawar Urban Household Survey (PUHS), from which the data for this Note were drawn, was a multipurpose household survey designed to get a statistically representative sample in order to study the welfare of the population in Peshawar. The survey questionnaire included a range of themes, such as water and sanitation, urban poverty, labor market participation and economic empowerment, women's status and gender inequality (including, but not limited to, sexual harassment), domestic and international migration, as well as individual aspirations.

Fieldwork took place between February and April 2018. Informed consent was taken from each respondent. Data were collected on paper, via separate male and female questionnaires. The sample was drawn at the household level, with a planned sample size of 2,400 households. The actual sample was drawn from 2,357 households covering a total of 21,506 individuals. Data were collected separately from 5,870 working-age men and 5,629 working-age women 15 to 64 years of age.

The module on sexual harassment included an additional layer of consent over and above the consent for participation in the survey overall. Enumerators were trained to read the following text to every eligible respondent, that is, all women 15–64 years of age in participating households: “Now I would like to ask about your daily experience in places that you visit outside your home. This could be a workplace, market, school, college, etc. I want to remind you that everything you tell me will be strictly confidential, that means no one will know you have given me this information. If you are at all

uncomfortable or do not want to answer any questions, please let me know, and we will move to the next question. Now, may I begin?” Enumerators received extra training (including role-play) on asking questions in this module, as well as on skipping the module and coming back to it in case the interview was interrupted.

The sexual harassment module was structured as a series of questions that captured information about different kinds of harassment. The first questions asked about whether respondents had ever experienced different kinds of sexual harassment, grouped into three: (a) inappropriate staring or comments; (b) gestures or actions of a sexual nature; and (c) digital harassment, defined as inappropriate use of the respondent's phone number, SMS, email, or social networking platform. For respondents who responded in the affirmative to any of these questions, follow-up questions were asked about who (if anyone) they had told about their experience, or if they had not told anyone, why they had not done so. Four questions were included about women's knowledge of Pakistan's laws against sexual harassment and, for those working in formal institutions, about their knowledge and trust of the sexual harassment committees mandated by law at their workplace. Finally, the enumerator was trained to report whether she was able to maintain full privacy and whether, in her view, the respondent felt visibly uncomfortable while answering questions in this module.

The sexual harassment module had a response rate of 96.1 percent (5,411 out of 5,629 women ages 15–64 responded).

APPENDIX 2: SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Sample characteristics	Percentage	Sample size
Female respondents, ages 15–64, who answered harassment module	100	5,411
Afghan	7	373
Education (highest grade attained)		
Never attended school	44.52	2,409
Primary (grades 0–5)	15.01	812
Lower secondary (grades 6–10)	20.95	1,133
Higher secondary (grades 11, 12)	7.79	421
Lower tertiary (bachelor's degree)	10.63	575
Higher tertiary (master's degree, PhD)	1.09	59
Marital status		
Single	26.17	1,416
Married	65.13	3,524
Divorced/widowed/separated	4.31	233
Nikah/engaged	4.40	238
Relationship with head of household		
Head of household	0.50	27
Wife	40.40	2,186
Daughter	23.47	1,270
Daughter-in-law	17.37	940
Others	18.26	988
Labor force participation		
Out of labor force including training	83.83	4,532
Employed	14.59	789
Unemployed and discouraged	1.57	85
Access to ICT		
Use or have access to a mobile phone	67.30	3,644
Use or have access to internet	25.60	1,384
Mobility		
Always accompanied by someone	84.20	4,554
Transport		
Did not go out last week	34.60	1,875
Public transport	3.70	200
Taxi/rickshaw/carpool	35.50	1,921
Own/employer provided	11.10	603
Walking	14.90	811

Sample characteristics	Percentage	Sample size
<i>Level of purdah</i>		
None	1.80	100
Cover head only	6.05	327
Cover head and bosom	11.50	623
Cover whole body and face	80.50	4,359
<i>Harassment</i>		
Have experienced some form of harassment	31.90	1,728
Know about law on sexual harassment	6.10	334
<i>Feel safe</i>		
In neighborhood: Yes	65.40	3,543
Outside neighborhood: Yes	36.50	1,980
<i>Interview conditions</i>		
Able to achieve comfort and privacy	23.40	1,268
<i>Summaries</i>		
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Sample size</i>
Age	32.00	5,411
Household size	9.80	5,411
Number of days went out last week	1.70	5,411
Income of women in household	3004.80	5,411
<i>Source: Peshawar Urban Household Survey.</i>		

APPENDIX 3: DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH REPORTED SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sample: Women ages 15-64	Reported sexual harassment	
	Percentage	N
Afghan	25	94
Pakistani	32	1,634
Education		
Never attended school	27.07	652
Primary attended (grades 0-5)	25.80	207
Post-primary attended (grades 6+)	39.54	869
Age		
15-18	27.70	236
19-24	33.00	348
25-44	35.60	840
45-64	26.40	304
Marital Status		
Single	29.50	418
Married	32.30	1,140
Divorced/widowed/separated	32.80	77
Nikah/engaged	39.20	93
Number of Children		
0 children	38.60	293
1 to 2	32.80	480
3 to 5	31.90	686
6 plus	25.70	269
Labor force participation		
Out of labor force including training	29.80	1,353
Employed	42.50	335
Unemployed and discouraged	43.40	37
Access to ICT		
Use or have access to a mobile phone	35.45	1,292
Don't have access to mobile phone	24.72	437
Use or have access to internet	41.62	576
Don't have access to internet	28.62	1,152
Mobility		
Always accompanied by someone when going out	29.50	1,344
Not always accompanied when going out	44.80	384

Sample: Women ages 15-64	Reported sexual harassment	
	Percentage	N
Transport		
Did not go out last week	28.50	534
Public transport	39.90	80
Taxi/rickshaw/carpool	33.60	647
Own/employer provided	34.10	205
Walking	32.20	261
Level of purdah		
None	55.20	56
Cover head only	37.10	122
Cover head and bosom	32.40	203
Cover whole body and face	30.90	1,349
Harassment		
Know about law on sexual harassment	45.20	151
Don't know about law on sexual harassment	31.10	1,577
Interview conditions		
Comfort and privacy obtained	25.50	324
Comfort and privacy were not obtained	33.90	1,404
Feel safe		
In neighborhood: Yes	33.92	1,202
In neighborhood: No	28.20	527
Outside neighborhood: Yes	36.70	727
Outside neighborhood: No	29.20	1,002
Summaries		
	Mean	Sample size
Age	31.60	1457
Household size	8.80	1457
Number of days went out last week	2.00	1457
Income of women in household	3,558.50	1457
<i>Source: Peshawar Urban Household Survey.</i>		

APPENDIX 4: MULTIVARIATE LOGISTIC ANALYSIS OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH REPORTED SEXUAL HARASSMENT

	Odds ratio	Standard error	p-value
Respondent's age	0.99	0.005	0.004
<i>Level of schooling (ref = none)</i>			
Primary attended/attending	0.92	0.139	0.595
Post-primary attended/attending	1.46	0.181	0.002
<i>Marital status (ref = single)</i>			
Married	1.58	0.216	0.001
Divorced/widowed/separated	1.78	0.489	0.035
Nikah/engaged	1.52	0.338	0.059
<i>Access to media</i>			
Have access to a cellphone (ref = no)	1.25	0.146	0.052
Have access to the internet (ref = no)	1.29	0.156	0.033
<i>Labor force participation (ref = none)</i>			
Employed	1.42	0.225	0.027
Unemployed (including discouraged)	1.64	0.517	0.113
Respondent's own income	1.01	0.016	0.594
<i>Mobility</i>			
Number of days went out last week	1.03	0.031	0.295
Always accompanied when out (ref = sometimes or never)	0.68	0.091	0.004
Feel safe within the neighborhood when outside of home (ref = no)	0.86	0.103	0.207
Feel safe outside the neighborhood when outside of home (ref = no)	1.23	0.142	0.077
<i>Transport (ref = never goes out of the house)</i>			
Public	1.36	0.337	0.218
Taxi/rickshaw/carpool	1.10	0.145	0.489
Own/employer provided	0.79	0.153	0.215
Walking	0.96	0.166	0.805
<i>Level of purdah when outside (ref = full body)</i>			
Cover head and bosom	0.76	0.120	0.084
Cover head only	0.90	0.194	0.611
None	1.69	0.595	0.139
<i>Other covariates</i>			
Household size	0.96	0.010	0.000
Know about law against sexual harassment (ref = no)	1.14	0.245	0.553
Comfort and privacy were achieved during interview	0.79	0.098	0.052
Constant	0.72	0.201	0.235
Pseudo-R ²	0.0533		
<i>Note: Outcome is "Reported having experienced sexual harassment in at least one way."</i>			

