

# WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND SAFETY PERCEPTIONS: EVIDENCE FROM LOW-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS OF DHAKA, BANGLADESH

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## SUMMARY

This brief uses the 2018 Dhaka Low-Income Area Gender, Inclusion, and Poverty (DIGNITY) survey to assess the gender gap in safety perceptions and analyze the correlation between women's safety perception and their labor market outcomes. The analysis shows that women are significantly less likely than men to feel safe in the low-income neighborhoods of Dhaka. While the percentage of women who reported feeling safe increased with age, living standard, and the availability of streetlights, the percentage of women who reported feeling safe decreased with education and concern of eviction. The analysis further shows that this gender gap in safety perception disproportionately hurt women's labor market outcomes. Women who feel safe are much more likely to be economically active, work outside their neighborhoods, and explore economic opportunities.

## INTRODUCTION

Globally, women regularly encounter violence and harassment in public spaces, compelling many of them to adapt to such behavior as an unpleasant fact of life. An estimated 84 percent of women routinely experience insults or sexual comments while in public spaces in Bangladesh (ActionAid 2016). The 2015 National Survey on Violence against Women by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics reports that 18.3 percent of women in Bangladesh identify public space (vehicles, roads, streets) as a place where sexual violence occurs. Public spaces in Bangladesh lack safety measures to address such violence and harassment not only failing to take account of women's needs but also denying them the opportunity to fully take advantage of the public investment and enjoy its maximum benefit. Bangladeshi cities do not have adequate streetlights or transportation and toilets that are safe and suitable for women. The cities also lack law enforcement officers attuned to women's safety issues and trained to ensure their safety.

The social costs of violence and harassment go far beyond psychological and physical injuries. Violence and harassment are forms of gender discrimination and violate basic human

rights. The harassment of women in public spaces includes a wide range of actions, from unwanted insults and sexual comments to capturing and sharing inappropriate images, to touching and groping, to rape. Violence and harassment in public spaces threaten women's lives, restrict their mobility, and deter them from working, socializing, and equally participating in urban activities. Violence and harassment in public spaces prevent women from living their lives the way they desire. In many cases, parents, especially poor parents, withdraw their young girls from attending schools and marry them off at a young age, which seems an attractive choice to protect their daughters from street harassment (Verma, Sinha, and Khanna 2013; Talboys et al. 2017; Human Rights Watch 2018). These young married girls experience social isolation as they retract from social spaces for adolescents and concentrate on household duties and child-rearing. They may also experience deterioration in their mental well-being from hopelessness, fear, anger, anxiety, and their mere inability to be independent (Talboys et al. 2016; Talboys et al. 2017; Beattie et al. 2019).

Harassment in public spaces profoundly hinders women's free movement and constrains them from participating in the labor market, leading to their loss of income. Fear of

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harassment is thus a block to women escaping poverty. It limits them from exploring their career prospects, impeding their progress and access to better income-earning capabilities.

This note examines the association between women's perception of safety and their labor market outcomes in the low-income neighborhoods of Dhaka. Female labor force participation (FLFP) in Bangladesh is significantly lower than male labor force participation. Only 36 percent of women participated in the labor market in 2017 compared to 80.6 percent of men (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2018). Although FLFP has increased steadily in Bangladesh, since 2010, the overall increase has been driven by rural growth. In contrast, FLFP in urban areas has declined from 34.5 percent in 2010 to 30.8 percent in 2017 (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2018). A study by Kotikula, Hill, and Raza (2019) shows that sexual harassment or feeling less secure reduces women's economic activities. The impacts of safety perceptions on women's labor market choices may lead to further decline in urban FLFP, specifically during the current COVID-19 pandemic when reports of gender-based violence have been increasing in Bangladesh (BRAC 2020; Human Rights Watch 2020; Al Mamun, Hosen, and Mamun 2021; United Nations Population Fund et al. 2021).

## DATA AND SAMPLE

This brief uses the 2018 Dhaka Low-Income Area Gender, Inclusion, and Poverty (DIGNITY) survey to analyze the gender gap in safety perceptions and examine the correlation between women's safety perception and their labor market outcomes. The World Bank's Gender Group and the Poverty Global Practice carried out the survey, which is partly funded by the Umbrella Facility for Gender Equality (UFGE), a World Bank Group multi-donor trust fund. The survey follows a two-stage stratification design. It is representative of low-income areas and slums of the Dhaka City Corporations (North and South) and a low-income site from the Greater Dhaka Statistical Metropolitan Area (Kotikula, Hill, and Raza 2019).

The DIGNITY survey includes detailed individual-level information on time use, employment, attitudes and perceptions of work and safety, and women's economic empowerment indicators. The data also provide information on the demographic and sociodemographic characteristics of the surveyed households. Unlike traditional surveys, which interview heads of the households, the DIGNITY survey collects economic data directly from household members. Analysis of the DIGNITY survey data can inform

policy decisions on the importance of street safety in increasing FLFP in Bangladesh. This assessment is vital now while Bangladesh is experiencing a rise in reported gender-based violence, when rapid intervention to address violence against women is critical (BRAC 2020; Human Rights Watch 2020; Al Mamun, Hosen, and Mamun 2021; United Nations Population Fund et al. 2021).

In the DIGNITY survey, the safety/security module provides information on individuals' safety perception. For this brief, safety perceptions are defined as follows:

- Individuals are considered to feel safe (=1) if they report feeling physically safe all the time in the streets on which their homes are located, or they feel physically safe all the time when on their own outside their communities.
- Individuals are considered to feel unsafe (=0) if they do not go outside their communities, if they report only feeling physically safe in the daytime, or they do not at all feel safe in their streets or going outside their communities.

Because this brief analyzes the relationship between safety perception and female labor market outcomes, the sample is restricted to working-age individuals (15–64 years old). This selection limits the sample for analysis to 1,235 women for whom all the data relating to safety perception, labor market outcomes, individual characteristics, household composition, and regional information are available. A sample of 1,077 men is also used to understand the gender gap in safety perceptions.

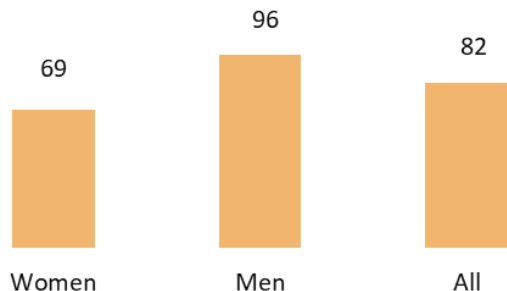
## GENDER GAP IN SAFETY PERCEPTIONS

Violence and harassment directed at women and girls remain among the most prevalent social and economic problems in Bangladesh. A deep-rooted patriarchal culture and strong religious beliefs drive societal attitudes and acceptance of discrimination against women in a country where men have the authority to discipline women in society. A study by Naved et al. in 2011 finds that about 10 percent of urban Bangladeshi men in their study sample perpetrated sexual violence against women in their lifetime. Alarmingly, the study reveals that among those who perpetrated sexual violence, 77 percent, cited "sexual entitlement" as their motivation and 57 percent committed sexual violence against women for "fun."

The analysis of the DIGNITY survey data confirms that in the low-income urban neighborhood of Dhaka, women are 27 percentage points less likely than men to feel safe (Figure 1). Only 69 percent of women surveyed reported feeling safe, compared to 96 percent of men. This significant difference

in safety perception by women and men implicates the patriarchal social structure in Bangladesh (Cain, Khanam, and Nahar 1979; Chowdhury 2009).

**Figure 1. Safety Perceptions of Women and Men**



Source: The 2018 DIGNITY survey data. N=1,235 (women), N=1,077 (men), N=2,312 (all). Survey weights applied.

Moreover, in low-income urban neighborhoods of Bangladesh, traditional gender roles often make younger girls highly vulnerable to harassment in public spaces. The findings suggest that the percentage of women who feel safe increases as they get older. In the 15–24 age group, only 62 percent of women report feeling safe, but 78 percent of women in 55–64 age group report feeling safe (Figure 2A). In contrast, almost all men feel safe across all age groups. Women consistently report feeling less safe than men of all ages. The gender gap in safety perceptions is highest at younger ages. While women in the 15–24 age group are 35 percentage points less likely to feel safe than men, the gender gap in safety perceptions shrinks by 16 percentage points for the 25–54 age group and by 19 percentage points for the 55–64 age group.

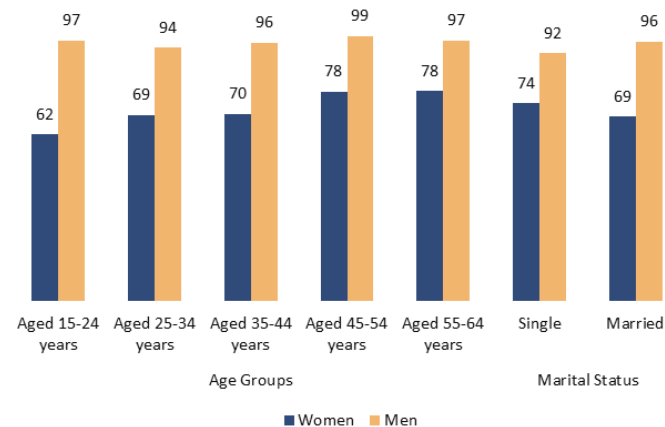
Interestingly, there is an inverse relationship between women’s perception of safety and their educational attainment. Seventy-two percent of women with no education feel physically safe in the streets versus 60 percent of women with a Secondary School Certificate (SSC) and above (Figure 2B). The gender gap in safety perceptions also increases with women’s educational attainment. While women with no education are 24 percentage points less likely than men to feel safe, women with an SSC and above are an additional 12 percentage points less likely than men to feel safe. There is a sharp fall in women reporting to feel safe after completing primary education. For women who completed less than primary education, 71–72 percent reported feeling safe. In contrast, only 60–63 percent of women with more than primary education reported feeling safe. The global literature on violence also indicates such inverse relationship between education and women’s safety—women who are

more educated are likely to report having experienced more violence (Krug et al. 2002; El Feki, Barker, and Heilman 2017).

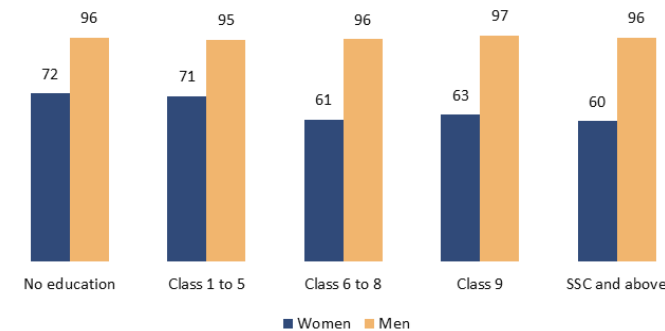
Almost universally, women and men from comparatively well-off families have some freedom to choose safer modes of transport and avoid unsafe locations. Hence, women and men living in relatively well-off households feel safer than their counterparts in less well-off households. The findings confirm that women are 19 percentage points more likely to report feeling safe with a 1-point increase in the living standard index (Appendix, Table 1). The safety perception

**Figure 2. Percent of Women and Men Reported Feeling Safe by their Age, Marital Status, and Education**

**A. Age and Marital Status**



**B. Education**



Source: The 2018 DIGNITY survey data. N=1,235 (women), N=1,077 (men). Survey weights applied.

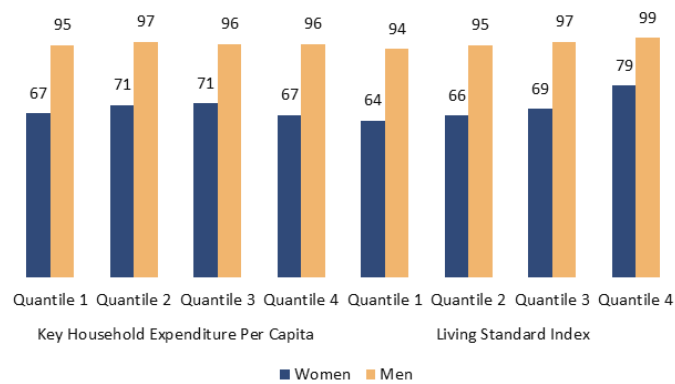
of men also increases significantly with the rise in living standard index. Ninety-four percent of men in quantile 1 of the living standard index feel safe relative to 99 percent of men in quantile 4 (Figure 3A). A 1-point increase in the living standard index raises men’s feeling of safety by 7.6 percentage points (Appendix, Table 1). The rise in wealth also reduces the gender gap in safety perceptions by 10

percentage points (Figure 3A). In quantile 1 of the living standard index, women are 30 percentage points less likely than men to feel safe, which drops to 20 percentage points in quantile 4.

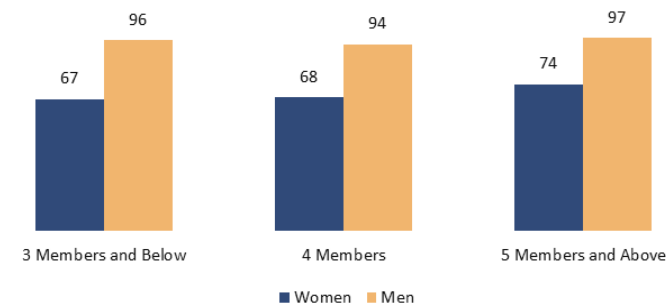
Although poor women have fewer options to navigate, the fear of harassment may not prevent them from going outside altogether. Women tend to organize their daily activities with others to facilitate mobility; they feel safe from abuse in the street, especially at night, in the company of other people. The need for company to enable mobility is likely inconvenient and curbs women’s freedom to go out as they desire. The findings in this brief suggest that an increase in household size by a member boosts women’s

**Figure 3. Percent of Women and Men Reported Feeling Safe by their Living Standard and Household Size**

**A. Household Living Standard<sup>a</sup>**



**B. Number of Household Members**



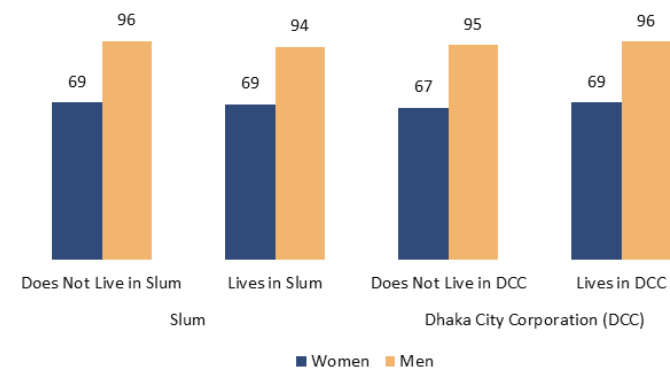
<sup>a</sup> Log of key household expenditure per capita calculated using: Key household expenditure per capita = [(Value of rice, milk, milk products, eggs, fish, and meat consumed in last week)\*52 + Spend on children’s clothing and shoes in the last 12 months]/HH size; (and) Living standard index (normalized) using Principle Component Analysis (PCA) is calculated with: stove used (electric/gas=1, 0 otherwise), wall of the house (tin/wood/brick/cement=1, 0 otherwise); roof of the house (tin/tally/brick/cement=1, 0 otherwise); toilet used (sanitary pit latrine=1, 0 otherwise); toilet shared (no=1, 0 otherwise); Source of drinking water (supply=1, 0 otherwise); and source of light (metered electricity=1, 0 otherwise).

Source: The 2018 DIGNITY survey data. N=1,235 (women), N=1,077 (men). Survey weights applied.

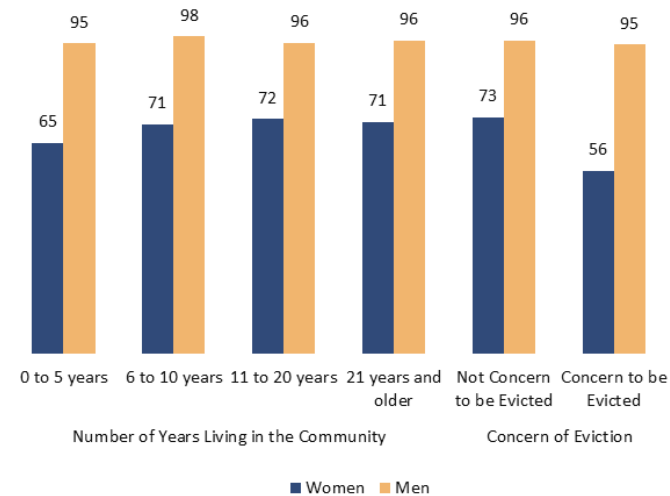
feeling of safety by 3.3 percentage points (Appendix, Table 1). This suggests that women living in a household with more members than others might have someone to accompany them when they need to go outside.

**Figure 4. Percent of Women and Men Reported Feeling Safe by their Settlements**

**A. Living Areas**



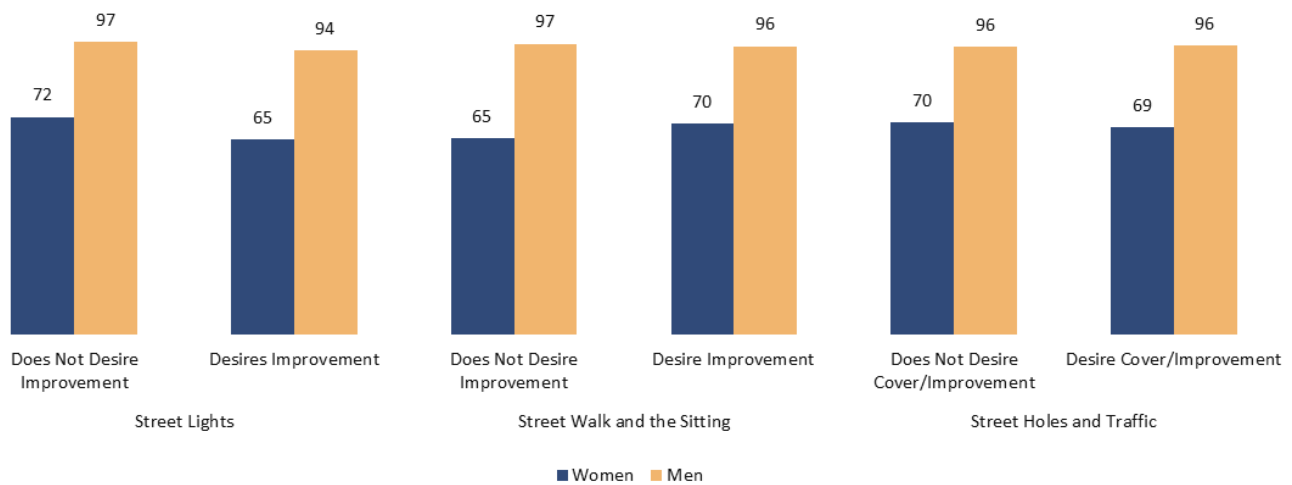
**B. Years in the Community and Eviction**



Source: The 2018 DIGNITY survey data. N=1,235 (women), N=1,077 (men). Survey weights applied.

An individual’s living situation is also a critical influence on their safety perception. People residing in urban slums live in unhealthy conditions and are exposed to a high degree of violence, crime, and unstable housing. According to the 2014 Census of Slum Areas and Floating Population by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Dhaka has 13,935 slums, with a population of 2.2 million people. However, the DIGNITY survey analysis indicates no significant differences in women’s safety perception by the areas they live (Figure 4A). Instead, the high degree of violence and crime in urban

**Figure 5. Percent of Women and Men Reported Feeling Safe by their Responses to Improvements They Desire in Their Neighborhood Streets**



Source: The 2018 DIGNITY survey data. N=1,235 (women), N=1,077 (men). Survey weights applied.

slums affects men’s sense of safety—men living in slums are 3.6 percentage points less likely to feel safe than those not living in slums (Appendix, Table 1). However, with the significant influence of living conditions on men’s safety perception, there is not much variation in the gender gap of safety perceptions by area (Figure 4A), indicating that women’s safety is lower than men in all locations. This implies that instead of norms, higher levels of crime and violence influence men’s perceptions of safety. While, for women, the violence that is condoned by norms makes them feel unsafe in all locations.

Regardless of socioeconomic background and living area, access to secure and stable housing is a necessity for safety, especially for women. The DIGNITY survey suggests that eviction concerns significantly reduce the perception of safety for women, but not so much for men. Only 56 percent of women concerned about eviction feel safe, compared with 73 percent of women who have no eviction concern (Figure 4B). Concerns about eviction reduce women’s sense of safety by 17.9 percentage points relative to those with no eviction concern (Appendix, Table 1). Concern about eviction also increases the gender gap in safety perception by 16 percentage points (Figure 4B). Women are 39 percentage points less likely to feel safe than men when worried about eviction, compared to 23 percentage points less likely to feel safe than men when not worried about eviction.

Another crucial determinant of safety perception is the availability of streetlights. Existing literature indicates that darkness significantly reduces the presence of people in the street, especially women, and is a critical reason people

feel less safe on the street at night (Rahm, Sternudd, and Johansson 2020; Ceccato, Langefors, and Näsman 2021). Adequate streetlighting increases visibility and is crucial for women to feel safe. In the DIGNITY survey, among women who desired improvement in neighboring streetlights, only 65 percent report feeling safe (Figure 5). In comparison, among women who did not include neighboring streetlights in their desire for improvement, 72 percent of them report feeling safe. For women, the desire to have improvements in neighborhood streetlights decreases their likelihood of feeling safe by 7.8 percentage points compared to those who feel streetlights require no improvement (Appendix, Table 1). Likewise, for men, the desire to have lighting improvements is associated with a decrease in the likelihood of feeling safe by 2.3 percentage points compared to those who did not select streetlights for improvements. Twenty-nine percentage points fewer women feel secure than men who desire streetlight improvements. In contrast, the gender gap in safety perception drops to 25 percentage points when women and men believe their neighborhood streetlights are adequate (Figure 5).

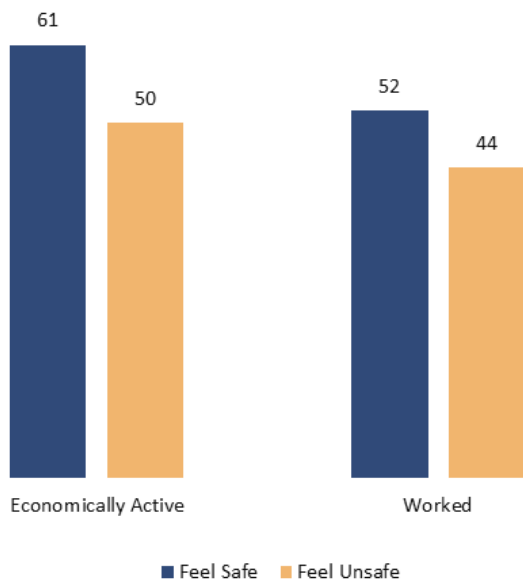
## FEMALE LABOR SUPPLY AND SAFETY PERCEPTION

Women’s perception of safety impacts their labor market outcomes disproportionately relative to men in a traditional society like Bangladesh, where males are considered breadwinners and females caregivers. Concerns about safety and security hinder women’s mobility and hurt them economically, while men retain responsibility for providing

a livelihood irrespective of their safety perceptions.<sup>1</sup> The data from the DIGNITY survey show that 61 percent of women who feel safe, versus 50 percent of women who feel unsafe, either worked or were available to work (economically active) in the last 30 days (Figure 6). Women who feel safe are 8.3 percentage points more likely to be economically active in the last 30 days than women who feel unsafe after controlling for individual, household, and regional characteristics (Appendix, Table 2). Similarly, 52 percent of women who feel safe worked in the last 30 days as opposed to 44 percent of women who feel unsafe, which again implies an increase in women’s probability of working when they feel safe (Figure 6).

A positive safety perception helps women switch from low-paid garment work or self-employed family occupations to service sector occupations. Women who feel unsafe are significantly more likely to work in the garment sector (32 percent) than those who feel safe (19 percent) (Figure 7A). For women, feeling safe relates to a 12.1 percentage point reduced likelihood of working as a garment worker than those who feel unsafe (Appendix Table 3). The likelihood of self-employment or working a family businesses also declines somewhat among women who feel safe (12 percent) compared to those who feel unsafe (16 percent) (Figure 7B).<sup>2</sup>

**Figure 6. Percent of Women Economically Active or Worked in the Last 30 Days by their Safety Perception**

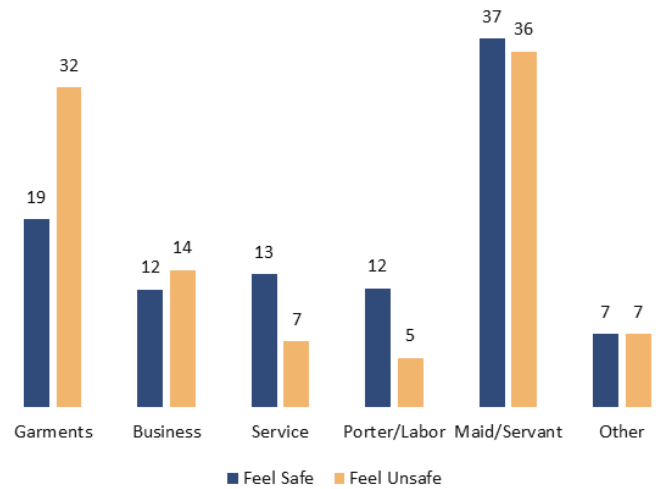


Source: The 2018 DIGNITY survey data. N=1,235 (women). Survey weights applied.

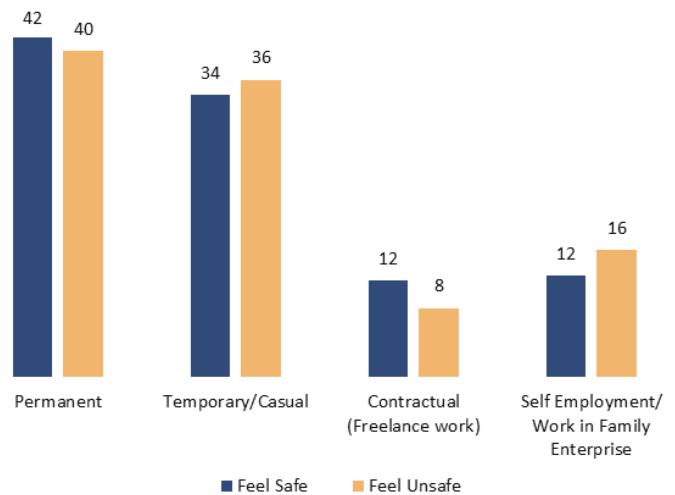
<sup>1</sup> The analysis of men’s safety perception and being economically active or working shows that all men who feel unsafe were economically active in the last 30 days. Also, of the men who feel unsafe, 99.2 percent of them worked in the last 30 days.  
<sup>2</sup> The multinomial probit estimates show that women who feel safe are 3.6 percentage points less likely to work in family enterprises than those who feel unsafe, but the estimate is not statistically significant (Appendix, Table 4). Instead, women who feel safe are significantly 7.9 percentage points more likely to work in contractual jobs than those who feel unsafe.

**Figure 7. Women’s Occupation, and Terms of Job Contracts in the Last 30 Days (Conditional on Worked) by their Safety Perceptions**

**A. Occupation**



**B. Terms of Job Contracts**



Source: The 2018 DIGNITY survey data. N=641 (women who worked). Survey weights applied.

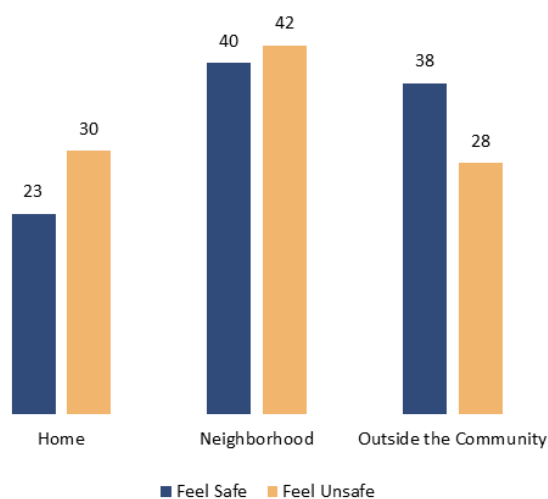
Although the garment industry employs large numbers of women and has been a driving force in increasing female employment in Bangladesh, these jobs often lack security, healthy working conditions, and decent pay and are widely condemned by society (Kabeer 2002; Kabeer and Mahmud 2004; Alam, Blanch, and Smith 2011). In comparison, service sector occupations, such as teaching, are much more respected for women in Bangladesh (James, Kabeer, and Mahmud 2018). The analysis suggests that 13 percent of women who feel safe work in the service sector versus 7 percent of women who feel unsafe (Figure 7A). For women, feeling safe relates to 8.2 percentage point greater probability

of working in service occupations relative to those who feel unsafe (Appendix Table 3).

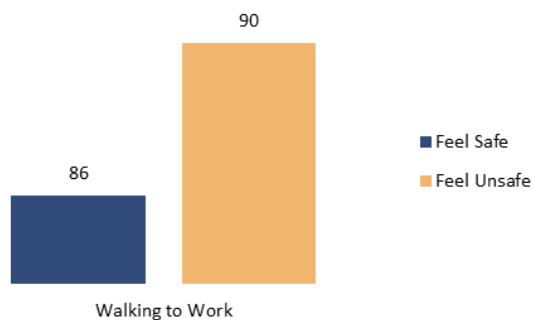
An increased sense of security also helps women explore economic opportunities outside their communities. Women who feel unsafe are constrained to working only in their communities and lack the option to look for better opportunities with more desirable working conditions elsewhere. The findings show that only 28 percent of women go outside their community to work when they feel unsafe, compared to 38 percent of women who go outside their community when they feel safe (Figure 8A). The positive feeling of safety leads to a 9.8 percentage point increase in women’s mobility outside their community for work reasons (Appendix, Table 5). In comparison, 90 percent of women who feel unsafe are likely to walk to work compared to 86 percent who feel safe (Appendix, Table 5).

**Figure 8. Women’s Location of Work, and Mode of Transportation to Work in the Last 30 Days (Conditional on Worked) by their Safety Perceptions**

**A. Location of Work**



**B. Walk to Work**



Source: The 2018 DIGNITY survey data. N=641 (women who worked). Survey weights applied.

percent of women who feel safe, revealing that those who feel unsafe stay close to their workplaces and avoid using public transportation (Figure 8B). There is a significant 6.3 percentage points reduced likelihood of women walking to work when they feel safe than those who feel unsafe (Appendix, Table 5).

**CONCLUSION**

In Bangladesh, FLFP is relatively low and hovered around 36 percent from 2010 to 2017 (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2018). Although FLFP has remained steady overall since 2010, urban FLFP has declined. Over the years, gender-based violence in Bangladesh has remained persistently high, which puts the country at risk of further declining FLFP in urban areas (Al Mamun, Hosen, and Mamun 2021). The findings in this brief suggest that women living in the low-income neighborhoods of Dhaka are more likely to feel unsafe than men, disproportionately hurting women’s labor market outcomes. The results show that women who feel confident and safe are much more likely to work outside their neighborhoods and explore economic opportunities.

The unsafe environment effectively excludes women from society and opportunities; it also heightens women’s actual and perceived vulnerability to violence. Providing women equal access to thrive by establishing an environment in which women feel safe is necessary to achieve economic development.

*Providing women equal access to thrive by establishing an environment in which women feel safe is necessary to achieve economic development.*

Several interventions can be adopted to make public spaces safer for women. An immediate measure could be to ensure adequate streetlights throughout the city, which would help everyone feel safer since dark neighborhoods are susceptible to crimes. Another immediate undertaking could be to provide gender-sensitive training to law enforcement and security officers who can be of instant help to women in public spaces. In addition, city surveillance systems can be made widely available to law enforcement officers, including security cameras in public spaces and panic buttons can be installed along key routes to help women who are being assaulted or harassed to call for immediate help. As for long-term measures, policymakers and urban planners need to

ensure the active participation of women in planning and designing new urban developments. Policymakers also need to ensure women's participation in formulating laws to address gender-based violence. In addressing gender-based violence, extra attention must be given to the less educated, disadvantaged population, which has a lower probability of reporting violence than others. In addition, awareness-building programs and advocacy campaigns against violence and harassment in public spaces need to be undertaken widely via print, broadcast, and social media. Finally, it is essential to promote a respectful attitude toward women in educational institutions, workplaces, and families, promoting a cultural shift to remove discriminatory views.

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## APPENDIX

**Table 1. Marginal Estimates of Probit Models: Determinants of Women's and Men's Safety Perceptions**

	(1) Women's safety perception Feel safe=1	(2) Men's safety perception Feel safe =1
Married=1	0.001 (0.077)	0.022 (0.018)
Age	0.011 (0.011)	0.001 (0.004)
Age-squared	-0.00002 (0.0001)	0.00002 (0.0001)
<b>Ref: No education</b>		
Class 1 to 5	0.042 (0.042)	-0.011 (0.038)
Class 6 to 8	-0.058 (0.056)	0.048 (0.038)
Class 9	-0.013 (0.088)	0.025 (0.039)
SSC and above	0.030 (0.078)	0.002 (0.036)
Has any kind of group membership=1	0.065 (0.090)	-0.020 (0.026)
Age of head	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)
Head is female=1	-0.005 (0.065)	0.047 (0.032)
<b>Head's education – Ref: No education</b>		
Class 1 to 5	0.007 (0.042)	0.011 (0.039)
Class 6 to 8	-0.009 (0.052)	-0.048 (0.035)
Class 9	-0.126 (0.081)	0.002 (0.039)
SSC and above	-0.103 (0.073)	0.013 (0.044)
Household owns the dwelling=1	0.035 (0.053)	-0.003 (0.022)
Individual concern to be evicted=1	-0.179*** (0.037)	-0.010 (0.018)
Log of key household expenditure per capita	0.053 (0.037)	0.005 (0.014)

	(1) Women's safety perception Feel safe=1	(2) Men's safety perception Feel safe =1
<b>Head's education – Ref: No education</b>		
Normalized living standard index using PCA	0.190** (0.083)	0.076** (0.031)
Household size	0.033*** (0.012)	0.005 (0.004)
Lives in Dhaka City Corporation (DCC)=1	0.015 (0.034)	0.025** (0.012)
Lives in Slum=1	-0.022 (0.040)	-0.036** (0.015)
Number of years living in the community	0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Lighting=1	-0.078** (0.034)	-0.023* (0.013)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Space to walk/sit=1	0.056 (0.040)	-0.005 (0.014)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Cover holes or control motorized traffic=1	-0.021 (0.050)	-0.002 (0.024)
<b>Region of birthplace: Ref: Central</b>		
Northern	-0.054 (0.058)	0.011 (0.021)
Eastern	-0.003 (0.051)	-0.014 (0.023)
Southern	0.050 (0.042)	-0.034** (0.016)
<b>Observations</b>	<b>1,235</b>	<b>1,077</b>

Note: The 2018 DIGNITY survey; \*\*\* 1%, \*\* 5%, and \* 10% level of significance. Survey weights applied.

**Table 2. Marginal Estimates of Probit Models: Relationship between Safety Perception and Women being Economically Active, or Worked in the Last 30 Days**

	(1) Economically active = 1	(2) Worked = 1
Feel safe=1	0.083** (0.037)	0.053 (0.038)
Married=1	-0.111 (0.083)	-0.112 (0.084)
Age	0.046*** (0.011)	0.044*** (0.011)
Age-squared	-0.001*** (0.0001)	-0.001*** (0.0001)
<b>Ref: No education</b>		
Class 1 to 5	-0.084* (0.045)	-0.100** (0.045)
Class 6 to 8	-0.077 (0.057)	-0.065 (0.058)
Class 9	-0.057 (0.085)	-0.065 (0.088)
SSC and above	-0.019 (0.081)	0.003 (0.081)
Has any kind of group membership=1	0.038 (0.086)	-0.085 (0.085)
Wears burkha when go outside in street community=1	-0.108*** (0.037)	-0.139*** (0.037)
Age of head	0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)
Head is female=1	0.213*** (0.066)	0.215*** (0.065)
<b>Head's education – Ref: No education</b>		
Class 1 to 5	-0.093** (0.044)	-0.115** (0.045)
Class 6 to 8	-0.078 (0.054)	-0.120** (0.054)
Class 9	0.048 (0.080)	-0.018 (0.089)
SSC and above	-0.107 (0.076)	-0.122 (0.076)
Household owns the dwelling=1	-0.062 (0.052)	-0.124** (0.051)

	(1) Economically active = 1	(2) Worked = 1
<b>Head's education – Ref: No education</b>		
Individual concern to be evicted=1	-0.001 (0.041)	-0.009 (0.042)
Log of key household expenditure per capita	0.042 (0.039)	0.009 (0.042)
Normalized living standard index using PCA	0.271*** (0.087)	0.198** (0.084)
Household size	-0.010 (0.012)	-0.013 (0.013)
Lives in Dhaka City Corporation (DCC)=1	-0.036 (0.037)	-0.008 (0.037)
Lives in slum=1	0.016 (0.042)	0.009 (0.041)
Number of years living in the community	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Lighting=1	-0.007 (0.036)	0.016 (0.037)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Space to walk/sit=1	0.131*** (0.044)	0.119*** (0.043)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Cover holes or control motorized traffic=1	0.011 (0.053)	0.028 (0.056)
<b>Region of birthplace: Ref: Central</b>		
Northern	0.088 (0.071)	0.091 (0.072)
Eastern	-0.036 (0.056)	-0.043 (0.055)
Southern	0.052 (0.044)	0.036 (0.044)
<b>Observations</b>	<b>1,235</b>	<b>1,235</b>

Note: The 2018 DIGNITY survey; \*\*\* 1%, \*\* 5%, and \* 10% level of significance. Survey weights applied.

**Table 3. Marginal Estimates of Multinomial Probit Model: Relationship between Women’s Safety Perception and Occupation in the Last 30 days (Conditional on Worked)**

	(1) Garments	(2) Business	(3) Service	(4) Porter/ day laborer	(5) Maid/ servant	(6) Others
Feel safe=1	-0.121*** (0.039)	-0.028 (0.029)	0.082*** (0.028)	0.092*** (0.031)	-0.040 (0.046)	0.014 (0.022)
Married=1	-0.094 (0.070)	-0.015 (0.051)	0.036 (0.050)	0.051 (0.052)	0.091 (0.082)	- 0.070** (0.029)
Age	0.002 (0.012)	-0.006 (0.010)	-0.010 (0.009)	0.006 (0.009)	0.014 (0.015)	-0.006 (0.006)
Age-squared	-0.0001 (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0001)	-0.0001 (0.0001)	-0.0001 (0.0001)	0.00003 (0.0001)
<b>Ref: No education</b>						
Class 1 to 5	0.027 (0.044)	0.094** (0.039)	-0.018 (0.033)	-0.045 (0.031)	-0.080 (0.051)	0.022 (0.021)
Class 6 to 8	0.119* (0.062)	0.153*** (0.050)	0.009 (0.047)	-0.081 (0.055)	- 0.268*** (0.074)	0.067** * (0.024)
Class 9	-0.101 (0.107)	0.289*** (0.069)	0.188*** (0.071)	0.008 (0.084)	- 0.537*** (0.137)	0.153** * (0.045)
SSC and above	0.099 (0.103)	0.438*** (0.090)	0.462*** (0.075)	- 1.363*** (0.170)	0.151 (0.181)	0.213** * (0.049)
Has any kind of group membership=1	0.036 (0.124)	-0.143** (0.068)	0.134** (0.063)	-0.103* (0.057)	0.114 (0.151)	-0.038 (0.062)
Wears burkha when go outside in street community=1	0.047 (0.039)	-0.038 (0.031)	0.071** (0.030)	-0.012 (0.025)	- 0.120*** (0.046)	0.053** * (0.020)
Age of head	0.003 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)	- 0.009*** (0.003)	0.003** (0.001)
Head is female=1	-0.044 (0.058)	0.034 (0.050)	0.057 (0.047)	0.028 (0.044)	-0.076 (0.072)	0.001 (0.025)
<b>Head’s education – Ref: No education</b>						
Class 1 to 5	0.085* (0.046)	0.071* (0.036)	-0.078** (0.034)	0.021 (0.032)	-0.121** (0.057)	0.022 (0.023)
Class 6 to 8	0.080 (0.059)	0.042 (0.041)	-0.123** (0.049)	0.020 (0.045)	-0.020 (0.073)	0.002 (0.036)
Class 9	0.434*** (0.110)	0.197** (0.090)	0.067 (0.063)	- 1.191*** (0.158)	0.400*** (0.136)	0.093** (0.044)

	(1) Garments	(2) Business	(3) Service	(4) Porter/ day laborer	(5) Maid/ servant	(6) Others
<b>Ref: No education</b>						
SSC and above	0.154* (0.085)	-0.116 (0.077)	-0.135** (0.062)	0.146 (0.096)	-0.132 (0.150)	0.083** (0.040)
Household owns the dwelling=1	-0.166* (0.098)	0.054 (0.047)	0.043 (0.051)	0.034 (0.040)	-0.032 (0.080)	0.067** (0.030)
Individual concern to be evicted=1	-0.014 (0.053)	0.011 (0.037)	0.031 (0.036)	0.048* (0.028)	-0.032 (0.056)	-0.045* (0.025)
Log of key household expenditure per capita	0.041 (0.044)	0.093*** (0.034)	0.022 (0.031)	-0.071** (0.032)	-0.076 (0.050)	-0.010 (0.018)
Normalized living standard index using PCA	-0.066 (0.091)	-0.133 (0.081)	0.045 (0.078)	0.034 (0.073)	0.088 (0.112)	0.031 (0.044)
Household size	-0.051*** (0.015)	0.017* (0.009)	-0.015 (0.012)	0.014 (0.009)	0.025* (0.014)	0.009 (0.006)
Lives in Dhaka City Corporation (DCC)=1	0.126** (0.050)	-0.019 (0.031)	-0.016 (0.033)	-0.027 (0.026)	0.006 (0.048)	- 0.070** *
Lives in slum=1	0.046 (0.042)	-0.028 (0.039)	0.012 (0.039)	-0.064* (0.036)	-0.021 (0.052)	0.055** *
Number of years living in the community	-0.004* (0.002)	0.003** (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	-0.003 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Lighting=1	-0.081** (0.038)	-0.021 (0.029)	-0.004 (0.029)	0.019 (0.026)	0.080* (0.044)	0.007 (0.020)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Space to walk/sit=1	-0.121** (0.050)	-0.002 (0.042)	0.023 (0.041)	0.001 (0.036)	0.054 (0.057)	0.046* (0.027)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Cover holes or control motorized traffic=1	0.037 (0.053)	-0.040 (0.041)	0.088* (0.047)	0.074** (0.038)	-0.128** (0.059)	-0.030 (0.025)
<b>Region of birthplace: Ref: Central</b>						
Northern	0.172*** (0.058)	0.014 (0.050)	- 0.157*** (0.053)	0.003 (0.035)	-0.023 (0.070)	-0.008 (0.035)
Eastern	-0.017 (0.061)	0.088** (0.042)	0.023 (0.042)	-0.027 (0.037)	-0.035 (0.067)	-0.032 (0.032)
Southern	0.124*** (0.045)	-0.018 (0.036)	0.004 (0.033)	-0.026 (0.037)	-0.078 (0.058)	-0.006 (0.025)
<b>Observations</b>	641	641	641	641	641	641

Note: The 2018 DIGNITY survey; \*\*\* 1%, \*\* 5%, and \* 10% level of significance. Survey weights applied.

**Table 4. Marginal Estimates of Multinomial Probit Model: Relationship between Women’s Safety Perception and Terms of Job Contracts in the Last 30 days (Conditional on Worked)**

	(1) Permanent	(2) Temporary/ casual	(3) Contractual (freelance)	(4) Self- employed/ worked in family enterprise
Feel safe=1	0.016 (0.051)	-0.060 (0.050)	0.079*** (0.027)	-0.036 (0.030)
Married=1	-0.091 (0.085)	0.128 (0.083)	-0.023 (0.036)	-0.014 (0.041)
Age	0.001 (0.015)	0.001 (0.015)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.010)
Age-squared	-0.0001 (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0001)
<b>Ref: No education</b>				
Class 1 to 5	-0.046 (0.062)	0.002 (0.060)	-0.017 (0.032)	0.062 (0.041)
Class 6 to 8	0.093 (0.082)	-0.201** (0.081)	-0.079** (0.040)	0.188*** (0.049)
Class 9	0.038 (0.144)	-0.422*** (0.142)	0.000 (0.057)	0.384*** (0.075)
SSC and above	0.027 (0.120)	-0.159 (0.139)	-0.034 (0.052)	0.166** (0.084)
Has any kind of group membership=1	0.085 (0.165)	0.057 (0.178)	-0.002 (0.043)	-0.139** (0.067)
Wears burkha when go outside in street community=1	-0.054 (0.054)	0.042 (0.053)	0.008 (0.028)	0.004 (0.033)
Age of head	-0.003 (0.003)	0.002 (0.004)	0.002 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.002)
Head is female=1	0.010 (0.076)	-0.031 (0.076)	-0.002 (0.036)	0.024 (0.035)
<b>Head’s education – Ref: No education</b>				
Class 1 to 5	0.005 (0.067)	-0.096 (0.064)	0.050* (0.030)	0.040 (0.038)
Class 6 to 8	-0.194** (0.084)	0.107 (0.079)	0.086*** (0.033)	0.001 (0.043)
Class 9	0.434*** (0.133)	0.388*** (0.150)	-0.882*** (0.137)	0.059 (0.096)
SSC and above	0.020 (0.114)	-0.018 (0.132)	0.071 (0.046)	-0.074 (0.068)
Household owns the dwelling=1	-0.067 (0.081)	0.094 (0.082)	-0.045 (0.035)	0.018 (0.044)



	(1) Permanent	(2) Temporary/ casual	(3) Contractual (freelance)	(4) Self- employed/ worked in family enterprise
<b>Head's education – Ref: No education</b>				
Individual concern to be evicted=1	-0.004 (0.060)	-0.069 (0.059)	0.048* (0.026)	0.024 (0.035)
Log of key household expenditure per capita	0.050 (0.055)	-0.061 (0.053)	-0.059** (0.030)	0.070** (0.034)
Normalized living standard index using PCA	0.404*** (0.124)	-0.147 (0.129)	-0.134** (0.063)	-0.123 (0.080)
Household size	-0.005 (0.017)	-0.011 (0.017)	0.001 (0.009)	0.016* (0.009)
Lives in Dhaka City Corporation (DCC)=1	-0.079 (0.053)	0.060 (0.054)	0.033 (0.029)	-0.014 (0.034)
Lives in slum=1	-0.057 (0.059)	-0.034 (0.058)	0.029 (0.026)	0.063* (0.034)
Number of years living in the community	0.004 (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.003* (0.001)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Lighting=1	0.027 (0.050)	-0.013 (0.050)	-0.005 (0.022)	-0.009 (0.029)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Space to walk/sit=1	-0.090 (0.065)	0.063 (0.064)	0.030 (0.030)	-0.003 (0.043)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Cover holes or control motorized traffic=1	0.021 (0.071)	0.030 (0.072)	0.066 (0.042)	-0.117*** (0.036)
<b>Region of birthplace: Ref: Central</b>				
Northern	0.104 (0.088)	-0.078 (0.089)	-0.040 (0.043)	0.014 (0.047)
Eastern	-0.084 (0.080)	0.079 (0.078)	-0.005 (0.037)	0.011 (0.039)
Southern	0.116* (0.060)	-0.087 (0.061)	-0.035 (0.030)	0.005 (0.037)
<b>Observations</b>	641	641	641	641

Note: The 2018 DIGNITY survey; \*\*\* 1%, \*\* 5%, and \* 10% level of significance. Survey weights applied.

**Table 5. Marginal Estimates of Multinomial Probit and Probit Models: Relationship between Women’s Safety Perception, their Location of Work and Mode of Transportation to Work in the Last 30 days (Conditional on Worked)**

	Multinomial probit			Probit
	(1) Home	(2) Neighborhood	(3) Outside the community	(4) Walked to work=1
Feel safe=1	-0.072* (0.043)	-0.026 (0.052)	0.098* (0.051)	-0.063* (0.037)
Married=1	0.082 (0.069)	-0.103 (0.088)	0.021 (0.080)	-0.019 (0.057)
Age	-0.020 (0.013)	0.017 (0.016)	0.004 (0.015)	0.013 (0.010)
Age-squared	0.0002 (0.0002)	-0.0002 (0.0002)	-0.00001 (0.0002)	-0.0001 (0.0001)
<b>Ref: No education</b>				
Class 1 to 5	0.041 (0.050)	0.019 (0.061)	-0.060 (0.056)	-0.038 (0.042)
Class 6 to 8	0.148** (0.069)	0.095 (0.089)	-0.242*** (0.086)	0.008 (0.058)
Class 9	0.403*** (0.121)	-0.303* (0.174)	-0.100 (0.157)	-0.230*** (0.088)
SSC and above	0.210** (0.097)	-0.218 (0.149)	0.008 (0.131)	0.048 (0.072)
Has any kind of group membership=1	-0.073 (0.092)	-0.370** (0.167)	0.443*** (0.150)	0.177** (0.080)
Wears <i>burkha</i> when go outside in street community=1	0.014 (0.044)	0.006 (0.056)	-0.020 (0.053)	0.048 (0.035)
Age of head	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.004* (0.002)
Head is female=1	0.081 (0.059)	-0.118 (0.079)	0.037 (0.073)	-0.110* (0.057)
<b>Head's education – Ref: No education</b>				
Class 1 to 5	0.105** (0.053)	-0.086 (0.066)	-0.019 (0.062)	-0.080* (0.042)
Class 6 to 8	-0.048 (0.067)	-0.056 (0.086)	0.104 (0.080)	-0.041 (0.057)
Class 9	-0.101 (0.120)	0.194 (0.141)	-0.094 (0.149)	0.130 (0.092)
SSC and above	-0.109 (0.093)	0.264** (0.131)	-0.155 (0.123)	-0.069 (0.075)
Household owns the dwelling=1	0.161** (0.067)	-0.041 (0.094)	-0.120 (0.084)	0.016 (0.048)

	Multinomial probit			Probit
	(1) Home	(2) Neighborhood	(3) Outside the community	(4) Walked to work=1
<b>Head's education – Ref: No education</b>				
Individual concern to be evicted=1	-0.018 (0.048)	0.045 (0.062)	-0.027 (0.059)	-0.052 (0.045)
Log of key household expenditure per capita	(0.047)	-0.047 (0.056)	-0.051 (0.053)	-0.031 (0.035)
Normalized living standard index using PCA	-0.209** (0.105)	0.295** (0.125)	-0.086 (0.121)	0.069 (0.086)
Household size	0.018 (0.015)	-0.011 (0.018)	-0.007 (0.016)	-0.006 (0.011)
Lives in Dhaka City Corporation (DCC)=1	0.006 (0.043)	-0.015 (0.053)	0.009 (0.053)	-0.031 (0.038)
Lives in slum=1	0.027 (0.049)	-0.174*** (0.059)	0.146*** (0.054)	-0.019 (0.039)
Number of years living in the community	0.004** (0.002)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.000 (0.002)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Lighting=1	0.056 (0.040)	-0.133*** (0.050)	0.078 (0.048)	-0.035 (0.032)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Space to walk/sit=1	-0.041 (0.058)	0.024 (0.069)	0.017 (0.073)	-0.070* (0.042)
Desire neighboring street improvement: Cover holes or control motorized traffic=1	-0.151*** (0.054)	0.031 (0.076)	0.120 (0.075)	0.043 (0.041)
<b>Region of birthplace: Ref: Central</b>				
Northern	0.007 (0.066)	0.064 (0.079)	-0.071 (0.078)	0.065 (0.053)
Eastern	0.080 (0.060)	-0.101 (0.076)	0.020 (0.072)	0.064 (0.045)
Southern	-0.022 (0.050)	0.014 (0.063)	0.008 (0.061)	0.056 (0.043)
<b>Observations</b>	641	641	641	641

Note: The 2018 DIGNITY survey; \*\*\* 1%, \*\* 5%, and \* 10% level of significance. Survey weights applied.