The New Urban space &Spatilal Practices of Women:
A Study on Working Women in Dhaka City

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Table of Contents

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Abstract

The city of Dhaka is now visible with eye-catching shopping malls, pioneering fashion house and stylish beauty parlor. Together with the rise of these new service sectors and escalating consumer culture, the new urban space has also been endowed with the presence of women in public space of the city. The study is an endeavor to demonstrate an interaction between the new urban space and spatial practices of working women in the city of Dhaka. These women are working in different shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors of the city. Their spatial practices comprise their enjoyment of freedom in work place and particularly in public space, their psychological mapping of fear and danger, their experience of harassment in public space and protective use of space in Dhaka. Briefly, the study has attempted to pinpoint how the city of Dhaka has become a space of freedom and movement and simultaneously a space of danger for women using the public space every day.

Harvey's 'Spatial practices and social meanings to space', Lefebvre's 'Production of space and Tonkiss's 'Geography of gender' have been applied to make the study theoretically sound.. Mixed method strategy has been applied to conduct the study majorly followed by survey and supplemented by case studies. This combination of methods has facilitated the respondents to enrich the findings of the study with their straightforward responses and exclusive social reality at the same time. There is a blend of South Dhaka and North Dhaka, affluent area and ordinary area to represent the reality in the city. Descriptive analysis with Statistical program and narrative analysis of the subjects' stories have been used for the analysis of collected data.

The study has revealed that new urban space of Dhaka has been produced by the rise of shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors, increasing consumerism, increasing number of women working in these sectors and their visible presence in the public space of the city. Their employment and empowerment with new service sectors has led to weakening men's traditional masculinity. The men attempt to show down their masculinity in a new form by harassing women differentlyin public space of Dhaka Women's socialization as a girl and previous bitter experiences in the city has produced women's fear of space as well as protective use of space. Briefly, the study argues that the new urban space of Dhaka city has produced working women's maps of danger and margins of freedom at the same time.

List of Tables

List of figures

List of diagrams and maps

Abbreviations

CBDs	Central Business Districts
DCC	Dhaka City Corporation
DNCC	Dhaka North City Corporation
DSCC	Dhaka South City Corporation
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
DMP	Dhaka Metropolitan Police
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
UN	United Nations
UK	United Kingdoms
DMDP	Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan
ASK	Ain-O-Shalish Kendra
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
BNWLA	Bangladesh National Lawyers Association
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1.Context of the study:

'A woman walks down a city street. A man whom she does not know makes an obscene noise or gesture. She counters with a retort or ignores him and walks on.'

-Cynthia Grant Bowman 1993

Urban living is now perceptible with freer life and newer employment reinforced by global economic redesign. The economic restructuring has a capitalist concern that has reproduced the urban space with the growth of new service sectors and rise of consumerism. Flourishing new service sectors and rising consumerism are accompanying Dhaka's overwhelming urban population and influx of people coming from hinterland. The new urban space has taken women out of their cocoon and freed them in full time or part time jobs in shopping malls, beauty parlor, fashion houses,service centers, departmental stores, cafes and so on. Beneath this visual aspect of consumerist urbanization new form of crimiminality is simultaneously taking place against women by male violence and thereby restricting their freer movement and full access to modern urban life. Women now in a larger proportion are being recruited in consumer service sectors compared to men such as beauty parlor, fashion house and shopping malls. Due to all of these transformations traditional conceptions of masculinity have been threatened by rising unemployment of men as well as employment and empowerment of women.Consequentially, traditional patriarchy is weakening down or breaking down andthus family structures are changing. One of the significant outcomes of this structural reshuffling is men's attempt to reclaim their masculinity symbolically in public by harassing women(Peoples, 2008).As a result, violence or harassment against women has been freed from the four walls of their home and made it more visible in public space. Harassment of women in public space is not independent of their age, ethnicity, occupation, life-style, distance between servicing place and living place, mode of transportation to commute between these places as well. Furthermore, urban physical and social environment intensifies possibility of women's harassment in the public space of the city. To avoid danger and stay safe in public space women adopt protective use of the space that severely impedes their free movement in the city. In modern city all of these factors are fretful about the right to the city

and particularly the right to a gendered city. The new urban space and spatial practices are concerned about the new city, women's travel practices for the sake of their service sector, the enjoyment of freedom and experience of crime and violence by women in public space and further protective strategies and avoidance behavior of women to negotiate with this space in the city.

1.2.Statement of the problem:

Production of new urban space is an essential feature of the urbanization of Dhaka city. The new space is characterized by overgrowing urban population, rapid migration, growth of service sector, increasing consumerism, increasing working women and also by increasing fear and violence inflicted upon women by men in the public spaces of Dhaka. Contemporary urbanization isgenerating massive employment opportunities for women and thereby allowing them more and more in public space that is absolutely impossible few decades ago. It has been a serious problem in Bangladesh society since independence to incorporate women into initiatives of economic development. Women's depressed condition since the country's independence did not change before1980s as mentioned by Hossain, Rahman and Haque (2012). But as a global development force urbanization has changed women's condition and at the same time has also created risk or insecurity or exacerbated insecurity for urban dwellers. Fear of crime or violence is endemic among urban dwellers across the world. (Wilson, 1991, cited in Sweet & Escalante). The right to the city is also a right to gendered city ensuring equal protection and realization of women's human rights. UN- HABITAT (2008) argues that urban advantage for women includes health, education, decent employment, adequate housing, equal access to both public and private spaces, public transport, streets, sidewalks, workplaces, markets, parks, toilets both public and private, political spaces and community spaces all in a safe environment. The present study is going to highlight the enjoyment of freedom of women, perception and experience of dangers as well as protective behaviors adopted by female service workers in shopping malls, fashion house and beauty parlor. in urban public spaces. The harassment of women in urban public space is influenced by their age, ethnicity, life-style, distance between living place and working placeas well as significantly by their mode of transport and occupation..

1.3.Objectives of the study:

Broader objective:

The present study is going to explore the connection between new urban space and spatial practices of women in the Dhaka city. It will address how women's mobility in urban public space is increasing with the development of new service sectors and hindered by their fear and experience of harassment in new urban space and also by their negotiation with space.

Specific Objective:

1) The specific objectives of this study are as follows -
2) To examine how urban public spaces have been reshaped in terms of economic restructuring.
3) To explore different types of spatial practices of women in the city.
4) To investigate into maps of danger and margins of freedom for women in the urban public spaces.

1.4.Research questions:

To arrive at the aforementioned objectives and examine the proposition, the study will inquire responses about the following questions-

i. How urban spaces are being restyled with regard to economic restructuring?
ii. How women are using urban public spaces and enjoying freedom in these spaces?
iii. How their freedom and movement are being restrained by a host of dangers in public spaces?
iv. What are the protective strategies used by women to negotiate with the space?

1.5.Key concepts framed for the study:

New Urban spaces:

Krier (1979) states that urban public spaces are utilized for activities individuals perform outside the known boundary of their own home such as travelling to work, shopping, selling goods, recreation , leisure activities, sporting events, deliveries etc.
Tomalin (1978) incorporated some major functions of urban public spaces-
Movement:Urban public space contributes to movement of pedestrians and vehicles between land uses and attractions such as, shops, services, car parks, residential areas, open spaces, public transport nodes.

Focal point:Space or open spaces are the public spaces situated at the heart of the town centers.

Market space:These public spaces provide scope for selling and exhibiting goods and services.

Place to meet:Public spaces are places where people stop and talk, rest and meet during performing essential functions.

Parking and servicing**:**In public spaces people can park their cars and deliver services can get commercial premises.

The new urban space in this study has been defined in terms of overgrowing urban population and people coming from hinterland, new service sectors and consumerism, participation of men and women in service economy, employment and unemployment situations in terms of gender, fear and experience of women in the public space of Dhaka city. In this regard, movement, focal point, market place, place to meet and servicing place constitute new urban space of the city.

Spatial Practices of women:

a. Enjoyment of freedom:

Aristocratic shopping complex, departmental stores, restaurants, fashion industries, service center and so on are the arenas produced by global economic restructuring that are giving girls and women newer employment opportunities and freer life than ever before. Ordinary city dwellers can now enjoy unlimited use to serve their purposes.

b. Experience of danger:

Also contemporary economic reformations are reproducing unemployment for younger men along with making women empowered. As a result the unemployed male segment inflict multifarious crime and violence upon empowered women to uphold their masculinity in the public space of urban area. Women experience different forms of dangers when they travel from their home to bus stops, workplace, parks or work on street, ride by buses, CNGs, micro-buses, rickshaw and so on. These women are the part-time, full-time or seasonal employer of the neoliberal enterprise. They suffer from male violence committed against them in urban public space.

Dangers in urban spaces compile all sorts of crime and violence against women ranging from catcalling through pushing and tapping to rape.

Types of danger:

Women and girls experience various types of crime or violence in public spaces. It happens on streets, public transport, bus stops, parks, subways, alleyways. These are the maps of danger that women experience or fear to experience it.

Non-sexual physical violence:

This type of violence includespushing, deliberately tapping, throwing rocks, spitting, winking and making provocative expressions to women

Sexual physical violence

Sexual physical violence incorporates touching, grabbing, caressing women's private areas, rape.Macmillan, Nierobisz and Welsh (2000) defined sexual harassment as an abuse of physical honor and autonomy which is related to primary and secondary sexual characteristics of individuals. It is a social incivility connected to gender. It is a criminal activity typically related to specific persons (i.e. unsupervised teenagers), specific activities (i.e. drinking or drug abuse) and also particular social contexts (e.g. while passing closed spaces in an urban setting such as, underground, subways or alleyways), while walking alone in the street at night).Sheffield defines sexual terrorism as men's systematic control and domination of women through real and implied violence

Verbal harassment

Wolf-whistling, hissing and kissing sounds, singing, street remarks sexually explicit constitute verbal harassment of women.Kissling presented some of the common remarks-'Hey, pretty', 'Hey, whore', 'great legs', 'Smile', 'Smile for me, baby', 'Smile, bitch', 'come here, girl', etc.

c) Fear of danger:

Women not only experience but also consistently express greater fears for their personal safety in urban environments than do men. For instances, sexual harassment also includes fear of sexual susceptibility at particular dangerous and threatening environment (Macmillan,

Nierobisz and Welsh 2000). Women's fear of rape is nagging, gnawing sense that something awful or unexpected could happen. It prevents them from what they want or need to do or from doing. So fear of danger is individual woman's concern about personal safety hindered by criminal violence. This fear is derived either from personal experiences or other women's experiences, or individual perception nourished through gender socialization, or advice from guardians, peer groups or from media coverage about violence and crime inflicted upon women in urban public space. It results in reduced feelings of women's safety while using public space in an urban area.

New Service sector:

New service sector is by new urban space where part-time, full-time, over-time or seasonal jobs are generated in consumer services. These consumer services are offered by shopping malls, cine complex, fashion houses, departmental stores, servicing centers etc.

1.6.Significance of the study:

With the growth of service sector and increasing consumerism, women are particularly getting employment in service sectors, particularly in different shopping malls, fashion house and beauty parlor. It was impossible for women to come out of their home in several years ago. It is the credit of these service sectors to bring out women out of their home and make them empowered. Simultaneously, increasing unemployment of men is also found in the city. Therefore, the empowerment of women is contributing to weakening traditional patriarchy. Consequently, men are attempting to harass women in public place to hold up their masculinity. Thus, violence against women has become public in stead of being domestic as it was few decades ago. Mode of transportation, occupation, age and ethnicity of women are strongly contributing to the harassment of female service workers in public place. In this way, the present study is going to demonstrate relationship between new urban space and women's margins of freedom and maps of danger.A number of previous studies concentrated on gender based violence, domestic violence in Bangladesh. But very few studies addressed the safety of women in public space. However, the present study is distinct in the sense that it has addressed the relation between the production of new urban space and the safety of female service workers in different shopping malls, fashion house and beauty parlor with special reference to their spatial practices.

Chapter 2

Overview of Contemporary Urbanization, Women's Mobility and

Harassment of Women in Public Space of Dhaka City

This chapter overviews pattern of contemporary urbanization, mobility of urban women and their general travel practicesin modern Dhaka. It also focuses harassing incidents faced by urban women when they become visible in public space and go from one place to another by using different modes of transport. It clearly demonstrates that women's use of urban public space and travel practices are absolutely gendered. The chapter has several sections for elaborate discussion on contemporary patterns of Urbanization in Dhaka, service sector and female's labor force participation, mobility of urban women, women's transport practices, harassment of women in public place, existing legal provisions inhibiting harassment of women in public space

2.1. Contemporary patterns of Urbanization in Dhaka:

Current status of urbanization of Dhaka:

Hossain and Rahman and Haque (2012) speak out that 50% of the world population are dwelling in the urban area. Rapid urbanization of the South and different level of urbanization in different parts of the South are essential features of the new millennium. As reported by UN Habitat (2001a) stated that with regard to population growth rate Dhaka was the 10th largest city in the world and will be 3rd largest in Asia and 6th largest in the world if the growth rate of about 3.2% per annum continues. At the same time it has become one of the least livable cities in the world. The city of Dhaka is the largest city and the most urbanized region in Bangladesh. It has become the center of finance, culture and business in the country. Historically industrialization led to the urbanization in Bangladesh that has been summed up from Kemper (1989). It marks a shift from agriculture-based income and employment to non-agriculture-based income and employment opportunities. This transformation of livelihood opportunities results in migration of people from farm activities in the rural areas to off-farm activities in the cities. Consequently growing number of entire population has become directly and indirectly dependent on the cities and the suburbs of the cities. The common characteristic of modern urbanization in Bangladesh is speedy urban

settlement. Towns and cities are modern terms to identify huge urban settlement in the country. According to UN Population Division estimation mentioned by Md. Motiur Rahman in urban population would reach 22 million by 2025. Now in Bangladesh 35% of the total urban population reside in Dhaka while 60% live in Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi all together and it is nearly 14.65 million people living in Dhaka(BBS, 2001, cited from Rahman). The city has got a population density of about 34000 per square kilometer (Zaman, Alam and Islam, 2010). In this article World Bank 2007 projected 10 million people for DCC area and 14.88 million for Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan (DMDP) for 2016. The urbanized Dhaka connects the huge urban agglomeration and urban population to global economic system that is a palpable feature of a mega city. But unfortunately the city has never a planned urban settlement it is growing almost in a chaotic fashion. It creates problems affecting the issue of security and service providing apparatus. Some of the consequences of this urbanization incorporate on one side modernization, people's empowerment, higher productivity and on the contrary increase of slums, increasing pressure on urban social services, unemployment and violence. Population density, increasing industrial units, commercial establishments, traffic congestion etc are some of the markers of contemporary urbanization in Dhaka city. Cities are growing fast to inhabit 50% of the world population by 2025. But at the same time urban violence is increasing faster.According to public perception of safety in the city, violence against women is the second highest offence whereas crime against property (e.g. robbery, hijacking etc) is the first as revealed by Rahman M., deputy Inspector General of Bangladesh police.

2.2. Service sector and female labor force participation:

Zaman, Alam and Islam (2010) reported that a significant feature of Dhaka city's urbanization is rapid migration accompanied by increase of female participation in labor force in urban areas. In 2000, 3.5 million people were estimated as engaged in labor force that represents 59% of the working age population in Dhaka. Among 59% working age population 84% constitute male and 33% female. Two-thirds of the total employments are provided by service sector as compared with only 25% for the country as a whole .

2.3. Mobility of Urban Women:

Duchene (2011) defines mobility at first in terms of number of modes of travel, the distances covered, and the location of the space frequently travelled. Women are greater user of public transport and walking than men in European countries. The case is also same in developing

countries. Besides, women prefer to travel by less expensive transport than men. Women's problems while making trips exacerbates in developing countries. Patriarchal system is the cultural issue that impedes women's access to transport system such as public transport. For instance, in Bangladesh, women face difficulties to get access to buses as they are to be touched by other passengers while boarding on the buses. Moreover, women are found engaged in part-time jobs in shops and supermarkets which have longer or unsociable working hours. All of these problems together hampers women's mobility and make them vulnerable to a sort of social exclusion. Duchene C. also claims non-proximity between place of residence and work place as an obstacle for women to communicate between their professional life and housework.

Mobility of urban women in Dhaka city is highly restricted by unsafe, unaffordable and inaccessible transport system as stated by Safeen, 2008. The transport system is unsafe in the sense that women commuters frequently experience sexual and verbal harassment at the time of travelling. It is inaccessible in the sense that public buses are over-crowded and women are to compete with men to get a place inside bus and to have a safe travel. Sidewalk and pedestrian facilities are also insufficient. It is unaffordable in the sense that women are to travel by more costly private or para modes of transport or to walk to their destinations as they are more vulnerable to insecurity and inaccessibility.

Therefore, mobility of urban women is severely hindered by-

i.   Insecurity carried out by harassment while using transport

ii.   Inaccessibility caused over-crowded public bus, fighting with male co-passengers for a limited space in the buses and for a safe travel and

iii. Unaffordability carried out by insecurity and inaccessibility.

2.4. Women's transport practices in Dhaka:

Commuting pattern of Dhaka city:

It is important to explain the commuting pattern of Dhaka during the late 1990s. The fact is that 8.5 million people trip in total weekday. Walking constitutes 60%, rickshaw 19%, bus 9%, private car 3%, auto-rickshaw 1% and other modes constitute 8% of commuting practices of Dhaka as per total weekday. (Zaman, Alam and Islam, 2010)

Public transport as major modes of transportation for women:

Peters (2001) reveals that Pune, India; Bamako, Mali; Dhaka, Bangladesh; Ashgabat, Turkmenistan; and Lima, Peru reveals that more women than men are to walk as they have

9

no mode of transport available. The findings also revealed women's dependency on public transport more than men. More men use bicycles or other intermediate mode of transport than women. The percentage of men and women sharing walking mode is same in both Dhaka and Lima. Mode of transportation is often importantly determined by residential location. Walking and public transport are major mode of transportation for both men and women in Dhaka. The percentage of using public transport is higher for women than for men. The report insists that garment workers constitute 70% 0f the female labor force in Dhaka of whom 60% women are engaged in walking mode. Private car is not an important mode of transportation in Bangladesh amongst private motorized transport.

Peters also argued that low income women are more dependent on walking or public transport. But they are more susceptible to violent attacks or sexual violence while travelling with heavy goods or children. Therefore, safety and avoidance of harassment are concerning issues for women using public transport. Cultural restrictions are also responsible for accessibility to public transport. For example, in Dhaka as Muslim city women face social difficulties in sharing crowded bus with many male commuters.

Walking as major mode of transport for low-income women:

Recently, public buses are providing unsafe, unreliable and congested transport services. Women are to compete with men for getting congested on buses. The most common mode of transport of the low –income female employees is walking. Walking is general mode of transport for 80% of female production workers, 66.7% of female service workers and 71.8% of garment workers comparing to 61.5%, 49% and 64.9% male employees respectively. These women are to live closer to their workplace. There are reservation of 5-12 seats for female passengers in local buses. For maximizing profits, these buses allow standing, huge number of passengers. They also take and leave passengers from and in unregulated bus stoppages and allow limited time for getting in and down the bus. These factors make women vulnerable to hostile attitudes and mistreatments by these service providers and co-passengers while taking these services. Physical and verbal harassment is a common phenomenon for female employed commuters.(Nari Udoyog Kendra, 2002)

2.5. Harassment of women in public place and obstacle to women's mobility:

Urban women and unsafe city:

With rapid urbanizationthe cities are experiencing various forms and severity of violence that is an obstacle to attain sustainable and equitable developmentsimultaneously. Gender-based

violence in public space is particular amongst the growing urban violence. It results from a host of physical and socio-economic factors. But these types of violence are often unrecognized and unreported so that is is not so easy to reach the real situation. Urban women feel unsafe in public place that restricts their freedom and mobility and thereby denies their access to the city and right to the city ultimately. The gender- based violence is seen as common phenomenon by blaming the victim customarily. So women are experiencing the city differently from men in terms of feeling of levels of fear and experiencing types of violence. The concept of safer city concentrates on the reduction of gender-based violence and also the fear of violence. (Hossain and Rahman and Haque2012)

With special reference to women's travel practices, Rahman and Nahrin (2012) exposed that the transport system of Dhaka city is mainly based on road and buses are the most common and available public transport in the city. But this public transport system is unfortunately over-ridden with various problems such as over-crowd, inaccessibility to crowded bus for aged, handicapped and women, waiting long period of time at bus stop, harassing situations for female passengers. The study revealed that physical harassment of female passengers as a common problem. Approximately 62% bus passengers experienced physical harassments while travelling by bus of which 56% harassments are associated with boarding, 22% with ticket counter, 4% with trip destination and 18% with staff's behavior.

Akhter (2013) in 'Eve Teasing, Tear of Girls: Bangladesh Open University towards Women's Employment' pointed out how harassment in public space hampers women's physical and psychological mobility and mentioned that among the girls aged 10 to 18 years 90% experience public sexual harassment in Bangladesh. As the girls are fearful of further physical and sexual harm, most of the incidents of harassments remain unreported and unpunished,. Moreover, the cases remain silenced as the victims feel fear of being socially rebuked or becoming a focus of social gossip. Almost the reported cases, approximately 13000 women were victimized by eve easing of various categories throughout the country during January to July, 2008 as published by Ain-O-Shalish Kendra (2008). Not only young girls but also middle aged women are not kept out of experiencing verbal or physical harassment by anybody when they go outside home. These harassing situations in public places pose challenges to women's mobility and social security and often results in making women discontinue education or working women quit their jobs. Street harassment results in reduction of women's physical mobility-they are again confined to four walls of their kitchen,

interrupted to enjoy education and entertainment and employment. This also adversely affects their mental mobility and independence to thinking, making them psychologically abnormal for the fear of violence.

Hoque (2013) defines this harassment of women in the streets or on the pavements as eve teasing. He mentioned different forms of eve-teasing such as making vulgar comments, deliberate touching, pushing, shoving, vulgar staring, whistling, opportune clapping, sly whistling, singing evocative song, despicable gesture etc in the street and public transport and also in the workplace. The problem has been focused by media in 1990s. and now 2000 of the incidents of harassment of women in public take place everyday in Bangladesh. Ther is no media or newspaper covering some sorts of harassing incidents daily.

'Protibadi:A Platform for Fighting Sexual Harassment in Urban Bangladesh' exposed that women have marked three types of public places where they face harassments- public bus, crowded market and concert, lonely or isolated places after dark and also while travelling by rickshaw. Types of harassment include catcalling, leering, staring, ridiculing, stalking, touching, following etc. In a FGD, one participant explained sexual harassment as a sort of activities or words that force her feel that she was a girl even before she was a human being.

Most of the women remain silent after being harassed due to the social background of Bangladesh. These harassing incidents create problem in women's participation in public place and hinder women's freedom, choice and action.

2.6. Existing legal provisions inhibiting harassment of women in public space

According to BNWLA (2011) in Bangladesh Legal Decisions, Article 28 prohibits any discrimination with respect ot religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth and ensures equal right of women with men in all spheres of public life, Article 29 on the constitution of People's Republic of Bangladesh ensures equal opportunity of women in employment in public sector, article 32 forbids deprivation of personal liberty gurantees right to liberty, article 36 ensures right to freedom or right to free movement of every citizen. But very sadly these provisions become more theoretical and meaningless when a teasing, stalking, humiliation either in public or private space.

Akhter (2013) insisted that harassment of women in public space is one of the most sensitive issue in Bangladesh, there is no provision of legal initiative addressing the issue in the 'Prevention of Violence against Women and Children Act 2003. But there was a provision of

penalty against 'indecent verbal or physical gestures motivated with an illegal sexual motivation' in article 10(2). But there was an amendment in 2003 that anyone cannot be accused with sexual abuse of a women if it is not physical. By dint of this amendment those culprits who harass women in public places such as streets, shopping places or buses go unpunished. Even these incidents are ignored by the police.

Chapter 3

Review of Literature

This chapter reviews the previous literatures relevant for the present study to point out the gaps in the past ones, establish link with them as well as spotlight the uniqueness of the present one. It divides the literatures in three sections for systematic interpretation-

1. New urban space,
2. Spatial practices of women
3. and New service sector.

3.1. New Urban Space:

Thorbek (1988) argued that urbanization has made us to rethink the concepts of city in modern society. The city is the center of civilization-the center for infrastructural, architectural and cultural development. Administration of state, banks, industries, court, churches, temples, artisan's work, culture, music and entertainment have been concentrated in modern city. It is characterized not by the disappearance of gender differences and contradictions but by the changes in their form of manifestation. Many studies reveal that urbanization is deteriorating women's conditions more than those of men. It is the outcome of increased male power and decreased female power. Thorbek's study on two slum areas of Srilanka and Bangkok was an attempt to show changes in gender relation as a result of urbanization and how these changes are incorporated into slum cultures of big cities.

Goheen (1998)has a made the notion of 'public' specific to understand the concept of modern city appeared at the beginning of urban social science itself**.** The city and its new public spaces have become available to all ordinary inhabitants of the city. They can enjoy unrestricted use of public spaces for their own purposes. Goheen (1998) stated that in new spaces such as in the street variety of activities are represented and suggested to fear public spaces even when they are crowded because of the dangerous behavior occurring in these spaces.

Valentine's research (1989) categorized public spaces firstly as open spaces from where to escape of or to instantly get across is not easy. These places can be parks, woodlands, waste ground, canals, rivers, countryside, secondly as closed spaces which are sealed off and where

14

behavior is comparatively masked and have limited exits. Therefore, in these spaces attacking women is possible by remaining out of the visual range of others such as subways, alleyways, multistory carparks, empty railway carriages. Public places such as streets, shops, parks, public transport and towncenters are more dangerous in the evening due to more increasing control of public space by young men free from confines of works and family responsibilities.

Soenen (2007) furthered the concept of urban public spaces as socially constructed. Production of public space reflects people's social characteristics, cultural identities, gender and social background. The author found the visibility of Turkish women in Enschede, the Netharlands at the market but not in the city center.

Theoretically,Harvey, 2004argued that space is neither absolute, relative or relational in itself, but it can become one or all simultaneously depending on the circumstances.Pubic space are 'non-domestic physical sites' which are notable by their virtual accessibility such as dance clubs, parks, restaurants, bars, cafes, the street, etc. (Lofland, 1998; McCarthy, 2001, cited in Humphreys 2010)

3.2.Spatial practices of women

Valentine's research (1989) insists that women's use of space is determined by geography of fear that incorporates their mental maps and heightened consciousness of perceived dangerous places at dangerous times. It is because the male violence is unevenly dispersed through space and time. This geography of fear restricts women's use, experience and perception of public space which are not independent of their age, income and life style. It is also reinforced by frightening experience and advices by parents and others and again media reporting (e.g. as being flashed at or followed). Women are more fearful of the public space because of the unpredictable and uncontrollable behavior of the unfamiliar persons. The fear of male violence hampers women's independence although these women have had career success and independence in the past decade. This hindrance to enjoy independence and freedom of safe movement in public spaces encourages women to mandatorily seek for single man's or boyfriend's protection and thereby hinders career freedom.

LaterValentine (1992) investigated that gender division of space begins after age of 11. During this period parents relax boys' spatial ranges whereas restrict girls' ones for their

physical vulnerability to be attacked. Girls are discouraged to go to specific places alone (e.g. parks, car parks, alleyways) and couraged to go everywhere after dark with the protection of others. These places are traced out as potential for strangers to attack women out of the visual range of others. Thus the sense of risk installed by parents into their girls' mind shapes their behavior in and use of public space. Moreover, this mental set -up of women exacerbates with the exaggeration of news on crimes against women by media and social contact of women through which information about violence against women are exchanged and evaluated. In this way women's geography of fear is constructed which might not be corresponding to their geography of violence.

Trench, Taner, Tiesdell (1992) demonstrated how women's geography of fear affects women's use of urban space or spatial practices. Surveys in a number of UK cities (e.g. London, Islington, Manchester, Birmingham, Southampton, Lewisham, Croydon, Swansea, Wellingborough, Great Britain, England and Wales) conducted by these researchers revealed that by being aware of perceived risks women avoid walking alone, travelling, visiting city centers, waiting at bus stops, using public transport and avoid a fairly unsafe or not very safe areas such as subways, backstreets after dark. This fear of crime or attack severely hampers women's use of town centers and access to work and leisure. Women are vulnerable of attack as harassment and anti-social behavior go unreported. Very few women are available for attack as most of the women fear and avoid going out alone at night and give over of perceived dangerous city centers to gangs or revelers and drunkards after dark.

In the following year women's fear of space in New Zealand was explored by Pawson and Banks (1993). Rape is a master offence that toughens fear of crime amongst women. Fear of rape notably limits women's access to and control of spaces as rape is mostly the crime of public spaces. The day-time fear is minimal as women are found in huge number and men found in predictable and work-related activity. But the night time fear is maximum as situations become the vice-versa when young males dominate the public spaces. High proportion of women of all ages tends to avoid their home neighborhoods and the city center alone after dark. In case of the avoidance of home neighborhoods, the category falls between the age under 25. Fear of high risk both in private and public places by any female respondents in the age of mostly at risk of rape in the New Zealand city as revealed by Pawson and Banks (1993).

Soon after study on 'Women's fear of crime' was also conducted by Stanko's (1995) who uncovered fear of crime as women's concern about their personal safety hampered by criminal violence. Women's fear of crime is more a reflection of women's social location (e.g. gender, class, racial position or ability structures). It has a sexual integration associated with male violence. In this article she has been a critic of 'Identity of Powerlessness of Women' as proposed by feminism. It insists that women are negotiating violence and fear of crime by taking precautionary steps creatively (avoiding dark alleys, staying away from pubs and cars, carrying personal alarms etc).

Ferraro (1996) in 'Women's Fear of Victimization: Shadow of Sexual Assault?' found women more fearful than men about crime and provided a clear-cut categorization of women's coping strategies. Women are particularly afraid of sexual assault, more of rape than of murder. Fear of rape induces the fear of personal and aggressive types of victimization (e.g. murder, assault, burglary etc.). Ferraro (1996) divided constrained behavior of women in two categories- avoidance behavior (such as avoiding unsafe areas during day and during night, limiting daily activities) and defensive behavior (such as carrying something to defend oneself, learning more about self-defense).

Pain (1997) explored the variables that are shaping women's geography of fear and violence and subsequent effects on their spatial practices as proposed by early researchers. Pain (1997) reveled that fear of crime is mostly exposed by marginalized and powerless group of the society and placed women's fear of crime in this context. To avoid perceived risks of danger women do not go out alone, use particular streets, areas, transport, become watchful while waking. Thus women's movement in towns and cities is greatly interrupted by fear of attack- *'a virtual curfew on women at night'* in some urban areas (Kinsey, cited in Pain, 1997). Socialization in childhood and adolescent constrains women's independent mobility and specific activity in public spaces. Powerful concepts of women show public space as more dangerous than private space. Fear of attack has damaging effect on women's well-being and self-identity. Appropriation of space by male violence reproduces social disadvantages and subordinate status of women. Negotiating safety differs according to social class of women. For example, women who have car or money for taxis can avoid public spaces and this type of ability decrease women's fear of attack. Therefore women's vulnerability in public space is not independent of mode of transport. Furthermore, the younger women are more afraid of violent crime in public space, more constrained by fear of violence and adopt protective

strategies more than older women. Besides, disability makes women more susceptible to attack by male violence.

In the same year in a study on New York city and neighboring suburban areas Madriz (1997)viewed female fear and fear of male violence as synonymous. Female fear of crime is the stereotypical images socially embedded in the psychology of women about what crimes to fear, which times and places to be considered dangerous and so to be avoided by women and which women to be victims and which ones to be safe. Thus this psychological aspect limits women's leisure and professional activities. In this study the criminals are presented as mentally disturbed persons without any human sentiment and who are out of control. They are described as new immigrants who are idle, poor, dirty by elderly white working class women. The study also revealed blaming victims attitudes to show relationship between crime and victimization. For example, women who do not maintain proper dress codes and tend to exhibit their bodies are likely to be harassed.

Women's fear of crime affects women's experience and use of public spaces even in Singapore-ranked as the safest city in the world Yeoh & Yeow (1997)**.** 'Girl watching', 'wolf-whistling', 'sexual comments' are common activities of men to show down their dominance over and women's subordinate statusin public spaces. Women's fear of crime is greater than that of men because of the fear of rape regarded as master offense particularly by male strangers. Other types of crime of which women are fearful of are physical assault, molest (kissing a woman's lip, touching the breast etc), insult of modesty (peeping tom, making sexually abusive language, flasing etc). Women adopt several risk management strategies to avoid their perceived risks such as they avoid eye contact and stiffening body posture, walk away quickly certain places, stay away from dangerous areas, seek for protection of one male, be aware of the person following etc. curfews set at 10 pm are imposed on adolescent girls by family to avoid using quiet and deserted areas. Older women are less fearful of crime that younger ones and victim is perceived to be young and attractive women. Thus women's fear of crime is place specific, time-specific and also age-specific. This fear is converted into the psychology of women by socialization, mass media, personal experiences of victimization and interpersonal communication. So, spaces are gendered and spatial relations are socially produced.

AfterwardKoskela's survey (1999) examined geography of women's fear in Scandinavian society from spatial point of view. Women in major cities and rural areas of Finland

demonstrated fear as mostly an urban phenomenon. They have had experience of fear either in their previous urban residence or while visiting urban space. For fear of violence women avoid closed spaces and empty areas-underpasses, tunnels, dead-end streets, multi-storey car parks, park, urban woodland, recreational areas. There is also difference between day time and night time uses of these places considering day time less frightening than night time. Koskela differentiated women's fear from that of men's as women more fear about sexual assault that is barely felt by men. Scandinavian women's fear and British and American women' fear and fear of places felt by them are quite similar. This fear is shaped in women's everyday life by parental warnings, discussion among friends, cultural transmission of ideologies about women and family, crime news disseminated by media etc. Furthermore, the fearful women turn the slightest sign of danger to the best of their ability to interpret. Thus fear has become a social construction restricting women's access to and activity in public spaces. Hence space has become a social construction itself as space is the medium and outcome social practices at the same time.

Like the women of New York, UK and Scandinavian cities the women of Seattle also adopt protective strategies to stay safe and avoid danger. Warr (1985) conducted a study on fear of rape among urban women of Seattle. Crime produces victimization and fear of victimization at the same time both at individual and social level. The case is true when women's fear of rape is taken into account which is a part of women's day-to –day life's consciousness. Women adopt protective behaviors out of the fear of rape (e.g.avoiding going out alone, avoiding going out alone at night, avoiding certain places in the city etc) . These precautionary behaviors of women limit their freedom and make them dependent and passive. Fear of rape is relatively high among younger women and declines among elderly women. Protective strategies outside home prove that women's image of rape is generally the fear of being raped by strangers outside home that is far from the reality.

Welsh S.1999 defines hostile environmental harassment as sexual jokes, comments, touching that restricts one's ability to do his or her jobs or creates hostile working environment US EEOC, 1980 cited in Welsh (1999). Welsh (1999) review reveals that sexual harassment includes gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion. Gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion respectively consist of sexist comments and jokes about women, unsolicited sexual comments and sexual touching, all sorts of sexual solicitations. The first two categories are related to hostile environment

harassment. Women respond to sexual harassment through avoidance, diffusing and negotiating.

Therefore, there is an association between women's fear of criminal acts and their coping strategies to avoid victimization.InCanada, this association was established by Scott (2003) in a study on Canadian women suggesting that crime might not victimize everyone but everyone might fear about criminal acts. Women's fear of victimization incorporates fear while using public transportation and fear while using parking garage alone. Findings exposed that past experiences of women includes unwanted attention from strangers, being followed by a stranger in a fright-making way etc. amongst protective strategies, they avoid walking by boys or men, walking alone in neighborhood, using public transport or parking garage alone at night. Because they feel somewhat or very worried when they walk in neighborhood, use public transport or parking garage or even remain at home alone at night.

Lane & Meeker (2003) explored that women are more scared of rape than men and for women, rape is the most violent sexual attack. Mature women, minorities and non-victims are now and then more fearful. Harassment seems as a preamble to physical assault to women.

Subsequently ActionAid International, 2003 conducted a study in Brazil, Combodia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Liberia and Nepal to investigate into the links between violence against women and the role of public services focusing on safer cities for girls and women. Safe cities for girls and women ensure the right to the city that includes safe public places for women and girls where they can move freely and that are free from the fear of crime and violence**.** It found that the development of sexual harassment and other types of violence against women limits their use of and movement in public spaces. Women's poverty, migration and mobility for livelihoods, education and pursuit of their needs make women susceptible to violence at the time of their movement in urban areas. Socio-economic status, race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, marital or parenthood status determine women's daily experiences of the cities. For example, violence against women is particularly inflicted upon poor and excluded women. The findings of the study reveal that rape, fear of rape and harassment are very common in Brazil and adult women experience crime the most in public spaces when they are alone. In Ethiopia small-scale women vendors suffer from unsafe market place, robbery, transportation problems and sexual harassment that adversely affect their employment. Squatter women and women in informal sector in Kathmandu experience harassment and crime on buses, micro-buses and other public transport daily while travelling

to workplace. Women's experiences are not independent of crowdedness, time of day and seasons. Encouraged by cultural norms these women remain silent to conserve prestige even after being harassed.

Wesely and Gaarder (2004) viewed the aforesaid women's fear of victimization as a hindrance to women's enjoyment of participation in outdoor recreational activities at an urban park- the Phoenix in Arizona, as a symbol of empowering women. Their study was not also an exception to previous studies in explaining women's negotiation with the geography of Fear. Because, such participation is distinctive from traditional sexual and reproductive construction of female physicality. As a result many women interviewed termed this type of engagement in outdoor as freeing, peaceful and spiritual. But women's fear of harassment and violence from objectification to assault and rape makes women's outdoor recreational activities less enjoyable to which women respond with their negotiating strategies. Women experienced harassing behaviors, physical assault at the time of recreating and many of them felt vulnerable to unpredictable invasions of her physical self and also invasions they had experienced meanwhile by homeless people, minority gang, young drunkard people. Women negotiated with the geography of fear by recreating with a dog or with another women or with one man or with a group or feeling uncomfortable while recreating alone, avoiding recreation at dusk or at night or by carrying a cell phone.

Insistently the quality of urban life is said to be hampered by crime. Blobaum and Hunecke (2005) after conducting a study on German University campus argued that common fear of being victimized in particular social circumstances such as visiting a party or awaiting a in regarded as perceived personal danger. Anxiety state of a person influences the level of perceived personal danger in urban public spaces. Trait anxiety compels person to adopt coping mechanisms, avoidance behavior or psychological defence. Media and public discourse also affect women's perceived danger of assault in urban public space. There is also a difference between biological sex to assess crime in public spaces. Women are more fearful of going out of home after nightfall than do men. Potential victim prefers open places where she feels more safe whereas an offender prefers places that offer hiding places. Trees alongside roads, buses, walls, bildings, pillars etc are physical features of urban spaces that offer hiding places for offender. Poor-lit area of public spaces is the physical feature that creates poor-visibility and offers potential occurrence of crime.

Viswanath and Mehrotra (2007) exposed the case of the city of Delhi that has experienced de-industrialization and consequent rise in unemployment in the last decade. In lieu of manufacturing it has now become the center of construction, real estate, information technology, banking, hotels, tourism etc. Use of public spaces in Delhi has got a gender dimension. These spaces are dominated by men. Women can use these spaces at certain times (some times of the day). Even at day time some spaces become uncomfortable or not easy for women to access. Use of and experience in public space is also associated with other factors-age, social classes, occupation, marital status that constructs women's freedom of movement in the city. It also differs according to women's living place and means of transportation. Experience of fear is more palpable among women who use public bus than those who use car. Fear and insecurity offered by harassment in public spaces guide women's lives and movement and thereby enjoying benefits of being an urban citizen. All women have not experienced violence or crime but are feeling unsafe. Women's use of as well as access and right to public spaces is determined by the quality and use of the spaces. The study found that women feel fear of harassment in male dominated spaces and even to remain near these spaces such as cigarette shops, dhabas, bus stops, liquor shops and certain parks and they like to come to these spaces accompanied by men.

ScholarlyPeoples(2008)correlated modernization and restructuring of public spaces, gave an idea about harassment in Cairo and classified different types of harassment. The study revealed that high unemployment rate among men generates disappointment and difficulties to preserve conditions of patriarchal structures in Egypt. In Cairo, the stalking of women is limitless as these men are apt to recuperate their masculinity by harassing women in public. In India, political and economic reforms have distorted structural conditions for perpetuating patriarchy that was a standardized system for gendered social and spatial organization. In India, sexual harassment of women in public spaces is culturally defined as 'eve-teasing'- an Indian-English term. Since the late 1980s and the 1990s women became more visible in diverse arenas of employments and street harassment of women in the public has turn into a common activity. Thus eve-teasing in India and street harassment in Cairo is related to modernizing impulses- globalization and reshuffle of public sphere. In the street of Cairo, three types of harassment are taking place- pushing, spitting, intentionally tapping and throwing rocks are non-sexual and touching, grabbing, caressing women's confidential areas are sexual physical ; suggestive noises such as whistling, hissing and kissing sounds, singing, sexually overt remarks are verbal pestering. Winking and making other provocative

expressions to women in public spaces are gestures -another form of violence inflicted upon women in public. These types of harassments take place often on the street and on public transportation. Perpetrators of these acts can easily merge into the anonymous masses so that confessions or proofs become difficult to produce.

FurtherHolmes (2008) suggested that fear of passing any crowded, large and open space is a symptom of agoraphobia. Persons with agoraphobia stay away from places or situations as they had previous experience of panic attack in the same places and situations. Immediate escape is unfeasible in the public spaces such as shopping malls, public transportation or large sport arenas. Bekkerand Reuter, cited in Holmes , 2008 suggested that between 70 and 90 percent people identified with agoraphobia are female. Women's socialization as weak, vulnerable, disadvantaged, powerless sex compared to that of men has made women vulnerable to agoraphobia compared to that of men. It has made women passive, submissive and non-assertive whereas men as independent, active and aggressive. Owing to this streets have become fearful to women when they experience them as these places belong to and are dominated by men. Women can successfully negotiate public space by being accompanied by friends, family or by using mobile phones. Thus patriarchal restructuring of public space reproduces agoraphobia for women.

By stranger harassment Fairchild and Laurie (2008) mean harassment of women in public places (e.g. on the street, in the stores, at bars or on public transportation) by men who are unknown to the victims (i.e. not a co-worker, friend, family member or acquaintance). Women are currently experiencing verbal and non –verbal harassment by strangers – wolf-whistles, leers, winks, grabs, pinches, catcalls and stranger remarks that are often sexual in nature or remarks on women's physical appearance or her presence in public.these sorts of harassment reduce the feelings of safety while walking alone at night or in a parking garage or using public transportation and induces women's fear of sexual assault and rape and their willingness to limit their freedom of movement. Women's everyday experiences of minor dangers in public spaces are responsible for their higher fear of dangers. Avoiding walking alone at night or particular spaces are symptoms of women's voluntary restriction on their freedom to move.

Doran and Burgess (2012) revealed that fear of crime produces psychological reactions-feelings of anger, humiliation, depression, helplessness, anxiety, distrust of others, alienation, dissatisfaction with life. Fear of crime also influences behavioral adaptation – adoption of

23

protective or avoidance behavior to respond to fear of crime. Avoiding unsafe areas, carrying protective strategies while walking at particular routes at night, walking on certain streets etc are some of the avoidance behavior adopted by women. This fear of crime constrains women's life style choices and freedom of movement and thereby deduces their quality of life.

The study conducted by Hossain, Rahman and Haque (2012) evealed that in Bangladesh, guided by primary socialization, social institutions and religious values women were not allowed to go outside and engage in productive activities until 1980s. the study was conducted on the safety issue for female garments workers in Narayanganj. It is the garments industry that has brought about the women first outside home. But these girls experience eve-teasing by vagabond men. They harassed women or girls by pushing or touching from the backside. Walking and public transport are two major modes of transport for these female garments workers towards their work place. They experience bad comments or disturbance of giving proposals to make relationship with the men or threat of acid throwing or hijacking. As the roads are dominated by masculine power girls do not protest the harassments. These women in turn are blamed for these awkward situations if they are harassed, molested or even rape. Society blames them by saying that the victimized girls or women have not dressed up properly or modestly even though majority of women in Bangladesh wear dress conservatively compared to those of India and Pakistan. Even the women experience bad comments or lewd gestures while crossing the roads or walking down the footpaths. Experiences of indecent comments and touching are very common for women and girls while staying in crowded places such as market place. It is also risky for the women and girls to visit park or cinema halls without male accompany. These women and girls from poor backgrounds are to travel by public transport. In the bus stops or railway stations women get harassed by men. Even it is difficult for women to board to board on a running crowded bus by competing with men and have a seat. The male co-passengers compel women standing but sitting on reserved seats for women and by throwing bad comments. But this case is not applicable to the upper and middle class women who ride by private cars.

Public transportation is not women-friendly for the wait at lonely and dark bus stoppage or uncrowded stations, the lack of surveillance in buses and subways or the distances between home and public transportation.. Women become victimized of sexual abuse (e.g. grouping or sexual aggression) on buses or subways(Massalo, 2005).

Gender-based public harassment has affected women since as early as 1875 (Bowman , quoted in Lord, 2009). It has a sexual component that comes into light in public or semi-public spaces directed by men targeting women. It may be verbal or non-verbal that takes the form of harassing behavior such as insult, innuendo, shouting, foundling or ogling.

3.3.New service sector:

Friedmann and Wolff (1982) described the economic restructuring in world cities with special reference to shifts in employment clusters that has given a flavor to new service sectors of modern cities. Management, banking, finance, legal services, accounting, technical consulting, telecommunications and computing, international transportation, research and higher education constitute the primary cluster of employment. Real estate. Construction activities, hotel services, restaurants, luxury shopping, entertainment, private police and domestic services are found in secondary cluster. International tourism lies in the tertiary cluster. Manufacturing, government services, informal economy resides in the subsequent sectors in a sequence.

LaterGritsai (1997) explored the spatial dimensions of urban restructuring in the socialist city- Moscow initiated by market reforms and globalization. It spotlighted the growth of business services and geography of business districts. The central city has become a new urban economic core where business and services activities have replaced the typical manufacturing industries. About 45% of new reform and market activities are concentrated in the city of Moscow. Banks and insurance companies, brokers and stock exchanges, accounting, professional consultancies (lawyers, economists, marketing), computer and design services, real estate agencies, advertising agencies, nodes of telecommunications are activities performed by both Russian and foreign firms. Moscow's intra-urban structure represents socialist urbanization different from capitalist one where the role of the city center is to certain extent is overlaid by the authorities. Owing to this it has underdeveloped business functions unlike capitalist urbanization and needed to start the functions of CBDs in a true sense.

Age, gender and socio-cultural background organize the perception of urban renewal, sense of place and use of public space. Ortiz et. al (2004) conducted a study in the Raval (Barcelona) that revealed that in the Rambla del Raval new services and businesses like cafes, restaurants, art galleries, fashion shops nave been attracted by new public space brought about by urban renewal. The study exposed that the Raval is conspicuously a

masculine space with the overwhelming presence of men (particularly immigrant) sitting down along the benches, grassy areas and walking areas. Their presence makes local and also immigrant women uncomfortable to use and enjoy this new public space and they do not stay there and just pass by the area.

Soon after Sassen (2007) insisted that new service sector includes casualization and informalization of works that replaced manufacturing industries and male workers. She argues that she found these characteristics in three cities- New York, London and Tokyo. Casual and informal works include particularly part-time, temporary and seasonal jobs in which recruitment of women is more common and easy. So, increase of these jobs means women's increasing participation in these occupations. According to Sassen (2007) the development of service sector is crucially responsible for the expansion of part-time jobs. Part- time jobs generate greater flexibility, over-time employments and reduce labor costs by avoiding different benefits.

3.4.Point of departure:

Limitations of Previous studies and readings:

Very few scholars in previous studies have explained how the cities have become a center of infrastructural, cultural, economic development with huge number of shopping malls, service centers, fashion and entertainment industries, cafes, restaurants, transportation and communication. They have pointed out the creation of new service sector, production of part-time, temporary and seasonal jobs and more common and easier recruitment of women in these employments than men.

Previous studies have focused on women's geography of fear and its effect on their use of urban public spaces. They attempted to refer to this fear as fear of male violence- particularly fear of sexual assault. They revealed that women's perceived danger, experience of danger and violence in public spaces and use of protective and avoidance strategies while using these spaces are the spatial expression of patriarchal gender relation. They insisted the impact of socialization, peer group sharing, interpersonal communication and media etc on the creation of women's map of danger in public spaces restricting their freedom of movement and independence. Many of these studies exposed that women's harassment in public spaces of towns and cities is specified by age, ethnicity, social class, life-style, It is reinforced by time, place and infrastructure of the cities.

None of the previous studies have focused on the new urban space and new service sector and demonstrated relationship between new urban space, new service sectors in the cities and women's enjoyment of freedom, experience of danger in this space at the same time.

Uniqueness of Present study:

The present study will emphasize on how consumerist urbanization has reshuffled the urban space and inaugurated the birth of a modern city- the modern Dhaka. It defines new urban space as the concentration of numerous service sectors such as beauty parlor, shopping malls/ market, fashion house etc and explores the relation between the growth of service sector and women's experience of male violence in and use of urban public space.

It will demonstrate the new service sectors in the city created by the new world economy. It will represent that these new services are engaging women in full-time, part-time, temporary and seasonal employments leaving men in an unemployment segment. Therefore, women are now gaining demands by new service sector, being freed of their four walls and are enjoying their empowerment. At the same time the unemployed youth who are not being attracted by the consumerist services are losing their traditional power of masculinity inside home. So, they are trying to uphold their masculinity outside home by harassing women in public spaces of town and cities. Thus, this study attempts to account breaking down of patriarchy for the harassment of women in the urban public places whereas the previous ones claimed traditional patriarchy for women's harassment. Here lies the uniqueness of the present endeavor. Therefore, this study will reveal women's experience and fear of danger and violence inflicted by men in public spaces. Furthermore, it will explore women's perception of danger in public spaces and their avoidance and protective behaviors while using these spaces. It will again investigate whether and how women's fear and experiences of danger are restricting their spatial practices in the city. It is an effort to focus the relationship between contemporary urbanization, women's enjoyment of freedom with new service sectors and simultaneously their experience, perception and fear of danger exacerbated by the massive unemployment of the urban youth.

Chapter 4

Theoretical Framework

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework of the present study that will follow a deductive logic. This part has discussed three solid and substantial theoretical standpoints in the first three sections and the position of the present study in the fourth and last section with special reference to the theoretical contexts. These are:

1. Spatial practices and Social meanings to space: David Harvey
2. Production of space: Henry Lefebvre
3. Space, the City and Social Theory: Fran Tonkiss
4. The position of the present study with reference to the aforesaid theories

4.1. Spatial practices and Social meanings to space: David Harvey

David Harvey (2009) in his book *Social Justice and The City* argued that the city and the quality of urban life have been commodified. Urban living is now accompanied by shopping malls, multiplexes, cafes, departmental stores, fashion industry, cultural and knowledge-based industries. Urban sociologist Sharon Zukin called it 'pacification by cappuccino'. Simultaneously,Harvey (2009) observed threatening of urban identity, citizenship and belonging as well as individual security in the face of criminal activity promoted by a neoliberal ethic. But he particularly focused on the fortification of the city and creative dispossession apart from a right to a gendered city in his 'Social Justice and the City'.

In *'The condition of Postmodernity'(1989)* David Harvey presented 'Grid of spatial practices' with reference to three dimensions recognized by Henry Lefebvre:

1. For Harvey, the first dimension is material spatial practices characterized by Lefebvre as experienced.. These refer to physical and material flows of interactions that take place in and across space.
2. The second dimension is the representation of space characterized as perceived. It includes all of the symbols and significations, code and understanding. It let the material practices to be captured with regards to everyday common-sense.

3. psychological inventions (codes, symbols, spatial discourse, utopian plans, imaginary settings, figurative spaces, built environments etc.

He also added another four aspects of spatial practices:

1. Accessibility and distanciation:

It measures the extent to which the friction of space has been conquered to have room for social interactions.

2. The appropriation of space:

It denotes the process by which particular objects such as house, factories, streets etc and activities such as land use and persons, classes and social groupings appropriate space such as gangs appropriating the corner of the street.

3. The domination of space:

It refers to how the organization andproduction of space are dominated by individuals and powerful groups who appropriate the space.

4. The production of space:

The production of space is defined by the process of the production of new systems such as transport, communication, technology etc that facilitates the accessibility and distanciation.

So, it can be inferred that appropriation of space by powerful group of people results in the domination of space by that powerful group. The production of space again contributes to overcome the friction of space. In this regardDavid Harvey, 1989*argues-*

> 'These four dimensions to spatial practices are not independent of each other. The friction of distance is implicit in any understanding of the domination and appropriation of space, while the persistent appropriation of space by a particular group (say the gang that hangs out on the street corner) amounts to a de facto domination of that space. The production of space, in so far as it reduces the friction of distance…………..'

Harvey furthered that the body exists in space and submits to authority. Capitalist concern no longer does anything with the product to be sold but more with money, sex and power. Harvey liberated space because of the spatialization of social practices instead of being

localized. He attached social meanings to spaces and time as different groups put different meanings to space and time by using them. Spatial practices are derived from capitalism and they take different meanings in accordance with different social relations of class, gender, community, ethnicity or race. Inspired by Lefebvre (1974) Harvey proposed that spaces are occupied by objects (e.g. hearth, home, open places, street, squares, markets etc), activities (use of spaces), individuals, classes, gender and the organization and production of space are dominated by individuals or powerful groups which represents spaces as spaces of fear or spaces of repression.

4.2. Production of space: Henry Lefebvre:

Henry Lefebvre (2009) in his book *'The Production of Space'* purports that space reproduces spatial code that restricts activity in space, commands bodies, prescribes and proscribes gestures, routes and distances to be covered. Lefebvre captures our attention to the critical phase of the city –'the harbinger of the certain globalization of the urban'. This critical phase has been brought into light by exemplifying it with the pros and cons of streets. For Lefebvre argues that the highly trafficked and busy street provides security against criminal violence such as theft, rape or assault. So vanishing of street intensifies criminality. Against the street he postulated that streets have become a form of oppression or subjugation. Movement in the street has become not only mandatory but also repressed.

4.3. Space, the City and Social Theory: Fran Tonkiss

Tonkiss in (2005) put forward a social theory on space and the city where she explained Gender, Sexuality and the City as embodied spaces. Thus the study has pulled out the theory to make the present study theoretically sound.

Gender and sexuality in the city:

In her book entitled *'Space, the City and Social Theory'* Tonkiss (2005) spotlightedhow the perception and the use of urban spaces are affected by the issues of gender and sexuality. Doing this it demonstrated how cities conduct us as bodies and how our selves are produced by urban experiences.. She elucidated how structures of gender and sexual difference are thus reproduced by urban spatial arrangements. Therefore, boundaries of individual bodies cannot shape gender and sexuality but these are shaped by space. Hence Fran Tonkiss addressed the problem of gender and sexuality in 'Embodies Spacce: Gender, Sexuality and the City' not as a function of a sort of individual body visible in the street but as a function of urban physical

and social environments. It means that social and physical environments of the city inhabit and reproduce the problem of gender and sexuality. Tonkiss (2005) argued that to position gender and sexuality in the city means to position bodies in space. She viewed street as sexed and gendered. She attempted to explore the spatial impact of these subjective identities (gender and sexuality) that incorporates three parts of discussion:

   i.   The first one focuses on how women are represented in the modern city.
   ii. The second one focuses on how the geography of violence and fear constrains women's spatial practices. Thus she pointed out the gendered use of urban space.

She also put forwarded third section that has outlined the lesbian and gay community formation and its impact on shaping urban space. But this part is not pertinent in theorizing the context of the present study. In Tonkiss's (2005) theory it was mentioned-

> 'the younger generation of women who are just now entering in such large numbers into the newer occupations and the freer life which the great cities offer them.'

Tonkiss (2005) purported that women's presence in urban space is linked with interaction between freedom and danger. The cities are offering young age group of women newer career and freer life in which the women are entering into huge numbers. It has troublesome effects on social and moral order. These women are thereby getting social and spatial liberties, political visibility and the pleasures of anonymity. Individual women have thus dislodged the dominant order of social space and also produced spaces of movements for themselves. Therefore, the city has become the space of freedom for women. Their presence of women in urban spaceis a signification of disorder, danger and desire. But the real scene of urban space goes unseen that is critical to both freedom and safety of women. Because the city has become a site of danger simultaneously as women's fear of male violence has become a fear of space. The gendered subjects that come into view in the street not only handle the physical and social space but also the symbolic spaces- gendered roles and practices, location and conduct of gendered bodies. The gendering of space lies evidently in this geography of danger.

Geography of danger & geography of gender:

Geography of danger denotes city as a site of danger that restricts women's full access to and use of urban spaces and also perpetuates women's fear of male violence that is unraveled as a fear of space. Geography of genderis simply these margins of freedom and maps of danger constitute in the city. Therefore, it can be inferred that geography of gender is the geography of danger in urban space. More specifically, it means marginalizing women when they become visible in public space in the city by jeopardizing women's use of and fear of space. Women's perception of safety and danger is also structured by the physical environment of urban space. Degree of visibility or transparency, openness or easiness of access or way out, better street light, employ of closed circuit television (CCTV) make women feel safer in the urban space.

Fear and danger is gendered and spatialized:

Tonkiss (2005) postulated a criminological knowledge that includes perception of safety and danger in the city that shapes gendered use of space. Feeling of fear is gendered in the sense that women feel mostly vulnerable to male violence and it is mostly because of sex-related crime. Thus, women's common fear of being mistreated by crime is predominantly underscored by the fear of rape and sexual assault. Again, women's perception of danger and safety is also spatialized that relies on the unstable geography. Geography is unstable in two senses- in the sense that various groups of people occupy urban space and in the sense that the ways through which space change over time. Spatialization of danger and safety denotes that particular spaces are dangerous and particular dangerous spaces become dangerous at particular dangerous time. It is mostly because of the uneven distribution of male violence over time and space. tonkiss highlighted Valetine's suggestion that space is perceived as dangerous by women because of the unregulated behavior of men at particular times. These unregulated behavior of men can take place both in open spaces (parks, towpaths, wasteland) and closed spaces (subways, alleys, laneways, multistory car parks, train carriages). She exemplified that a railway station or park is fully safe at mid day but becomes fully unsafe at mid night.

> 'The charged nature of space for many women, and the fraught nature of the female body in space are evident in the advice commonly offered to women if they should find themselves on a deserted street after dark: the notion that you should walk in the middle of the road and not on the pavement literally puts

women out of place in ordinary public spaces. It might be good advice, but it underlines the way that having a female body can be a spatial liability, and how certain spaces in the city are experienced as a kind of conflict zone.'

The nature of space is emotional/ electric for women and that of female body is burdened. Women adopt spatial strategies to avoid danger and remain safe. Women's defensive use of space means to avoid certain places at certain times, use private transport, avoid going out alone at night or seek protection from a man within the heterosexual couple. The strategies vary with respect to race, age, income, status and lifestyle of women. Akin to most kids and dogs, women are taught how to use street-how and where to tread, to observe who are staring at or gazing at, what to do if something unpleasant or irritating situation takes place. Women are advised to avoid pavements and to use middle of the road while walking in the street. Therefore, perception of fear and danger in urban space affects women's use of this space.

4.4. The position of the present study in line with the theoretical framework;

Following Harvey's 'Social meanings to Space', the present study explores new urban space of Dhaka city with regards to the commodification of urban life filled with lots of shopping malls, fashion industry, cultural and knowledge- based industry. The study will explain Harvey's spatialization of social practices in terms of women's enjoyment of freedom and experience of danger in different public places at different times. It will also pinpoint different meanings of social practices put forward by social relations of gender. Harvey also put forward the right to the city. But the present study will actually focus the right to a gendered city and its relation to new urban space. As mentioned in Harvey's (1989), Lefebvre's experienced, perceived and imagined spatial practices are replicated in the present study by women's experience of harassment, perception of danger and fear of harassment in public space respectively. Again Harvey's 'appropriation of space' has been conceptualized as the appropriation of space by specific social group of people at different times in public spaces in the study. Domination of space has been represented by the domination of men and male violence in urban public space and subsequently female service workers' vulnerability to public harassment. Production of space has been denoted by the production of new urban space-the increasing establishments of shopping malls, fashion house, beauty parlor, cafes, transport, advanced communication and technology and so on.

Particular spaces become dangerous at particular period of times for women because of the aggressiveness of particular groups of people. For this reason women's movement in space is

also restricted and repressed. These conditions replicate Lefebvre's spatial code that restrains women's activity in space. the present study will emphasize on women's adoption of spatial practices and it's effects on their free movement in public space.

Tonkiss thus attempted to focus spatial practices of women in the city shaped by the urban space or spatial arrangements. He demonstrated that urban physical and social environments determine women's perception and use of urban space. Women in the city does not simple refers to a body in the city but to geography of gender in the city. The present study supports Tonkiss's theory with respect to the arguments of the geography of gender in the city. More specifically it sounds with the relationship between urban space and women's cognitive map of safety and danger in the urban space and their spatial practices to stay safe postulated by Tonkiss. This geography of gender is reinforced by women's age, lifestyles and occupation, urban infrastructure that is also represented in the present study.

But this study departs from the theory on the point that it addresses the problem of gender in the city by new urban spaces. These new urban spaces incorporate dazzling shopping malls and new markets, numerous beauty parlours, modern fashion houses and take the cases of those women servicing in these consumer services. This study is also different from Tokiss's attempt in the sense that it pinpoints women's fear and experience of male violence in three separate categories- verbal, sexual physical and non –sexual physical assault in lieu of only sexual assault. The study explores women's fear and experience of theses dangers that margin their freedom in urban public space when they leave home early in the morning for the servicing place and come back to living place at night time, walk down on the road, pavements, subways, alleyways or ride by public bus in between the servicing and living place and also when they remain in park or market place. It is the new urban space that is bringing women out of the home early in the morning, leave them in the dark street, subways or alleyways at night-time after the working hour, compel them to ride on crowded public bus and tolerate everyday male violence inflicted upon them, taking them in park or market place at holidays or off-time. Owing to this, women adopt different spatial strategies to avoid danger. Here lies the relationship between new urban space and spatial strategies of women. In this study spatial practices will incorporate women's fear of, experience in and strategies of women in urban space.

Following Lefebvre, Harvey mentioned experienced, perceived and imagined dimensions of spatial practices. Accordingly, in the current research it has been demonstrated as women's

experiences of harassment, perception of safety and imagined maps of danger in the public space of the city. Further, the study puts Harvey's spatial practices to understand the production of new urban space and appropriation of space by male population and female service workers' susceptibility to men and male violence in public space of Dhaka city. His 'social meanings' have been applied to the understanding of different social and spatialized practices. The study explores the impact of spatial code proposed by Lefebvre on women's spatial practices and activities. Finally, Tonkiss' theory has been applied to Harvey's spatial practices and Lefebvre's spatial code to demonstrate the relation between new urban space and spatial practices of women.

Chapter 5
Methodology

This chapter is an effort to delineate the design on how the study has been carried out. In this study both qualitative and quantitative forms of data have been collected and analyzed where qualitative strategy has been applied to supplement the quantitative one. The study has begun with the selection of a topic to be examined. The research questions and hypothesis have been formulated after reviewing pertinent theories and literature. After deciding on the data collection procedure, sample design, sampling framework, sample size, mode of administrating questionnaire, a semi-structured questionnaire was developed for conducting survey and also a guideline for case study. The questionnaire was pre-tested for revising and finalizing it to be employed in the final study. After collecting data from the respondents, the quantitative data was coded and entered into SPSS 20 for statistical analysis and interpretation. The qualitative data collected through case studies were thematically analyzed to supplement the findings of the quantitative data. Survey and case studies were conducted to draw out the static picture and processual analysis respectively of the new urban space and spatial practices of female service workers in shopping malls, fashion house and beauty parlor. Sequential procedure and deductive logic were applied for carrying out the research. Theories and concepts have been tested in this quantitative method to be followed by a qualitative method-case study. The case study method has explored few case or individuals in-details to enhance the findings of the survey.

5.1. Quantitative findings to be followed by qualitative method:

Multi-method strategy was followed for the present study where quantitative findings have been supplemented by qualitative method. This strategy is called sequential procedure by Creswell (2003). Among the quantitative and strategy, survey was selected and among qualitative strategy, few case studies were collectedto supplement the findings of survey.

5.2. Selection of study area:

Five areas have been picked out from the city of Dhaka purposively for conducting the study. Dhanmondi, Shahbag and Nilkhet have been selected from DSCC and Mirpur-1, Mirpur-10 and Banani from DNCC. Dhanmondi and Banani have been picked up from the affluent zones of the city and Mirpur-1, Mirpur-10, Nilkhet, Shahbag from the common but populous zones.

Map 5.1- Dhaka and area of study
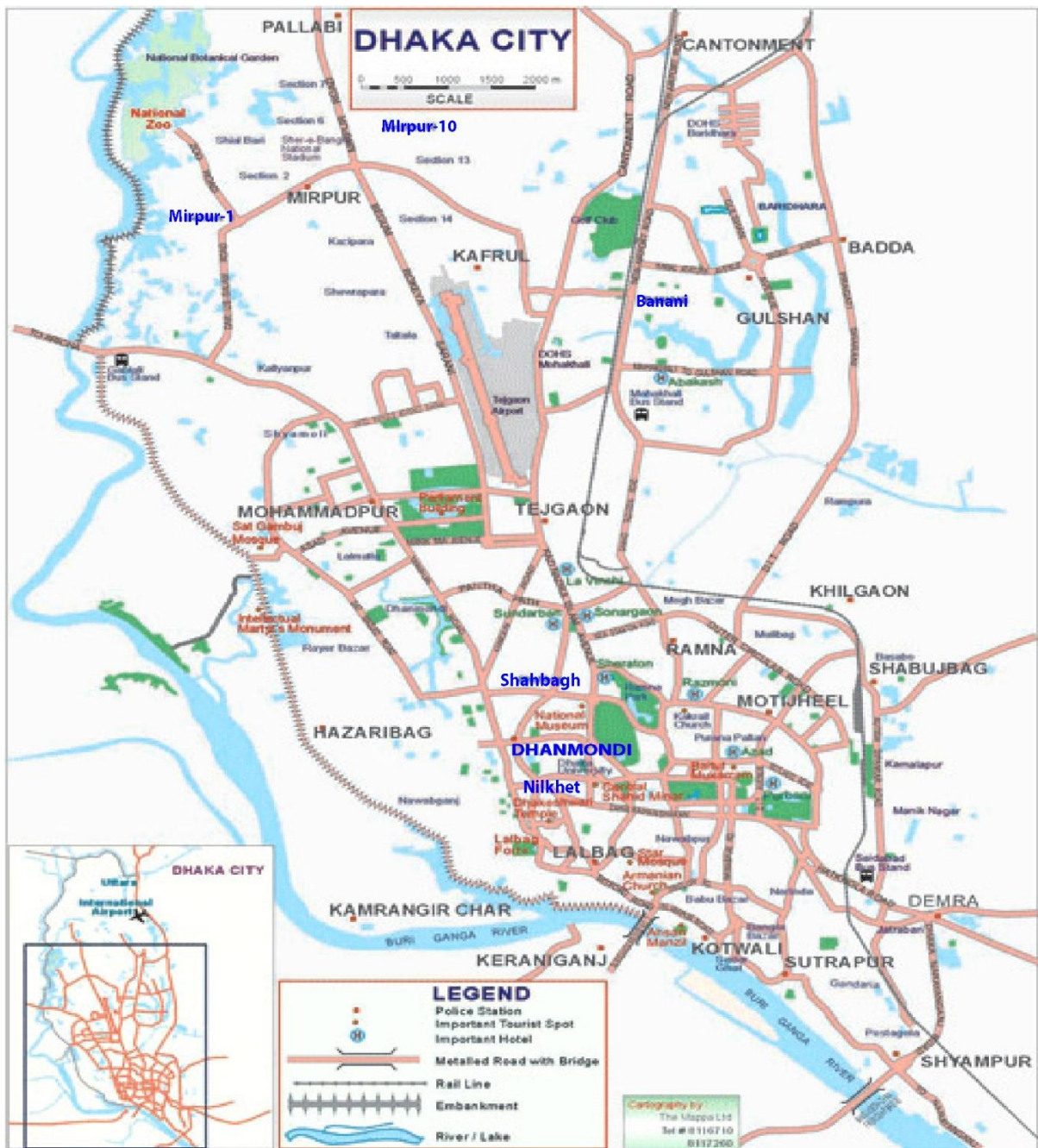
Dhanmondi:

Dhanmondi started its journey in the city of Dhaka as a residential area for the elite. It is one of the significant and major portions of Dhaka and more specifically the South Dhaka. The area has been chosen for study as it is the heart of enormous shopping malls, beauty parlors, fashion houses. Happy Arcade shopping mall, Concord shopping mall, Meher plaza, Metro

shopping mall, Orchard point, Capital market, Rapa plaza, Bithis Herbal, Mannobor and so on are situated in this location where lots of women are working for their survival. It is also purposeful to select the area for the rise of consumer class rushing to avail the services of these new service sectors. Shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors of Dhanmondi included in the study are located mostly in the Mirpur road and Green road of the study area.

Shahbag:

Shahbag lies in a intersection between North and South Dhaka. It is one of the major neighborhoods and also a center of public transport. Shahbag has been picked up as a study area mainly as a major transport hub and the concentration of a big super market (Aziz Super Co-operative) with lots of fashion houses which have become the livelihood opportunities for many women. Respondents from this study area were selected from the Aziz-super at Shahbag road, the agglomeration of series of fashion houses.

Nilkhet:

Nilkhet of the South Dhaka is popular mainly for the location of Dhaka New Market and also for lots of shopping malls and beauty parlors around the area. Many shops are found in the new market and Chandni Chak and beauty parlors in Rafin Plaza where women are working as sales girls, manager or receptionist for earning their livelihood. The shops of New Market are located in Nilkhet circle and shops of Candni Chak and parlors of Rafin Plaza are in the Mirpur road of Nilkhet. All of these shops and parlors are found full of consumers throughout the week and more significantly the weekly holiday i.e. Friday or Saturday. The consumers found in and around Nilkhet are from all walks of life. Therefore, the area has also been selected from the South City Corporation.

Mirpur:

Mirpur has also been a popular residential area since 1971. Now it is found with all modern amenities ranging from health, education to recreational facilities. Particularly, section 1, section-2 and section-10 of Mirpur has become focal point of fashion houses (e.g. Nikhut Kraft, Chandrabindu, Pallir Chek, Sun Flower Fashion, Rupkotha, Grammen Chek, Nabarupa, Grameen Poshak, Rangjoyi, Nari Mela etc.), shopping malls (e.g. Prince Bazar, Arong, Shah Ali Plaza etc) and beauty parlors (e.g. Tereza, Ming, Perfect beauty parlor etc.). These are mostly located in and around of Sony Cinema hall of Mirpur-1 and on the main road between Mirpur-1 circle to the circle of Mirpur-10. Also these sectors are providing

recruitment to lots of women as sales girls and beauticians. For the concentration of service sectors and female consumer service workers, these areas have been preferred to carry on the study.

Banani:

Banani from Gulshan zone of DNCC has been selected as the study area because of the remarkable concentration of service economy in the area.Banani is actually one of the famous affluent residential areas of the city. The area is now visible with hosts of shopping malls, fashion houses, beauty parlors etc and also with huge number of customers rushing for their services. Like the South Dhaka and common people's zones of the city, Banani is also offering numerous recruitments to women in different service sectors. The shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors were selected from the Kamal-Ata-Turk road of Banani.

5.3. Quantitative study:

5.3.1. Consideration for survey as data collection technique:

In this study survey was considered as data collection technique for conducting quantitative study for following reasons**:**

1. Survey was carried out to bring about the static picture of new urban space and spatial practices of female service workers in shopping mall, fashion house and beauty parlor.
2. To get generalized results on the issue, survey was conducted as generalization can lead the researcher to represent the societal picture.

5.3.2.Carrying out survey:

Survey was conducted maintaining the following steps-

5.3.2.1.Sampling framework:

Purposive or judgmental sampling was applied to the study for the following reasons-

1) It is a special situation to explore conceptualization of new urban space of Dhaka city and female consumer service workers' spatial practices in the space. Therefore, respondents are purposively selected to bring about informative cases.

Diagram 5.1: Steps following which the survey was conducted
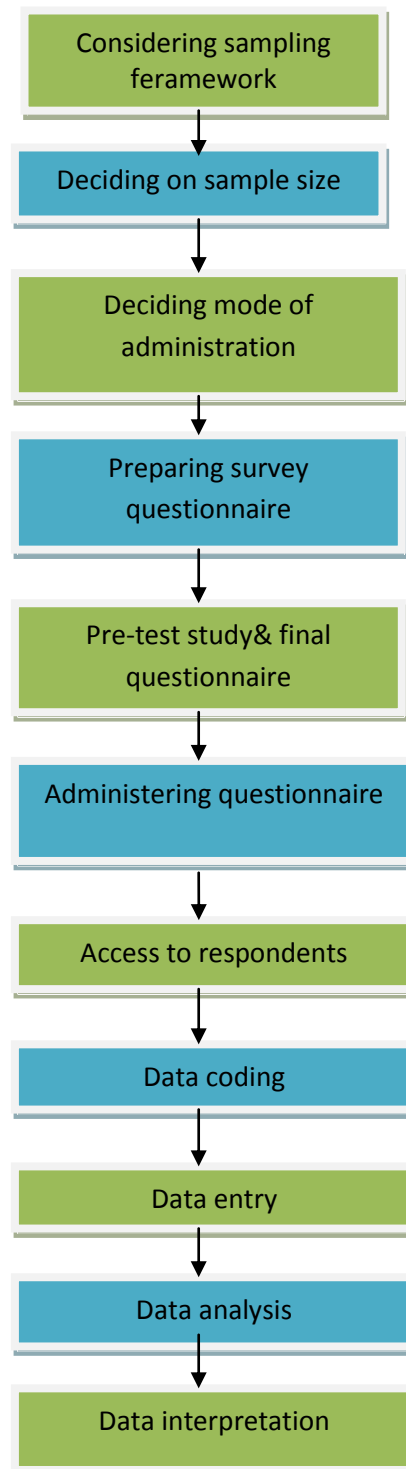
2) It is difficult to identify the shops and fashion houses where women are working and also to get access to them, the respondents were purposively selected to include as many cases as feasible.

3) For in-depth inquiry and collection of exclusive cases, judgmental sampling framework was put into practice.

5.3.2.2. Deciding on Sample size:

Survey questionnaire was administered on female service workers from different shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors of Dhanmondi, Nilkhet, Shahbag, Mirpur-1., Mirpur-10 and Banani. As there was no previous data or statistics on the number of service workers in different service sectors, the sample size of 130 respondents was purposively selected. There was an attempt to make fair distribution of the number of respondents in the three service sectors. Therefore, 41 respondents were taken from shopping malls, 43 from fashion houses and 46 from beauty parlors. Further, 25 unique and informative cases of female service workers were gathered to supplement the findings of the quantitative data.

Service sectors	Number of respondents
Shopping malls	41
Fashion house	43
Beauty parlor	46
Total	130

5.3.3.3. Deciding mode of administration:

As the study required informative, in-depth and in-detail data, 'face to face' mode was selected for the administering the questionnaire to the sample.

5.3.3.4. Preparing survey questionnaire:

The survey questionnaire was semi-structured as perception, experience and practices of women cannot always be collected in strictly structured way. The questionnaire have several sections to bring out the quantitative findings thoroughly-

A. Socio-demographic characteristics of female service workers
B. Conceptualizing the new urban space
C. Spatial practices of women

Socio-demographic characteristics of female service workers:

Survey has been conducted to collect data on socio-demographic characteristics of the population such as, the name, age, marital status, religion, ethnicity, education, occupation, place of residence and place of work of the respondents

Conceptualizing new urban space:

This section has collected data on which significant changes the female service workers are observing in modern Dhaka and how they will define new urban space of the city. It has also inquired in which service sector they are engaged in, the type of recruitment of the sector, employment and unemployment situation in terms of gender, the fact of women's empowerment and its impact on traditional masculinity on men and men's new role in the public space of Dhaka in the face of women's increasing empowerment.

Spatial practices of women:

This section has been classified into four sections:

a) Enjoyment of freedom and movement of women in work place and public place
b) Women's perception of safety and their psychological mapping
c) Their experiences of harassment while using different public places of Dhaka city
d) Adoption of protective behaviors by women to remain safe in public space

5.3.3.5.Pre-test:

The questionnaire was administered for pilot study before going for the final study. Pre-test was carried out for revising and finalizing the questionnaire and for make suring the practicability of the questionnaire.

5.3.3.6.Administering questionnaire:

The finalized questionnaire was administered to the sample population by visiting them physically to their work place at their working hour.

5.3.3.7. Access to respondents:

To reach the respondents, all of the shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors were visited. It was not so easy to access to the respondents and collect data and cases from them at their working hour. The respondents were also considered to provide their services to their

customers even while administering the survey questionnaire and case study guideline. Some of the shops and fashion houses did not permit them to collect data from their workers. It was not also possible to gather data from them without permission from their respective authority. Therefore, before conducting survey and case studies, recommendation letter from the professor of Sociology and supervisor of the thesis was required to be presented to get permission the managers, proprietors, supervisors or receptionists on duty at that time of these service sectors. The respondents have also made sure that the data collected from them will only be used for the purpose of the study.

5.3.3.8. Data coding and data entry:

As the data gathered from the survey were numerical, they were organized with descriptive analysis. Both close-ended and open-ended questions were transformed in computer readable data (coding). The coded data were then entered into program of statistical analysis. For making the statistical analysis, the software of SPSS 20 was used.

5.3.3.9. Data analysis and interpretation:

After the completion of data entry the data were run for univariate and bivariate analysis. The data was analyzed using frequency table and graphical presentation (column, pie-chart, doughnut) in univariate analysis and using cross tabulation and tabular presentation in bivariate analysis. After analyzing the data, they were interpreted in several sections following the questionnaire.

5.4. Qualitative study:

5.4.1. Consideration for case studies:

Case study was selected for carrying out the qualitative study to contribute to quantitative findings:

1. Static results cannot always provide in-depth story of individual social life. To collect unique and exclusive narrative of some women about their perception and experience of violence in public space and their impact on their freedom and movement, few case studies were carried out.
2. Survey method can only give the statics on the fact. But case studies can help learn about the process of occurrences of the fact. So, case studies were conducted to boost up the theories and concepts tested in survey method.

3. Diversified construction of social reality of the female respondents has been drawn out by case study.

5.4.2. Carrying out case study:

5.4.2.1. Number of cases:

To supplement the theories and concepts tested in the survey method has been enhanced by twenty-five unique and informative cases of women.

5.4.2.2. Conducting case study:

The case study was conducted with keeping the purpose and theme of the study in mind. While conducting case studies, informative knowledge of the respondents about the new urban space of Dhaka was stored. After selecting relevant subjects, their stories were tried to understand in their own terms. Rapport was built up with themto create an environment of sharing of the subjects' feelings and emotions. Neuman (1997) defined rapport building as 'seeing and feeling events from another's perspectives.' Therefore, the women shared their perception of safety and their own experience of harassment in the public space of Dhaka. They shared their emotions and feeling of being socialized as women and its impact on their free movement of the city. To gather their in-depth and in-detail stories, rapport was built up with the respondents before beginning the case studies.Their stories and verbatim were collected that were unique and informative. The interesting and relevant verbatim was put forward to reinforce the quantitative findings.

5.4.2.3. Analysis and interpretation:

The exclusive and informative stories of the perception and lived experiences of the subjects were described in the form of narrative analysis. In the analysis of qualitative findings an attempt was made to explain the narrative of the respondents and sometimes their cases in their own language. The qualitative data were analyzed to supplement the findings of quantitative analysis. the findings from the case studies have been interpreted and summarized at the last stage of carrying out the cases.

5.5. Ethical issues:

1. The purpose of the study was at first clarified to the respondents. The respondents were then made sure that the data would only be collected and used for the purpose of

the study. Recommendation letter from the professor and thesis supervisor was provided make sure about the utilization of data for this purpose.

2. They were also given confirmation that confidentiality of all of the data, information and stories collected from them would be maintained strictly and the real name of the subjects would never be used in the case studies.

3. Further, before taking photography permission was taken from the subjects individually that it would not cause any harm to them and it would only done to ensure the validity of data collection.

4. The respondents were not forced to respond to every question. They were considered to skip the answer of any question if they thought it sensitive for them.

5.6. Validity and reliability:

1. In the survey questionnaire, there was a mix of close ended and open-ended questions so that the respondents could give straightforward as well as in-depth and detailed data and information at the same time.

2. Data were collected through visiting one service sector to another, from one place to another and from the women while remaining in their work place so that the presence and activities of women in different service sectors could be directly observed.

3. The case studies have facilitated collection of important stories from direct interaction with the respondents in friendly environment. Therefore, they themselves became willing in responding to the questionnaire. The case studies have crosschecked and supplemented the findings of the quantitative method.

4. Rapport building with the subjects has provided them to share their confidential perception, experience and deep emotions.

5. At the time of conducting survey and case study, the respondents have given scope to deal with the arrival of customers so that they could not be bothered or hesitated in giving necessary data and information and sharing their perception and experiences spontaneously.

6. In selecting the study area, there was a mix of affluent (e.g. Banani, Dhanmondi etc) and ordinary area (Mirpur, Shahbag, Nilkhet) and also South Dhaka and North Dhaka to observe whether the reality is same or different between the two types of area.

Chapter 6

Findings

Survey and case studies have been conducted to study the relationship between new urban space and spatial practices of women in the city of Dhaka. These women are working in different shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors. The survey has brought about straightforward data and information from the subjects of the study. Simultaneously, case studies of several women have brought about their in-depth and in-detail reality of their life in their own language. In this chapter discussion of the quantitative findings has been supplemented using verbatim of the subjects. The findings of the study have been elaborated in this chapter with graphical and tabular presentation at the same time on socio-demographic characteristics of female service workers, their conceptualizion of new urban space, perception of harassment in urban public space, mental map of danger, dangerous places and time, experience of Harassment in public place as well as protective strategies and restrictions on women's freedom

6.1. Socio-demographic characteristics

6.1.1. Age :

Mostly young girls and women are working in newly emerging service sectors such as beauty parlour, shopping malls and fashion house.

Table-6.1: Age of the respondents:

Age of the Respondent	Frequency	Percent
up to 20 yrs	41	31.5
21-25	39	30.0
26-30	33	25.4
31-35	7	5.4
36-40	3	2.3
40yrs +	7	5.4
Total	130	100.0

The table 6.1 shows that 31.5 percent of the respondents is less than 20years old; 30 percent is between 21-25 years and 25.4 percent is between 26-30 years. So, it reveals that 86.9 percent young women are service workers in aforesaid service sectors whereas 13.1 per cent of the service workers are middle aged women ranging from 31 to 40 years above.

6.1.2. Service sectors:

Figure-6.1: Service sectors respondents engaged in
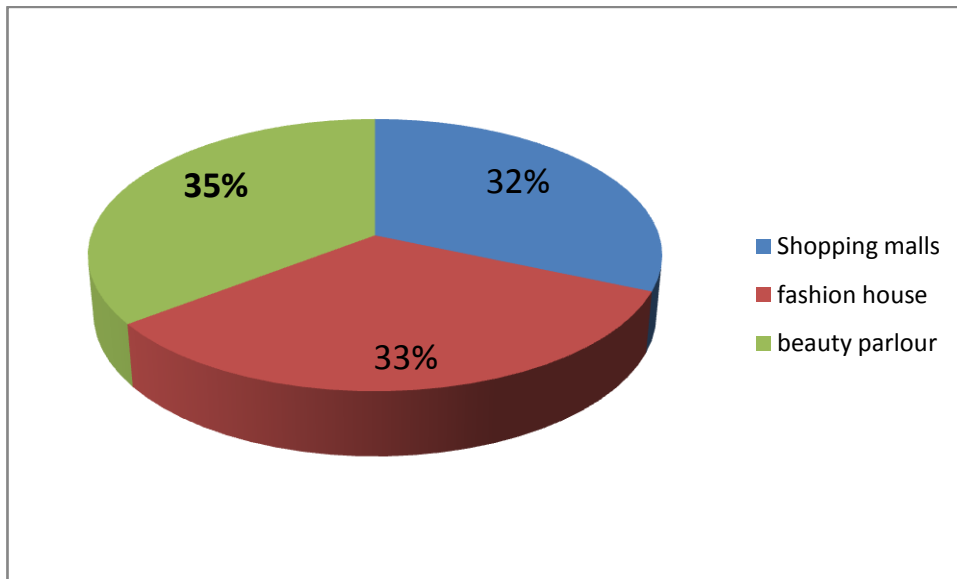
Figure 6.1 revels that while conducting the survey, 35 per cent respondents were taken from shopping malls, 33 per cent from fashion house and 32 per cent from beauty parlour.

6.1.3. Occupation:

The study has surveyed female service workers in beauty parlor, fashion house and shopping malls. As per figure 6.2 the percentages of beautician, sales girls, receptionist and manegers are around 31 per cent, 63 per cent, 5 percent and 2 percent respectively.

Figure 6.2: Occupation of the respondents
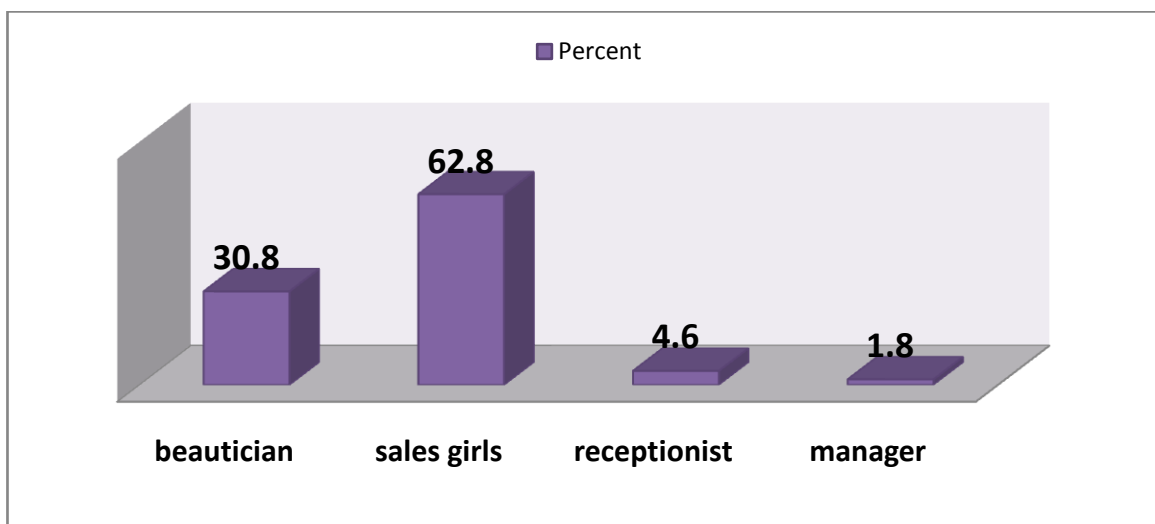
The 63 per cent of the sales girls are from both shopping malls and fashion houses of Dhaka city and most of them are young women.

6.1.4 . Ethnicity:

Among the respondents 87 percent are mainstream with respect to their ethnic background whereas 13 per cent are from tribal background as exposed by figure 6.3. Most of the beauty parlors give job opportunities for the tribal girls and the study has taken into account the surveys the beauticians from tribal background to incorporate variations in experiencing women's danger and freedom and also spatial practices with respect to their ethnicity.

Figure 6.3: Ethnicity of the respondents
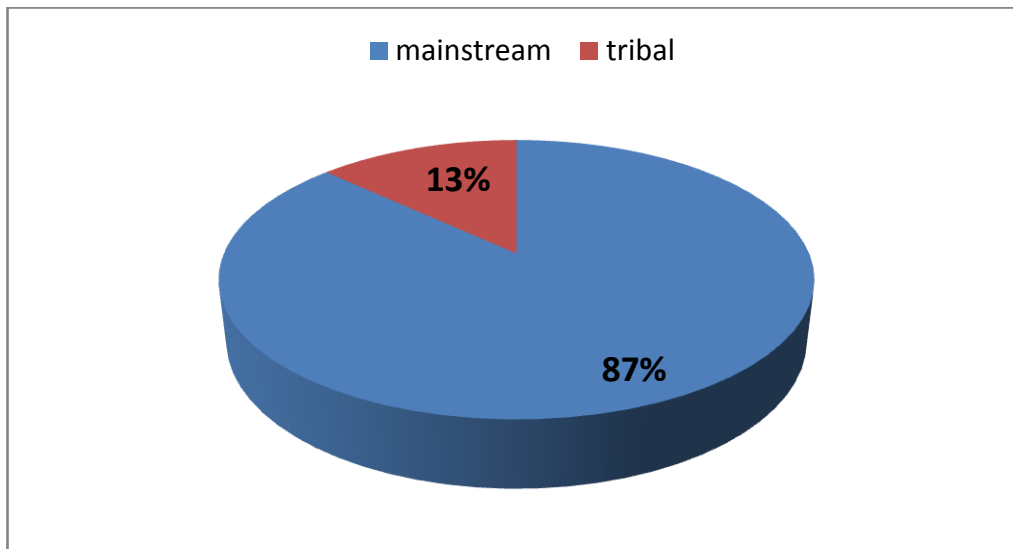
A tribal girl working in a parlor of Mirpur-10 praised the growing engagement of young tribal girl in beauty palor-

'Previously, none of the tribal girl used to come to the city at a very young age.
Now one is coming observing another woman working in beauty parlor.'

6.1.5. Education:

The educational qualification of the service providers in different beauty parlour, fashion house and shopping malls as surveyed mostly range from class 6 to HSC (84.7%) level which is the highest proportion.

Figure- 6.4: Educational qualification of the respondents:
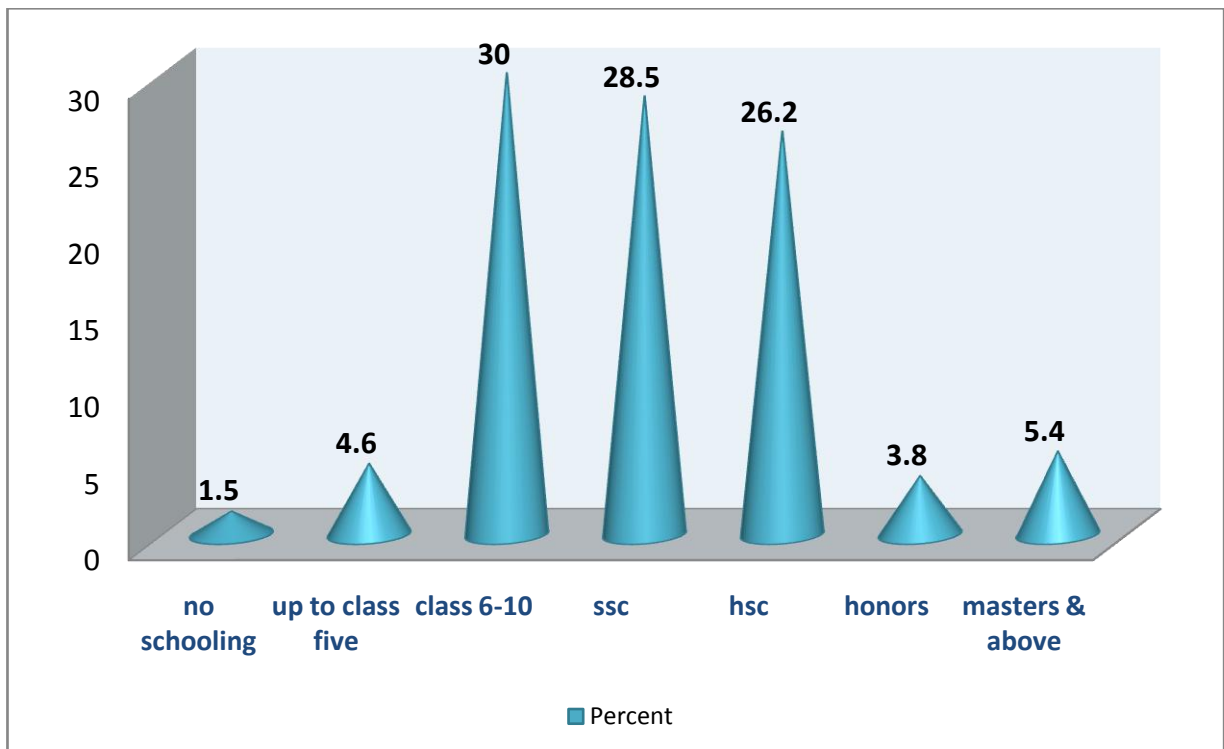
Figure 6.4 reveals that 30 per cent constitutes educational level of class 6-10, about 29 percent of SSC and approximately 26 percent of HSC. Approximately 6 per cent are from 'no schooling' to 'up to class five' background. Some of the receptionists and managers have educational qualification of honors, masters and above (9.2%).

6.1.6. Marital status:

According to table 6.2 among 130 respondents 55.8 percent is unmarried and 44.2 percent are married. Therefore, new service sectors of Dhaka i.e. beauty parlor, fashion house and shopping malls are the source of income for both married and unmarried women. It symbolizes women's increasing rate of empowerment within and outside family.

Table-6.2.Marital status of the respondents

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Unmarried	72	55.8
Married	57	44.2
Total	129	100.0

6.1.7. Religion:

It is revealed that among the respondents 83 per cent respondents is Muslim, 13 per cent Christian, 3 per cent Hindu and 1 per cent Buddhist. Among them 13.08 per cent is the Christian women that is equal to the percentage of tribal women in terms of ethnic background of the respondents as revealed by figure 6.6 .

Figure-6.5.Religion of the respondents
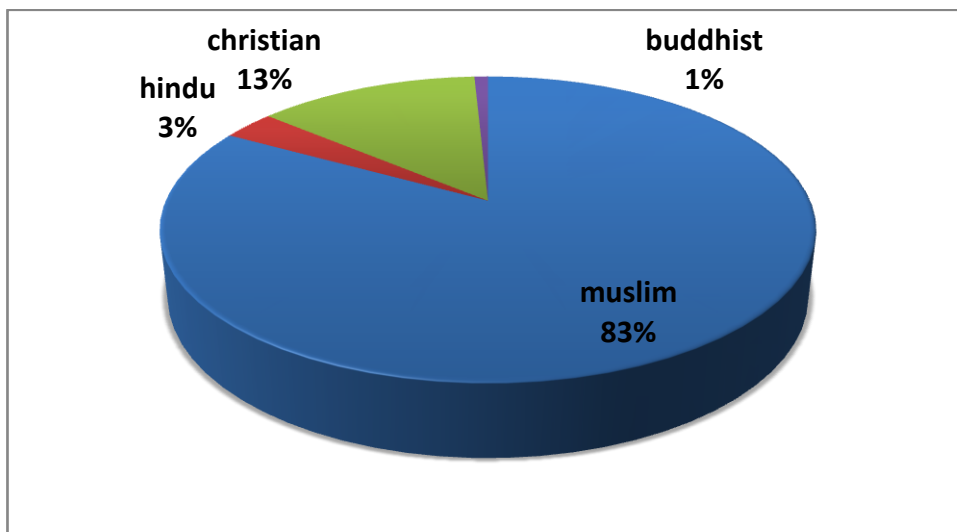
So it is clear to point out that the women of tribal as well as Christian background works mainly in parlor. So, the beauty parlor is a potential source of survival for the women irrespective of religion and ethnicity in modern Dhaka.

6.2. Conceptualizing new urban space

6.2.1. Length of residing:

Most of the respondents are knowledgeable about the changing aspects of Dhaka city. Figure 6.7 reveals that 54 per cent respondents have been living in Dhaka for 10 years or more than 10 years.

Figure-6.6. Length of residing of the respondents in Dhaka
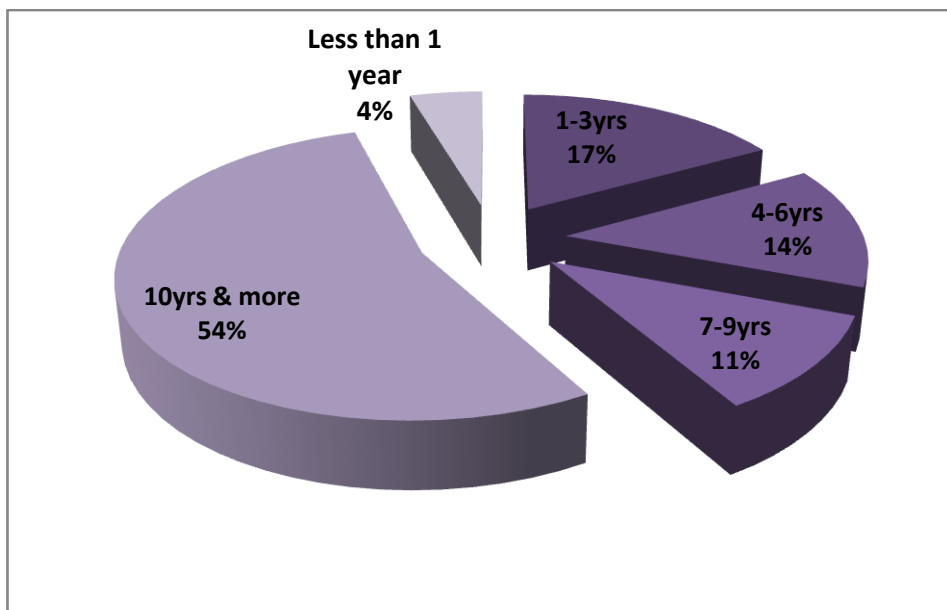
Further, the figure shows that17 per cent for 1-3 years, 14 per cent for 4-6 years, 10.11 per cent for 7-9 years and 4 percent for less than one year. As majority of the respondents are living in the city they have good knowledge about the changing pattern of the city

6.2.2. Defining new urban space:

Nearly all of the respondents have agreed that public space of Dhaka city has been changed or is changing and these changes have been defined by them as overgrowing urban population, arrival of people from hinterland, rising service sectors, mounting consumerism, increasing unemployment of men, increasing fear and experience of violence by women in public space etc. figure 6.8 shows that 10.51 per cent viewed new urban space in terms of overgrowing urban population, 7.97 per cent in terms of influx of people coming from

hinterland, 23.55 per cent of the respondents observed the new urban space in terms of growth of service sector, 12.31 per cent in terms increasing consumerism, 25.36 per cent in terms of increasing working women, 6.5 per cent in terms of increasing unemployment of men and 13.77 per cent in terms of women's fear and experience of violence in public space.

A sales girl of a shop summarized the reports of her observation as follows-

'Previously there was not so many shops and shopping malls. Now lots of shops and shopping malls are giving recruitment to thousands women. Many women are also coming into this occupation seeing other women.'

Figure 6.7. Defining new urban space by the respondents
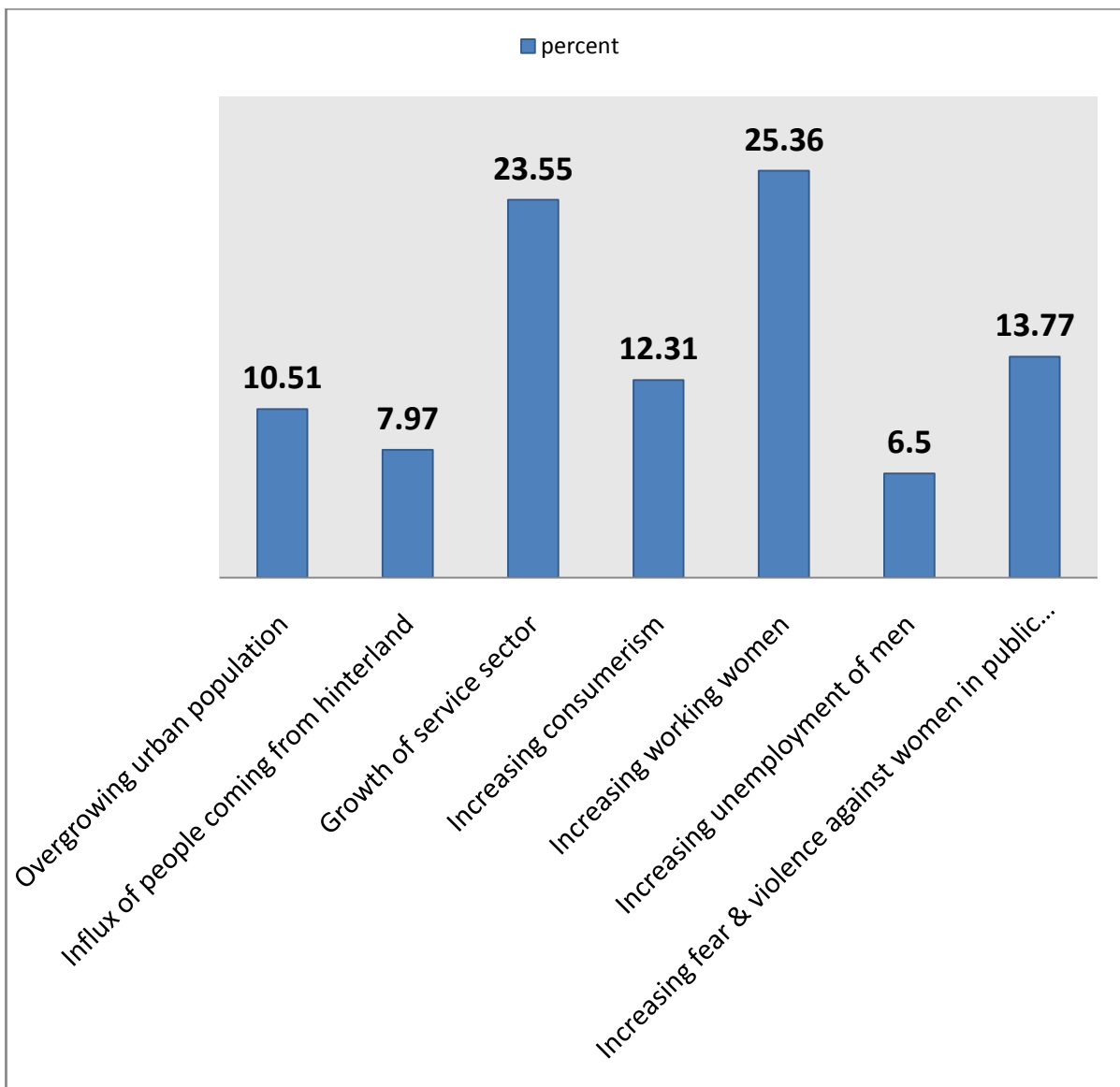
Another female service worker commented-

> '‎There is parlor at every corner of a subway. Shopping mall is built up where there is a concentration of ten to fifteen shops.'

6.2.3. New service sectors in Dhaka city:

As per figure 6.9, service sector is tremendously growing in modern Dhaka. Among these, about 38 per cent of the respondents points out shopping malls, nearly 74 per cent beauty parlor, 45 per cent fashion house as the flourishing service sectors in the city of Dhaka.

Figure-6.8: New service sectors in Dhaka as mentioned by the respondents
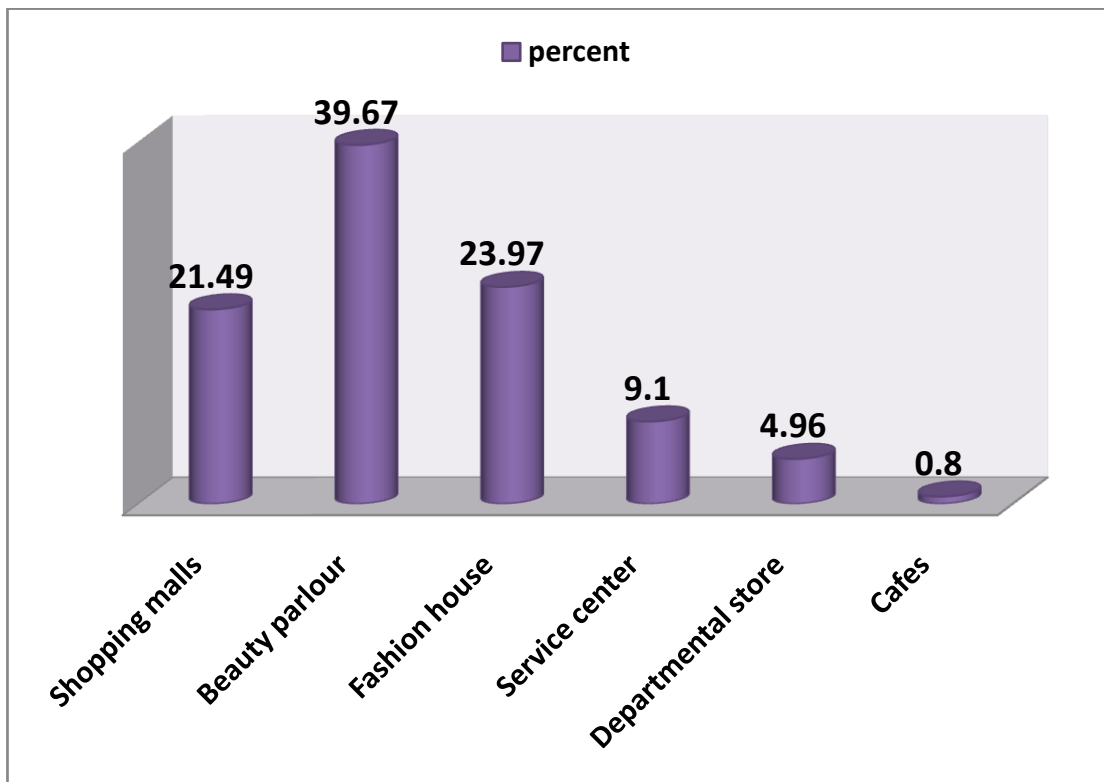
Some women have also talked about the growth of some other service sectors in the city such as service center of mobile phone, manufacturing, departmental stores, cafes etc. Only, 8 per cent has mentioned about the rise of service center, 6 per cent manufacturing, 9 per cent departmental stores, 5 per cent cafes as emerging service sectors in the present Dhaka city.

6.2.4. Gender and service sector:

Around 87% respondents commented that women are more recruited than men in new service sectors and 4 per cent replied the vice versa. But 13 per cent respondents argued that both men and women are being recruited by new service sectors in Dhaka city. Therefore, there is a relation between new service sectors and recruitment in terms of gender.

A sales girl from a fashion house commented-

'If there were no fashion house I could not come out of home for jobs. My sister-in law has also joined in fashion house after observing my engagement in this sector'

Table 6.3 Recruitment in service sectors by gender

Recruitment in terms of gender in service sectors	Frequency	Percent
Men	4	3.1
Women	113	86.9
Both	13	10.0
Total	130	100

Therefore, the table clearly demonstrates that more women are being getting recruited in new service sectors, such as shopping malls, fashion house and beauty parlor.

6.2.5. Recruitment types and service sectors:

Table 6.4: Service sectors of the respondents and their recruitment types

recruitment types * Service you are engaged in Crosstabulation						Total
			Service you are engaged in			
			Shopping malls	fashion house	beauty parlour	
recruitment types	full time	% within recruitment types	30.8%	37.4%	31.8%	100.0%
		% within Service you are engaged in	82.5%	93.0%	77.3%	84.3%
		% of Total	26.0%	31.5%	26.8%	84.3%
	part time	% within recruitment types	35.0%	15.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Service you are engaged in	17.5%	7.0%	22.7%	15.7%
		% of Total	5.5%	2.4%	7.9%	15.7%
Total		% within recruitment types	31.5%	33.9%	34.6%	100.0%
		% within Service you are engaged in	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	31.5%	33.9%	34.6%	100.0%

Among the respondents surveyed, 31.5 per cent is from shopping malls, 33.9 per cent from fashion house and 34.6 per cent from beauty parlour. As per their statements, within recruitment types of respondents' service sectors, shopping malls are offering 30.8 per cent full time and 35 per cent part time recruitment, fashion house 37.4 per cent full time and 15 per cent part time and beauty parlour 31.8 full time and 50 per cent part time recruitment. (Table 6.4)

6.2.6. Unemployment of men and women

Astonishingly, Figure 6.10 points out that 77 per cent of the respondents state that men are being more unemployed than women as women are preferred to men in these service sectors, 15 per cent perceives that women are becoming more unemployed whereas 8 per cent opines that none of them are getting unemployed for the rise of service economy.

Figure-6.9: Proportion of unemployment of men and women
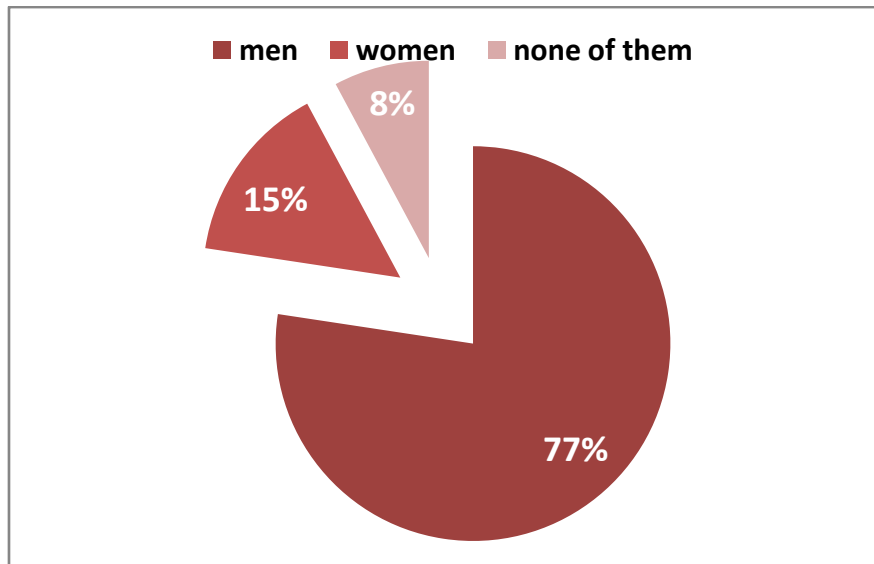
6.2.7. Empowerment:

Table 6.5: Empowerment of women in working in Dhaka

Gender getting more empowered	Frequency	Percent
men	5	4.3
women	123	95.6
Total	130	100

Table 6.5 demonstrates that 96 per cent of the respondents viewed women as more empowered in the modern Dhaka while 4 per cent men as more empowered.

6.2.8. Women's empowerment and traditional patriarchy:

Women's empowerment is affecting traditional patriarchy and masculinity severely. In most of the cases it is weakening or breaking down patriarchy.

Figure 6.10: Effect of women's empowerment on traditional patriarchy
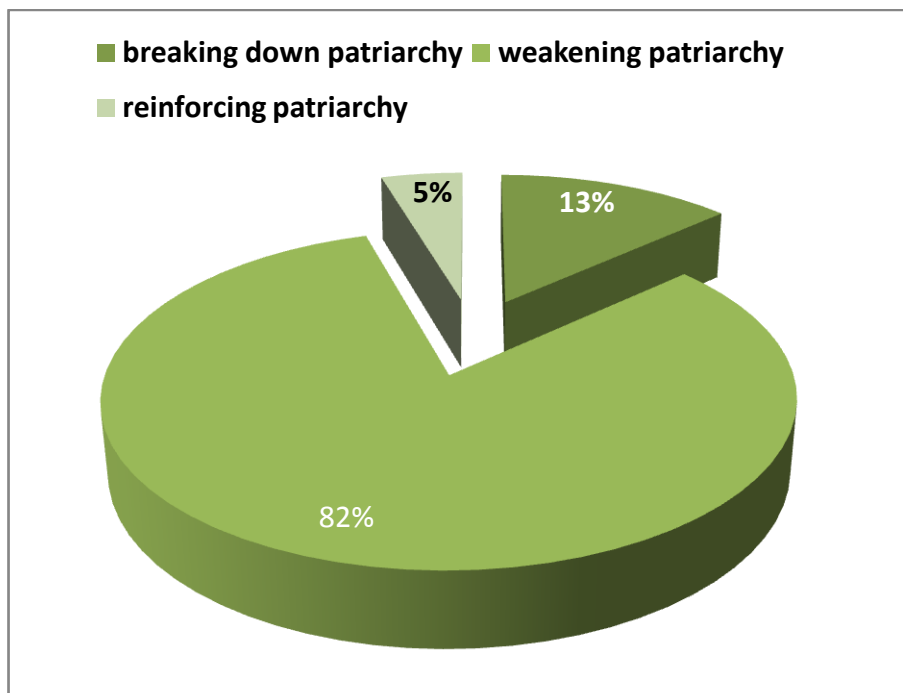
Due to the increasing empowerment of women more than men, traditional patriarchy is being affected in different directions as outlined by figure:6.11. According to the perception of 83 per cent of the respondents, patriarchy is weakening and 13 per cent opined that patriarchy is breaking down. Only 5 per cent viewed that patriarchy is still being reinforced.

6.2.9. Activities of men:

According to the perception the female service workers, as patriarchy is weakening or breaking down, men are reacting differently to maintain their masculinity pointed out in figure 6.12. While continuing the survey around 49% respondents insisted that men are now showing down patriarchy in public by harassing women whereas nearly 32 % claimed that men are accepting weakening patriarchy. 10 per cent respondents stated that men are upholding patriarchy within family to reinforce traditional masculinity.

Figure 6.11. Activities of men to hold up masculinity
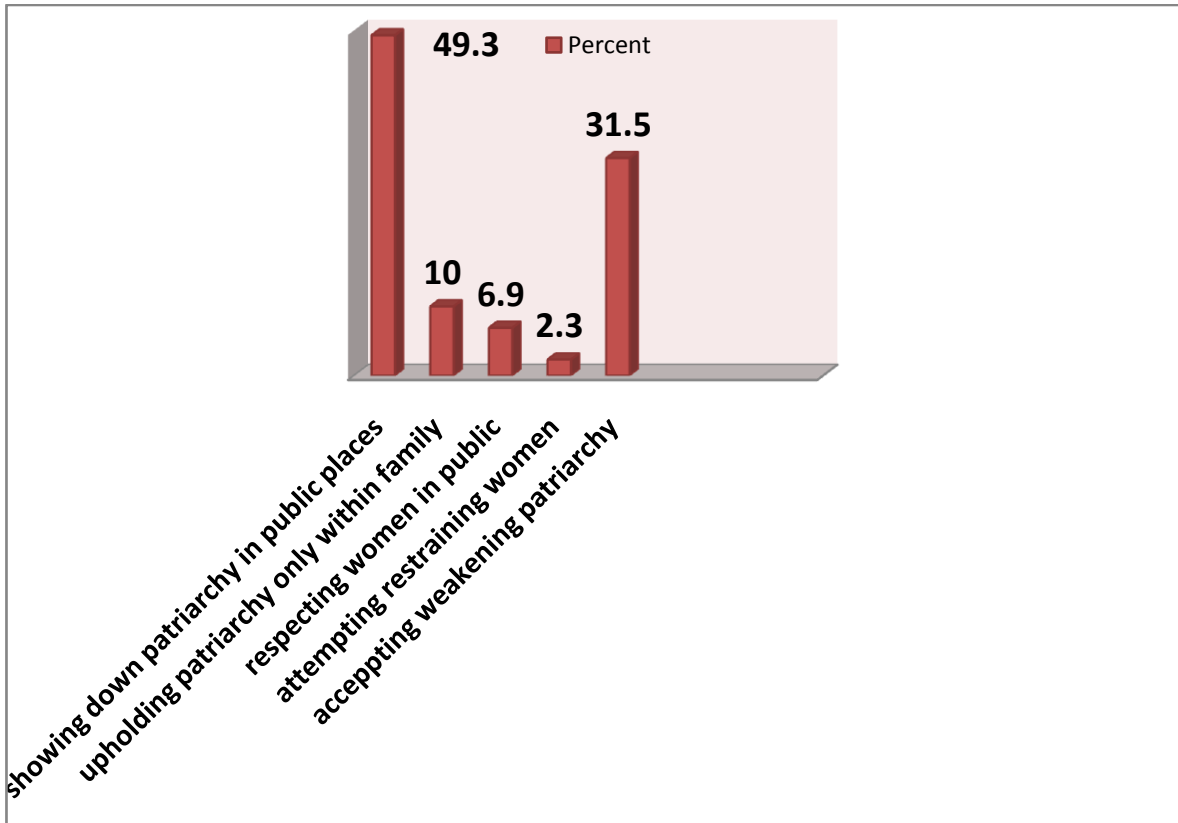
6.3. Spatial Practices of Women

6.3.1. Women's movement in public space and enjoyment of freedom:

Role of new service sectors:

About 98 percent respondents opined that it was impossible for women to go out of their home few decades ago and engage in outside works and all of the respondents insist that new service sectors are contributing to make it possible.

Table 6.6: Role of new service sectors in bringing women out of their home

Possible for women to go out of home		Role of new service sect	
Yes	No	Yes	No
2.4	97.6	100.0	

In this regardSelina, a 30 years old sales girl opined-

> 'Previously women did not do jobs in market. They have been doing jobs in market for five to six years.'

Women and freedom in work place

There is a clear indication in figure 6.13 female service workers are more free in their work place than in their work place. Most the respondents (58.5%) surveyed for the study are absolutely or fairly enjoy freedom in their work place.

Figure 6.12: Freedom of female service workers in work place
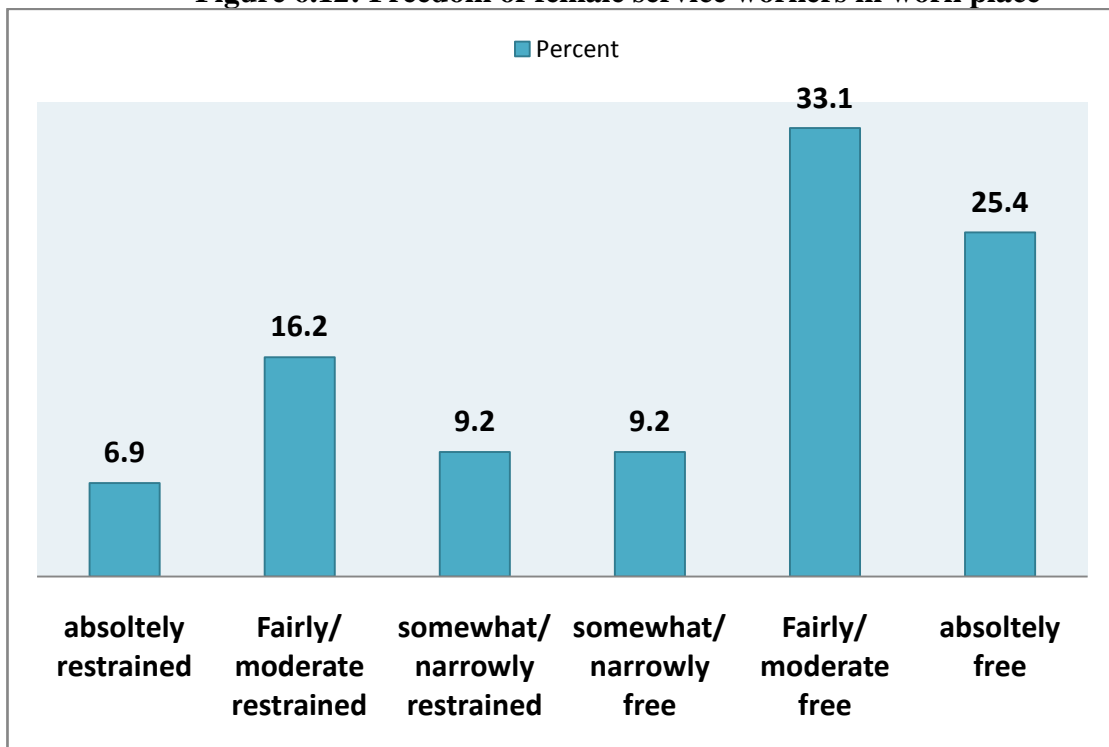
But 9.2 per cent per cent is somewhat free. 41.5 per cent is restrained in their work place by disturbance from male colleagues or outsiders absolutely, fairly and narrowly.

Sumaiya, a young sales girl of a shopping mall combats with bad comments coming from the young boys in the corridor between her shop and fresh-room-

'look, look, she is looking very nice today. Is she all right?'

Women in public space:

From table 6.7 it can be learned that most of the women face harassment in public spaces and others are fear of being harassed. Some of female service workers have been habituated with it as they are to use public space daily for the sake of their occupation.

Table 6.7: Women's enjoyment of themselves in public space

Women's enjoyment in public place	Percent
face teasing	50.8
feel fear of being harased	28.5
face harassment & get habituated with it	8.5
enjoy moderately	12.3
Total	100.0

Approximately 60 percent women surveyed experiences teasing in public space, around 29 per cent feel fear of being harassed in public space, nearly 9 per cent has get habituated with the harassing incidents in public space.

Rokeya Mahfuz, manager of a fashion house talked about women's freedom in public place-

'women have no freedom in public place. Fifty years will be required to ensure women's freedom.'

Only 12 per cent enjoy freedom and movement moderately in while remaining in public place of the city.

Women's harassment in public space and free movement:

Figure 6.14 uncovers that 53 per cent women responded that experience of teasing restricts their movement and freedom in public place while for 58 per cent teasing does not cause restriction on their movement and freedom. For 30 per cent women feeling fear of being harassed stands against their freedom and movement and for 17 per cent this fear does not hamper their freedom and movement. About half of them claimed that harassment in public space and being habituated with it hiders their free movement and another half claimed that

these do not hinder their free movement. 8 per cent feel restrictions on their freedom and movement as they cannot enjoy public space fully for their gender and 17 per cent do not feel restricted in public space..

Figure 6.13:Harassment of working women in public space restricting their movement
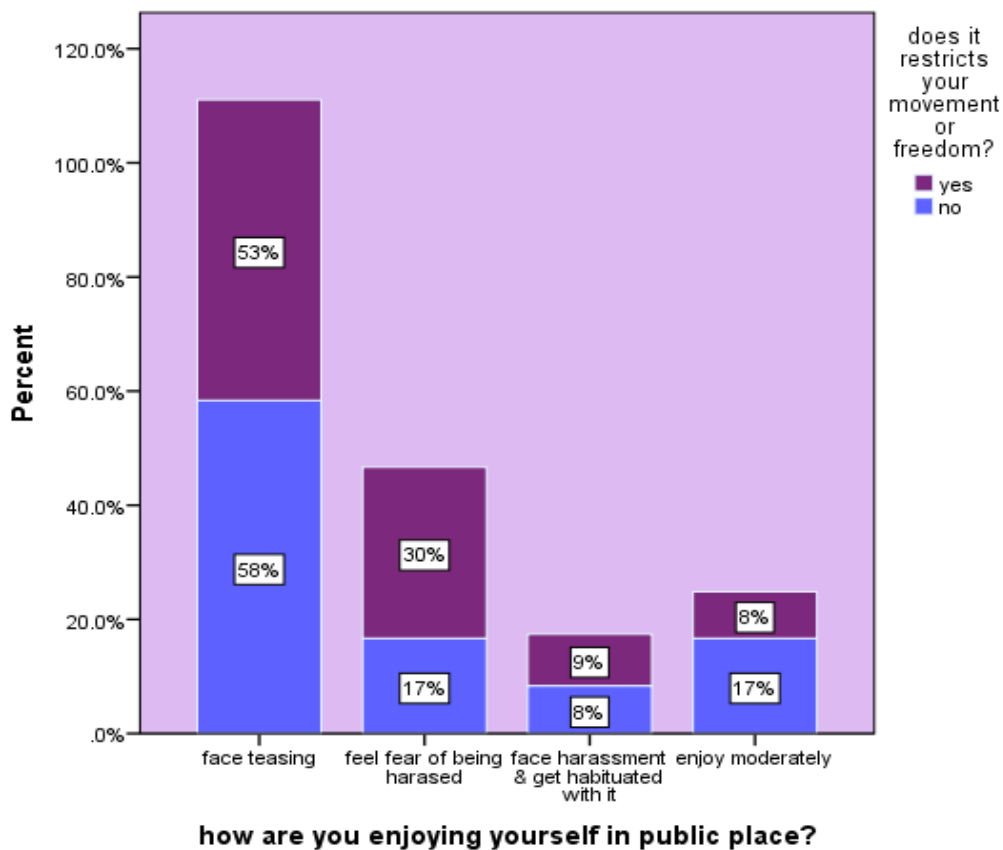
Mode of transport:

In the surveys conducted, public transport and walking are major modes of transport for female respondents working in different beauty parlor, shopping malls and fashion house to commute everyday between their serving place and living place.Figure 6.15 indicates that user of public transport (around 47 per cent) is greater than that of walking mode (about 38 per cent). Another 10 per cent use rickshaw and nearly 5 per cent only use battery driven vehicles for the same purpose.

Figure-6.14: Transport used by working women
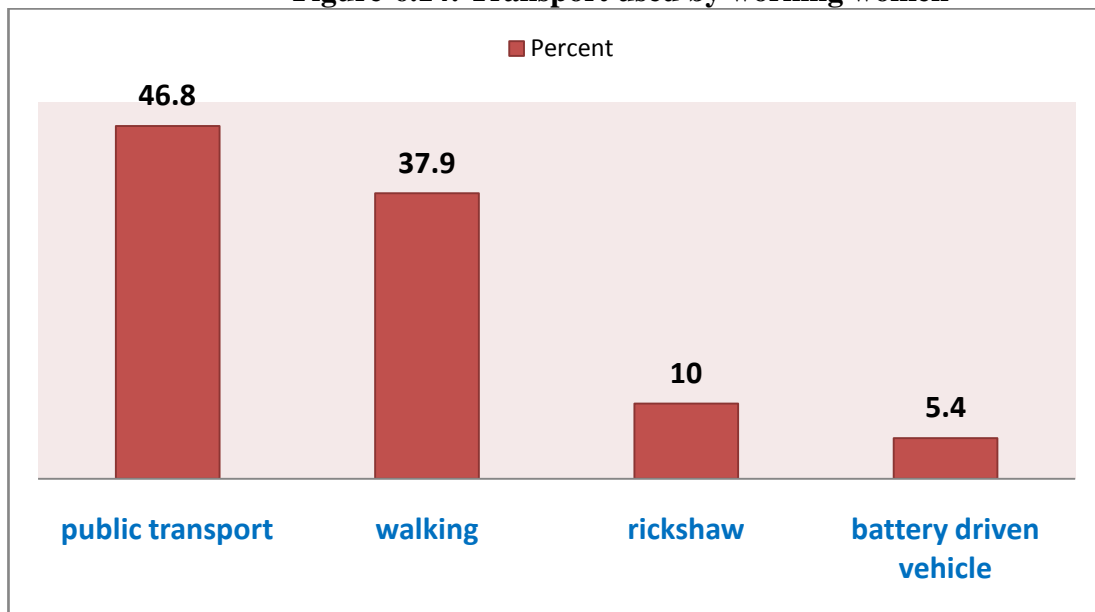
Distance between work place and residence:

The table 6.8 indicates that 26.7 per cent women use public transport as their major mode of transport between Mirpur and Dhanmondi, 13.3 per cent between Mirpur nad Nilkhet, 20 per cent between Mirpur and Dhanmondi-27 and 6.7 per cent between MIrpur and Banani.

Table- 6.8. Place of work and residence and women's choice of mode of transport

Place of residence	*Place of work*	*Mode of transport used by women (%)*				*Total*
		Public transport	*Walking*	*Rickshaw*	*Battery driven vehicle*	
Mirpur	Dhanmondi	26.7				
	NIlkhet	13.3				
	Dhanmondi-27	20				
	Banani	6.7				
	MIrpur-1		20			
	Mirpur-10		13.3			
Total		66.7	33.3			100.0
Mohammadpur	Dhanmondi.27		69.2	23.1		
	NIlkhet	7.7				
Total		7.7	69.2	23.1		100.0
Farmgate	Dhanmondi	33.3				
	Banani	66.7				
Total		100.0				100.0
Hazaribag	NIlkhet			33.3	33.3	
	Dhanmondi	33.3				
Total		33.3		33.3	33.3	100.0

Public transport is again used by 7.7 per cent women to commute between Mohammadpur and Nilkhet, walking by 69.2 per cent between Mohammadpur and Dhanmondi-27, 33 per cent between Farmgate and Dhanmondi and 66.7% between Farmgate and Banani. 33.3 per cent women prefer to travel by public transport and another 33.3 per cent women battery driven vehicle between Hazaribag and Nilkhet.

Distance determines mode of transport

Place of work: Dhanmondi:

Women whose servicing places are located in Dhanmondi and living place are in Farmgate, Mirpur, Azimpur, Hazaribag, Rayer Bazar, Elephant road, Lalbag, Demra, Jatrabari, Savar, use public transport as their daily mode of travel practice. But if the servicing place is in Dhanmondi a nd living places are in Dhanmondi and Mohammadpur prefer walking as everyday mode of transport. Women working in Dhanmondi and reside in Zigatola or Mohammadpur prefer rickshaw.

Place of work: Nilkhet:

Female service workers of beauty parlor, fashion house and shopping malls in Nilkhet and living in Mirpur and Mohammadpur use public transport. But women who work in Nilkhet and dwell in Hazaribag, Lalbag, New Paltan, Kamrangirchar generally use rickshaw or battery driven vehicle to commute between their work place and living place.

Place of work: Mirpur:

Women surveyed for the study commute by public transport when their work place is in Mirpur-1 and place of residence is in Mirpur-6, East Monipur or Shewarapara. Public transport is alos used by women who work in Mirpur 2 and live in Savar. Majorly walking mode and sometimes rickshaw are always preferred by women who live in Mirpur 1 or Mirpur-2 adjacent to their work place.

Place of work: Dhanmondi-27

Mirpur, Uttara, Azimpur, Lalbag, Dhanmondi-15 are reisiding places of those who work in Dhanmondi-27. Some female service workers studied generally ride by rickshaw between their work place and residing place. They mostly use public transport as their mode of travel to communicate between their workplace and living place. But those who live in Dhanmondi and Mohammadpur prefer walking as their principal mode of transport.

Place of Work: Banani:

Public transport is major mode of travel for the women who provide services in the parlour, fashion house and shopping malls of Banani armgate, Dhanmondi, Mirpur, Kafrul, Uttara, Mohakhali.but women whose work place is in the Banani and living places are in the Banani and Baridhara commute by rickshaw.

Place of work: Shahbag

Women who work in Shahbag and live in Dhanmondi, Baridhara, Sadarghat, Azimpur, Nobabpur use public transport and who live in Hatirpool use walking mode or rickshaw as available modes of travel to go to servicing place and come back to living place.

Use of public space by women:

Public transport and streets are the mostly used public places by the working women in shopping mall,parlor and fashion house of the city.

Figure 6.15: Public places used by working women
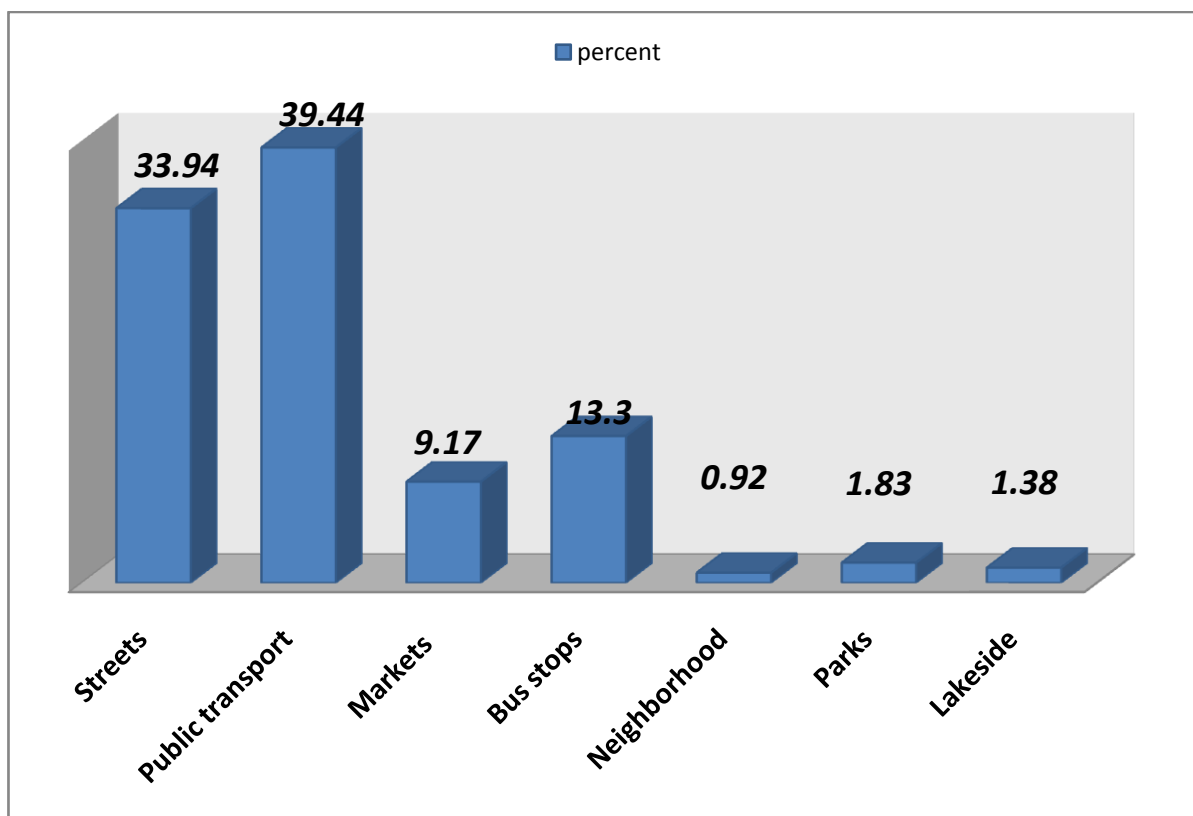
There is clear-cut demonstration in figure 6.16 that 33.94% respondents use streets, 39.44% use public transport, 9.17% use markets, 13.3 % use bus stops and 4.13% use neighborhood, parks, lakeside generally.

6.3.2. Women's perception of harassment in urban public space
Perception of safety in public place:

Table 6.9 reveals that almost 27 per cent respondents feels unsafe in the street when they use it everyday. Amongst them 24.77% feels fully unsafe, 30 % fairly unsafe and 28.21% narrowly unsafe. 45.96 per cent respondents who uses public transport for daily purposes perceives this mode of travel unsafe for them. Among them, 47.71 percent feels fully unsafe, 44 per cent fairly unsafe and 43.59 per cent narrowly unsafe.

Table 6.9: Different types of public places and perception of safety

Public space women use generally	Feeling unsafe in public space			
	Fully unsafe	Fairly unsafe	Narrowly unsafe	Total
Streets	24.77	30	28.21	26.77
Public transport	47.71	44	43.59	45.96
Markets	9.17	6	12.82	9.09
Bus stops	13.76	14	15.38	14.14
Neighborhood	2.75			1.52
Lakeside		2		.51
park	1.83	4		2.02
Total	100	100	100	100

Respondents who do not feel safe in the market places is 9.09 per cent of which 9.17 per cent feels fully unusafe, 6 per cent fairly unsafe and 12.82 per cent narrowly unsafe. 14.14 per cent women use bus stops regularly of which 13.76 per cent perceive bus stops fully unsafe for them, 14 per cent fairly unsafe and 15.38 per cent narrowly unsafe. Only 1.52 per cent feels unsafe in neighborhood, .51 per cent in lakeside and 2.02 per cent unsafe in park. (Table 6.9)

Unsafe time for women:

About half of the respondents (68%) perceive that at night time particular places become dangerous for women. Almost 23 percent perceives morning time as unsafe for women when they use certain public spaces to reach their work place. Nearly 15 percent thinks that all most all of the times public spaces are unsafe for women and 10 per cent claims afternoon and evening as fearful for women.(Figure 6.17)

Figure 6.16: Feeling of unsafe by women at different times
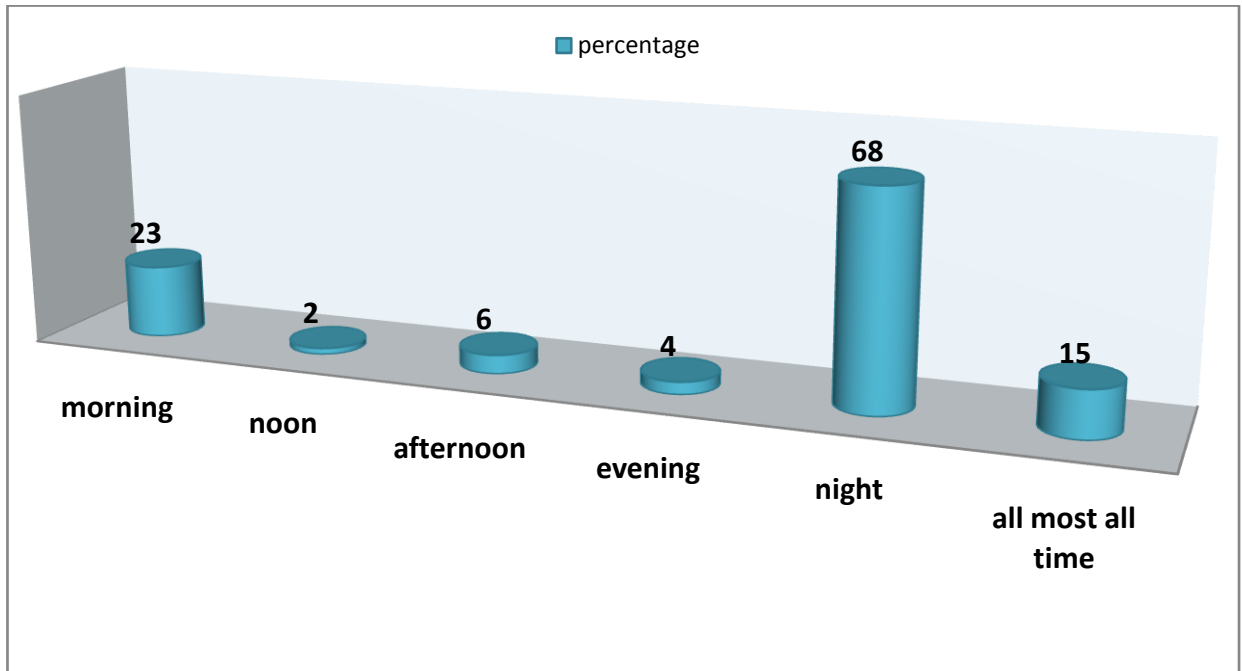
Stanger harassment:

Figure 6.18 shows that 92 per cent respondents commented that women are mostly harassed by unfamiliar persons, 3 per cent claimed that women are harassed by familiar persons. But 5 per cent argued that women are harassed by both strangers and familiar persons.

Figure: 6.17: Strangers harass women the most in public space
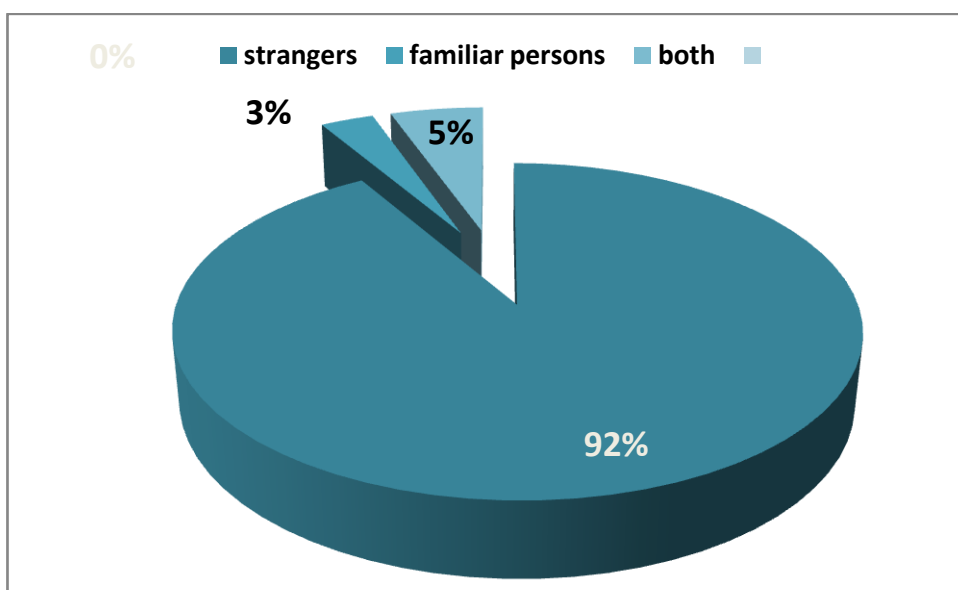
Domination of men at dangerous time and Public space

The data reveals(Figure 6.19) that unemployed deviant youth, middle aged men, richshaw puller, drunkards, vagabond people always harass or attempt to harass women when they come out of their home in the morning for their work place, ride by public transport, walk through subways or alleyways or at the night time when the women are on their way towards home.

Figure -6. 18: Who dominate the public space at dangerous time?
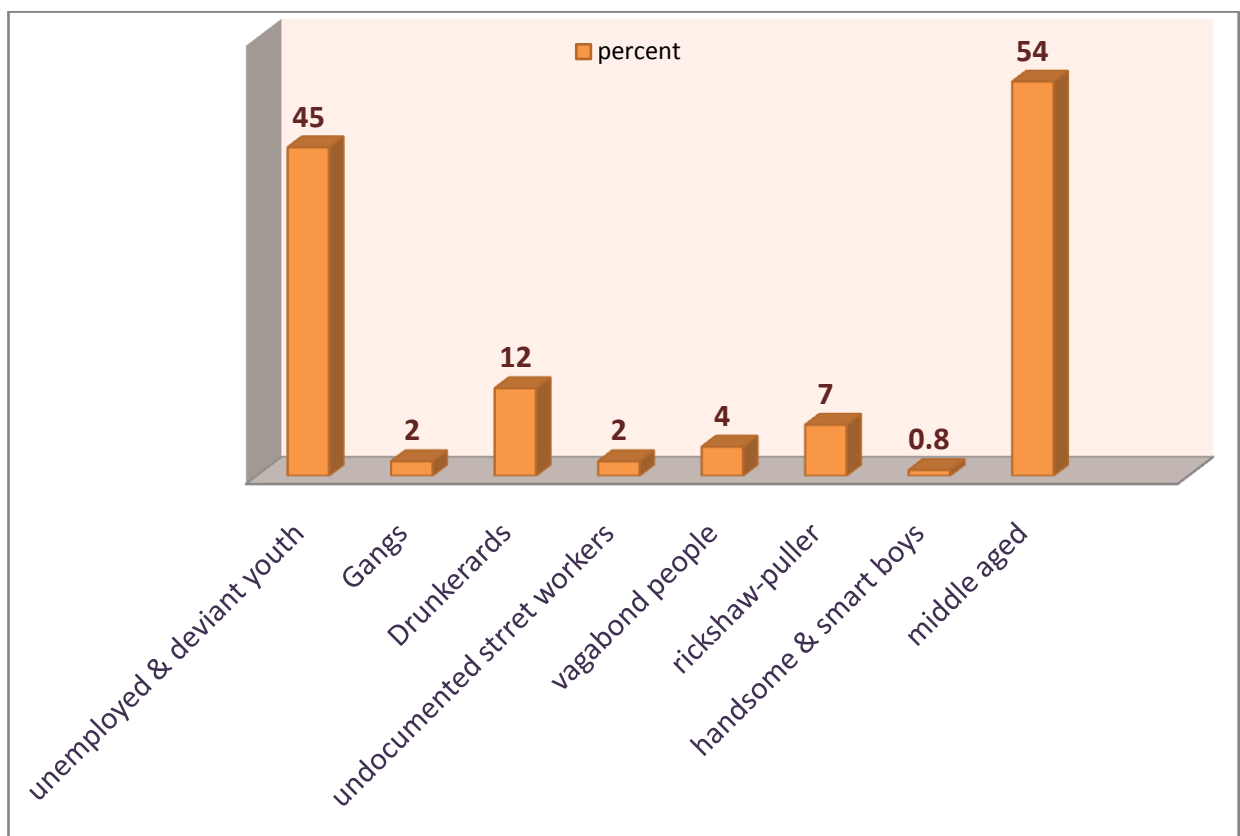
The fact is shown in figure 6.19 that 54 per cent respondents commented that middle aged men harass women the most and 45 per cent viewed that unemployed and deviant youth harass women severely. 43.8 per cent stated that public places become unsafe for women for the domination of drunkards, rickshaw puller, gangs, vagabond people, street workers and sometimes also by handsome and smart boys.

A working women expressed her anger in the following way-

> ' they are of the same age of my father. They wear religious dress. But they create problems for female co-passengers the most.'

Another woman fron a shopping mall shared her view-

> 'Middle aged men are more dangerous than the young boys. Middle aged men try
> to hit women if they get any chance.'

Urban social & physical environment and women's unsafety

As per the perception of the respondents, streets, public transports, markets, bus stops are becoming unsafe for women because of increasing crowd, decreasing day-time crowd, lack of surveillance, poor lighting and shortage of transport (figure 6.20).

Figure 6.19:Social & physical environment of Dhaka for making these places unsafe for women
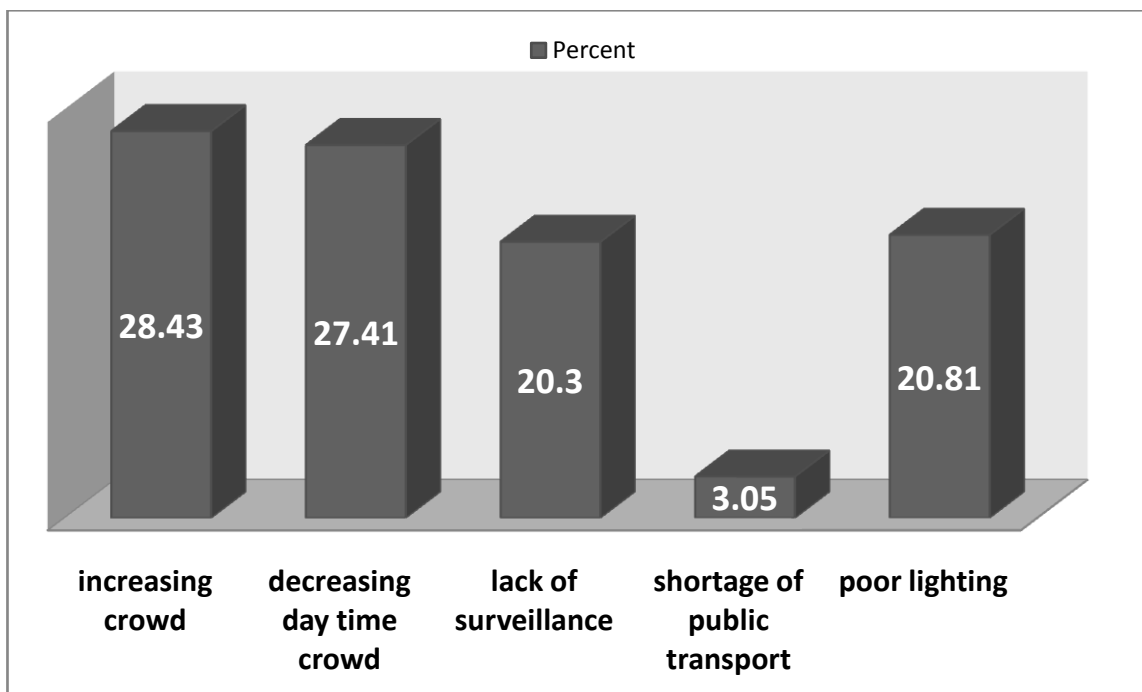
The figure exposes that 28.43 per cent women commented that increasing crowd and 27.41 per cent that decreasing day time crowd account for unsafe public places. 20.3 per cent respondents insisted that it is lack of surveillance that contributes to make the public places dangerous for women. 20.81 per cent shared that women become harassed in public places for poor lighting in urban public spaces. Around 3 per cent viewed that shortage of public transport is another reason of rendering certain places of the city unsafe for women..

Different factors and women's harassment

As revealed by figure 6.21, 17.68 per cent respondents claimed that women's age is responsible for making them harassed in public space. 8.84 per cent women viewed ethnicity as contributing factor to women's harassment in public space.

Figure 6.20: Factors affecting women's harassment in public space:
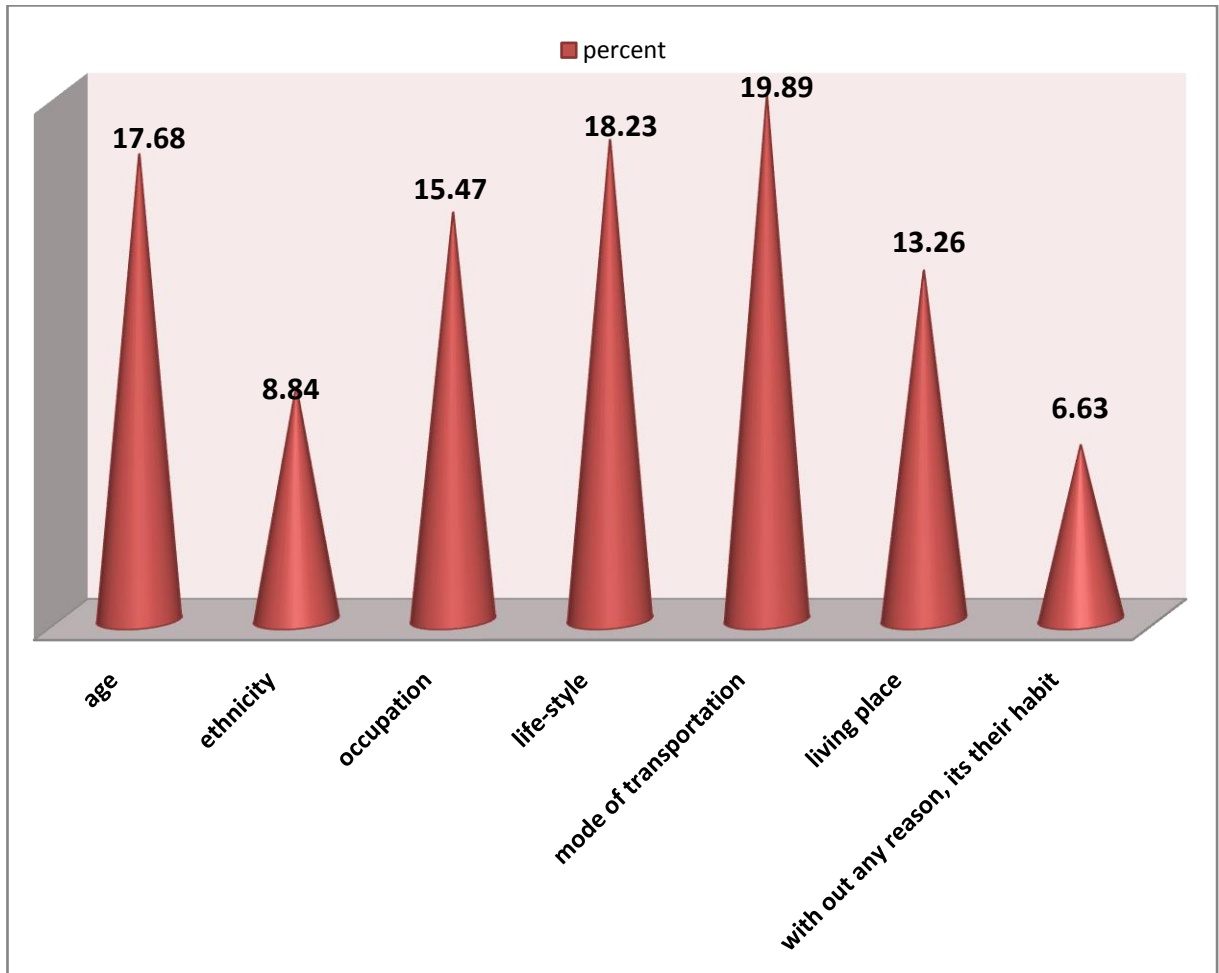
A young tribal girl, Modhumita shared her tragedy in the public space of Dhaka for being a tribal-

'as we are the tribal, harassment becomes more severe with us.'

The study also reveals in figure 6.21 that 15.47 per cent commented that occupation is responsible for women's harassment in public space of Dhaka. Occupation in new service sectors make women vulnerable to teasing by men in the city public space, particularly in the public transport and street or subway.

A young beautician supported these findings and said-

> 'I become afraid when it is night. At the month of Ramadan (the month of starvation practiced by Muslim community), it became one, two, three, four at night. We have not still faced any problem. However we always feel scared of being harassed in public place.'

Again 18.23 per cent that life-style account for women's harassment as revealed by the figure

A sales girl from a shopping mall shared how life-style contributes to women's harassment in the city-

> 'everyone does not move modestly. It is not the custom of Islam to wear stiff dress. Men look at those girls who wear stiff dress.'

But 19.89 per cent claimed that mode of transportation is responsible for making women vulnerable to harassment in public space. 13.26 per cent respondents commented that living place and more specifically greater distance of living place from working place accounts for women's harassment in public space of the city. Again 6.63 per cent of the respondents argued that men harass women in public places without any reason as it has become their habit. (Figure 6.21)

6.3.3. Women' mental map in public space of the city:
Non-sexual physical violence:

From figure 6.22 it can be known that 22.3 per cent respondents of different age groups mentioned their fear of pushing by men while using public space. 21.58 per cent respondents is fearful of deliberately tapping by men and 14.39 percent of winking and making provocative expression by men in public places.Only 5.76 per cent of the respondents is afraid of different harassing incidents targeting towards them such as throwing papers, spitting, kidnapping, throwing acid etc. 35 97 per cent respondents overlooks or does not fear of non-sexual physical violence. Mostly the young service girls are fearful of experiencing non-sexual physical harassment in public space of the city.

Figure 6.21: Fear of non-sexual physical violence
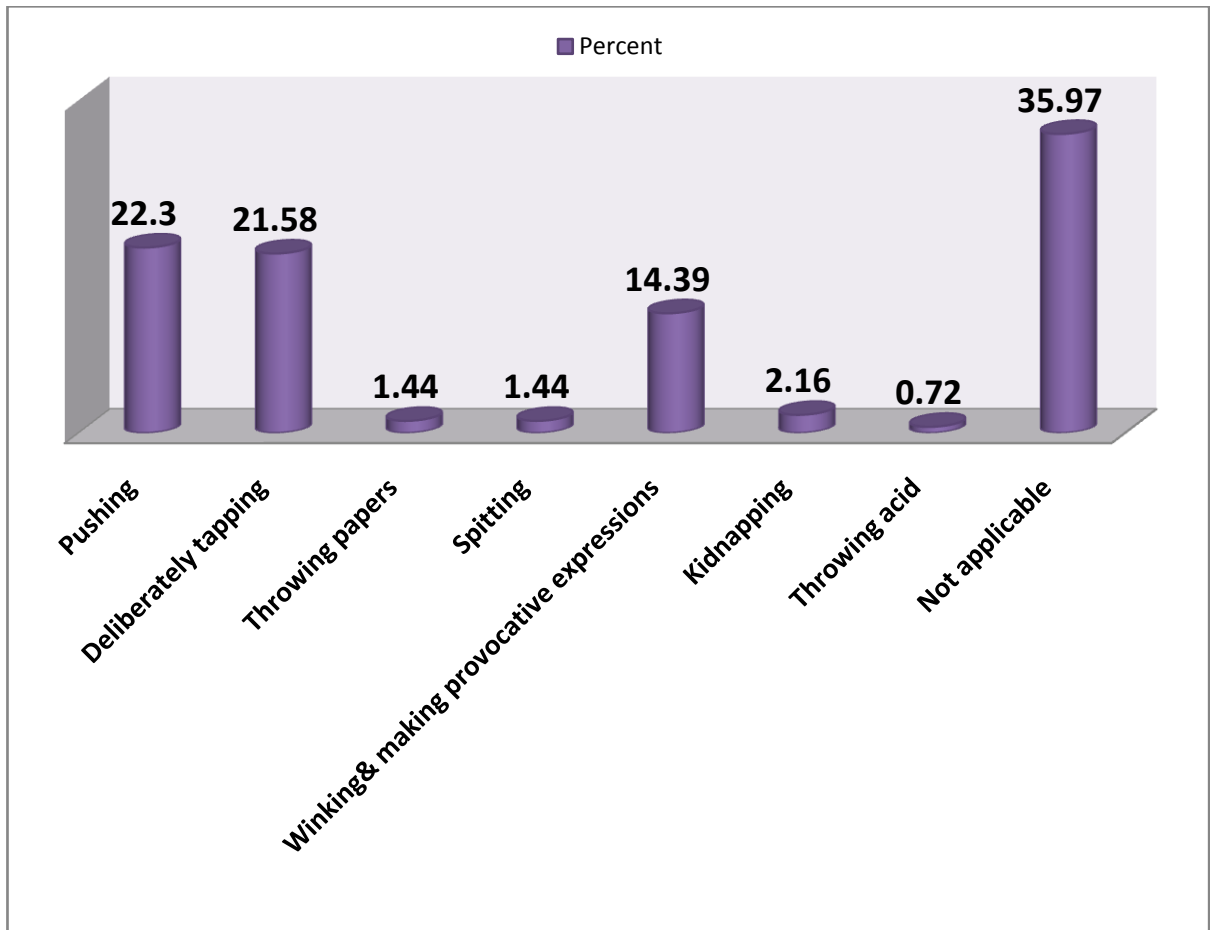
Sexual physical violence

Figure 6.23 reveals that 39 per cent respondents of different age groups surveyed reported their fear of being touched the most in public space, 19 per cent reported fear of being raped, 13 per cent reported fear of caressing their private areas by men, 12 per cent fear of being grabbed in public places.17 per cent respondents did not mention their fear of facing sexual physical violence.

Figure 6.22: Fear of sexual physical violence
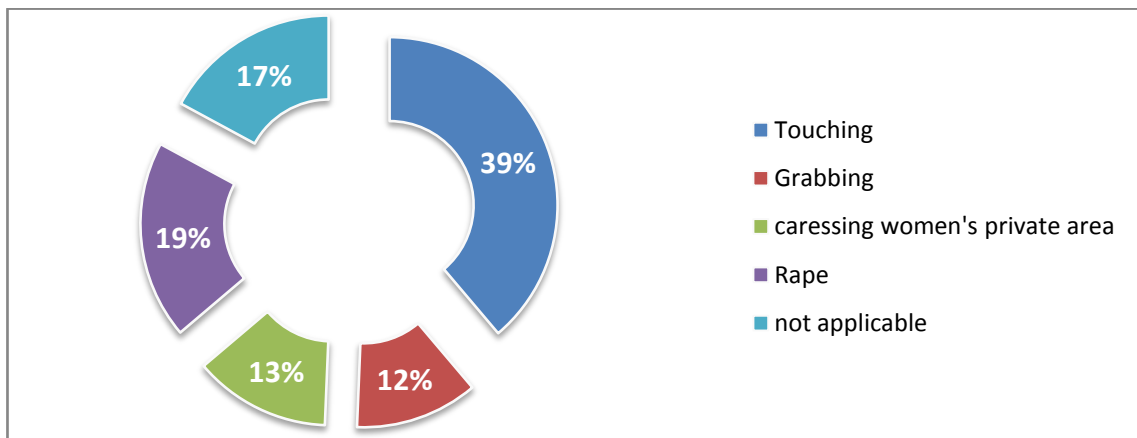
Verbal Harassment

With different proportion, verbal harassment is experienced by women from different ages as exposed by figure 6.24. But the more the age grows, the less the harassment is experienced. The fear of experiencing bad or sexually explicit comments is felt by most of the female service workers (47.59 per cent) surveyed.

Figure 6.23: Fear of verbal harassment
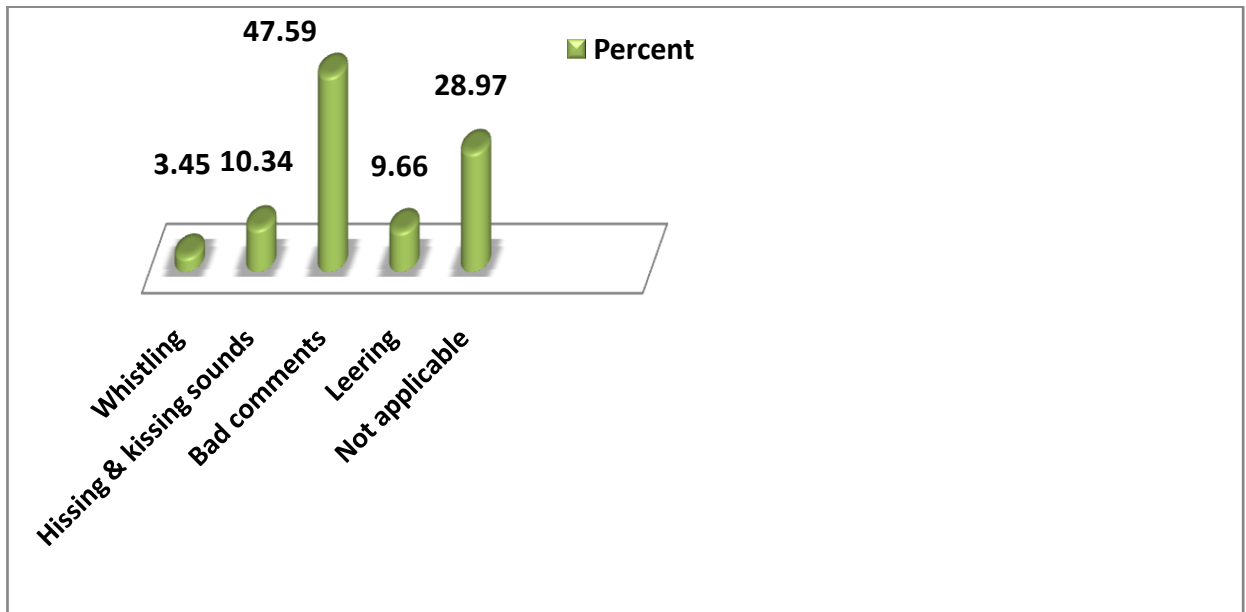
A young receptionist of a shop expressed her fear when she remains in public places of Dhaka-

> '[the matter of losing prestige in public space is the greatest issue for a woman. Nothing is to be done if anyone says something bad about a girl or woman.'

This figure also reveals that 10.34 per cent revealed their fear of experiencing hissing and kissing sounds in public space. 9.66 per cent is fearful of facing leering while remaining in public places of Dhaka and 3.45 per cent of experience of whistling.

Women age and fear:

Conspicuously, table 6.10 demonstrates that fear of harassment in public spaces is felt mostly and in a greater proportion by the young female service workers of up to 20 to 30 years. 14.39 per cent respondents of up to 20 years is fearful of non-sexual physical violence, 28.95 per cent is of sexual physical violence and 25.52 per cent is of verbal harassment.

Table 6.10: Age of the respondents and fear of harassment

Age of the respondents	Respondents' fear of harassment							
	Up to 20 yrs	21-25 yrs	26-30 yrs	31-35 yrs	36-40 yrs	40+ yrs	Not applicable	Total
Non-sexual physical violence	14.39	23.02	17.27	4.32	2.16	2.88	35.97	100
Sexual physical violence	28.95	26.32	19.74	3.29	1.32	3.29	17.12	100
Verbal harassment	25.52	20.69	17.93	2.76	2.07	2.07	28.97	100
Total	68.86	70.03	54.94	10.37	5.55	8.24	82.06	300

Further, 23.02 per cent respondents of age of 21-25 years is fearful of non-sexual physical violence, 26.32 per cent is of sexual physical violence and 20.69 per cent is of verbal harassment. Non –sexual physical violence, sexual physical violence and verbal harassment are respectively feared by 17.27 per cent, 19.74 per cent and 17.93 per cent of the respondents aged between 26 and 30 years. 9.36 per cent respondents of 31 to 40+ years is afraid of non-sexual physical violence. 7.9 per cent respondents of the same age group is frightened by sexual physical violence and 6.9 per cent is by verbal harassment. So, fear of being harassed in public space declines with increasing ages. 35.97 per cent respondents did not report their fear of non-sexual physical violence, 17.12 per cent did not reveal fear of sexual physical harassment and 28.97 did not mention their fear about verbal harassment in public space of Dhaka city.

Public places and feeling of unsafe:

Closed space is more unsafe than open space as perceived by most of the women. 64 per cent women feel unsafe in closed space such as subways, underground ways, alleyways, public bus, shops etc and 26 per cent in open space such as street, parks, lakeside. 10 per cent women perceive both closed and open space unsafe for them. (Figure 6.33)

Figure 6.24: Public places where women feel unsafe
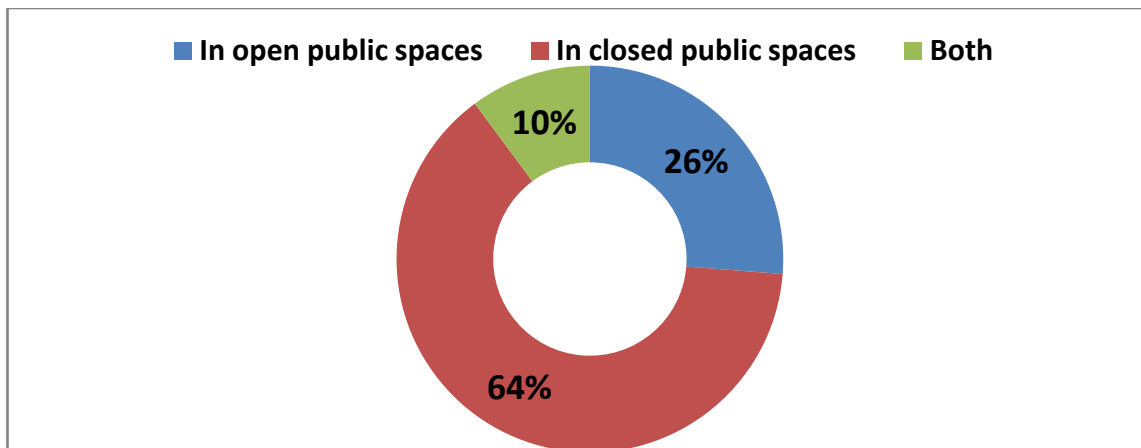
Women's feeling of unsafe in open and closed space:

Streets as an open space are dangerous for 21.08 per cent respondents, parks for 4.22 per cent, lakeside for 2.41 per cent, bus stops for 4.22 per cent respondents. Subways are perceived unsafe by 27.71 per cent, alleyways by 16.87 per cent, public bus by 20.48 per cent and shops by 3.01 per cent female service workers.(Table 6.14)

Table 6.11: Types of open and closed space where women feel unsafe

Fairly unsafe open space		Fairly unsafe closed space	
Types of open space	**Women feeling unsafe (per cent)**	**Types of closed space**	**Women feeling unsafe (per cent)**
Streets	21.08	**Subways/underground ways**	27.71
Parks	4.22	**Alleyways**	16.87
Lakeside	2.41	**Public bus**	20.48
Bus stops	4.22	**Shops**	3.01
Total	31.93	**Total**	68.07
Total=(31.93+68.07=100)			

6.3.4. Experience of Harassment and women in public place

There is hardly any woman who has not experienced some sort of harassment in the public space. Figure 6.25 show that 87 per cent of the respondents reported their experience of harassment in public space and 13 per cent did not report their experience of any sort of harassment in public space of Dhaka.

Figure 6.25: Experience of violence by respondents in public space
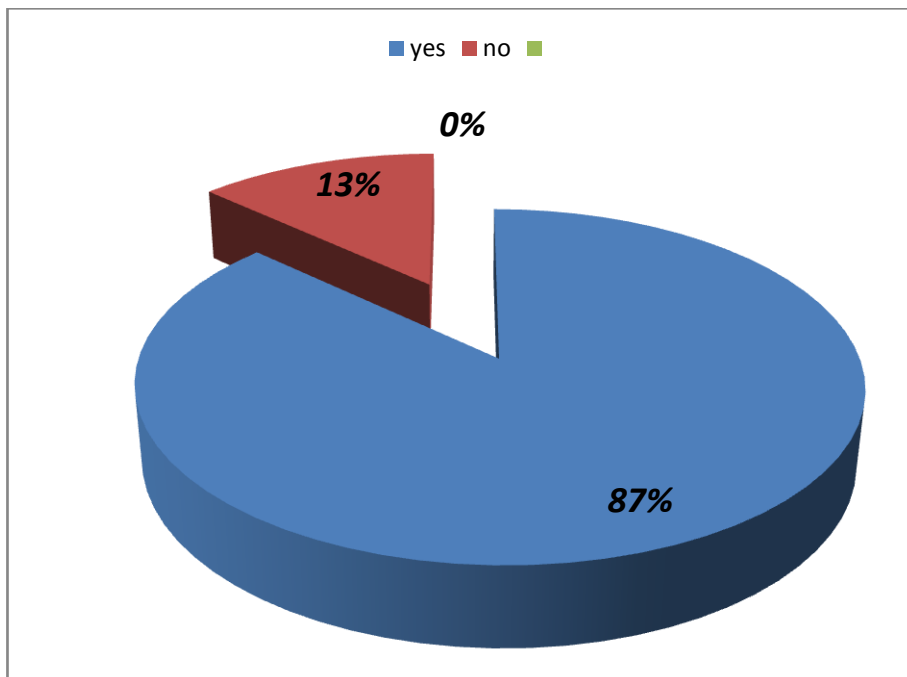
Non-sexual physical harassment

Women's experience of violence in public space:

Among non- sexual physical harassments, pushing was experienced by 16.78 per cent respondents among age groups and deliberate tapping by another 16.78 per cent as found in figure 6.26.

Again, 12.59 per cent respondents of different age groups has experienced winking and making provocative expressions by men towards them as pinpointed by figure 6.26. Men also harassed other respondents of different ages by throwing papers, spitting, attempting to hurt physically, blackmailing, putting of scarf, touching with sexual organ etc. 46.15 per cent respondents did not report their experience of non-sexual physical harassment in public place for their age.

Figure 6.26: Women's experience of non-sexual physical harassment in public space
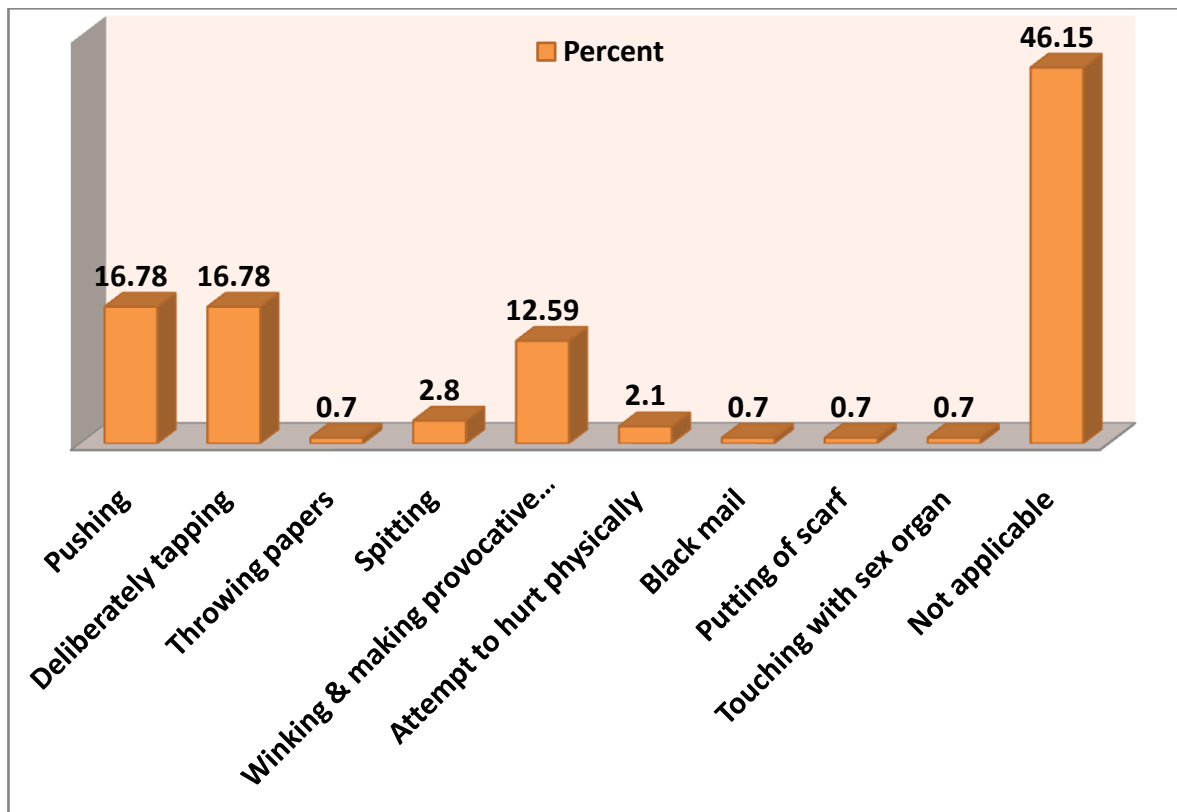
Sexual physical harassment:

Figure 6.27 demonstrate that 41.43 per cent respondents of diverse age reported their experience of touching in public space.

A receptionist of a beauty parlor in Banani shared her experience-

> **'**Yesterday I was waiting for 'Balaka' bus at the bus stop. A man passed beside me and grabbed me intentionally'

Further,7.14 per cent reported experience of grabbing and 10.71 per cent experience of caressing their private areas by men in public places. 40.71 per cent did nit reveal their experience of these types of violence.

Figure 6.27: Women's experience of sexual physical harassment in public space
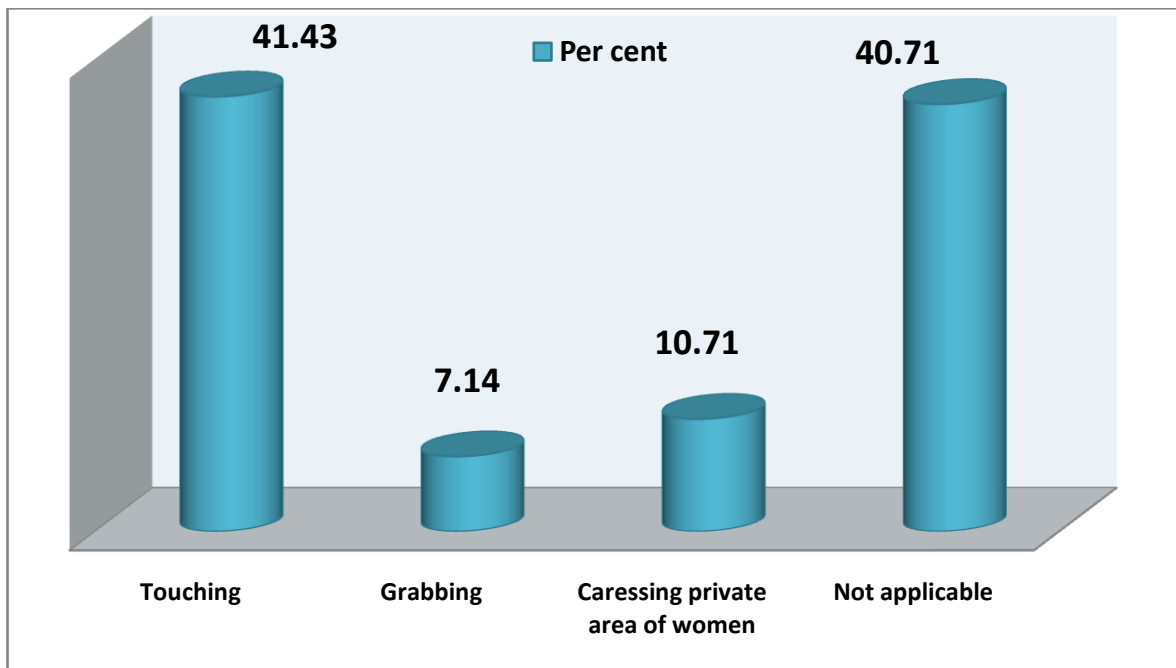
Verbal harassment:

A large proportion of the respondents of diverse age groups experienced sexually explicit comments or bad comments. Figure 6.28 points out that 39.25 per cent reported their experience of this type of violence and this is the most largest portion. Again 9.14 per cent revealed their experience of whistling and 11.83 per cent their experience of hissing and kissing sounds in public space. Another 7.53 per cent respondents surveyed exposed their experience of singing, 5.38 per cent leering. Only 5.92 per cent giving marriage proposal, asking phone number, standing in front of their rickshaw and blocking their way, following, teasing by men in public space.

A tribal female service worker in a beauty parlor described her experience of verbal harassment in a subway by young boys-

'Hey, tribal girl, why are your eyes so small?'

'hishhh, ki mal re baba? (What a valuable good it is!'

Figure 6.28: Women's experience of verbal harassment
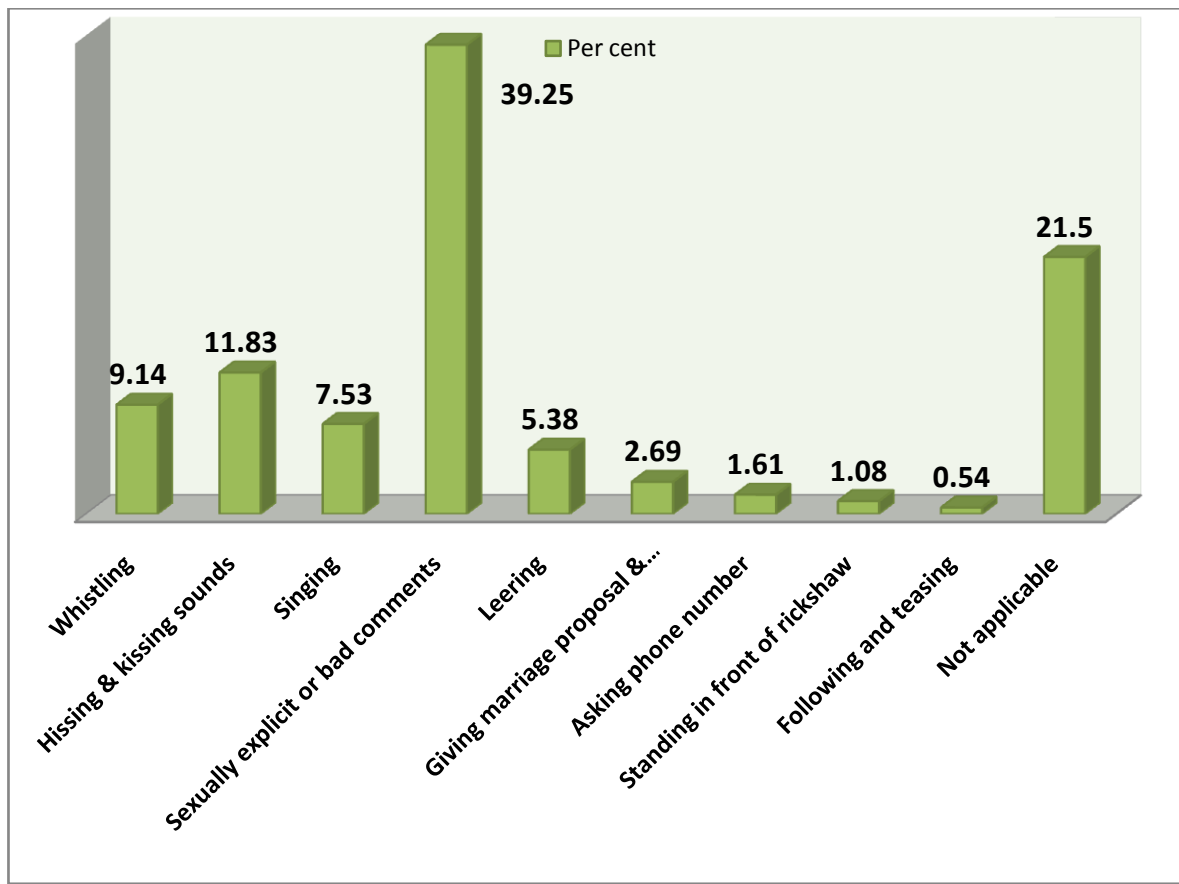
Age and harassment:

Age and freedom in workplace

Most of the female service workers enjoy freedom in their parlor, fashion house or malls. 30.6 percent women faces restrains in their work place whereas 69.3 percent enjoys freedom in workplace.(Table 6.11)

Table 6.12: Age of the respondents and freedom in service sector

Freedom in service sector	Age of the respondents						
	Up to 20 yrs	**21-25 yrs**	**26-30 yrs**	**31-35 yrs**	**36-40 yrs**	**40+ yrs**	**Total**
Absolutely restrained	2.4	0.8	1.6				4.7
Moderately restrained	4.7	7.1	3.9			0.8	16.5
Narrowly restrained	3.1	3.1	3.1				9.4
Narrowly free	3.1	3.9	2.4				9.4
Moderately free	11.0	7.9	7.1	3.1	2.4	2.4	33.9
Absolutely free	7.9	5.5	7.9	2.4		2.4	26.0
Total	32.2	28.3	26	5.5	2.4	5.6	100

Surprisingly, 29.8 percent working women of age of up to 20 to 30 has experienced restrains in their work place by men while only 0.8 percent of women of 31 to 40+ have experienced restrains.

Women and freedom in public space:

While 69.3 percent working women enjoys freedom in their work place, 92 percent cannot enjoy themselves in the public space of Dhaka as revealed by figure 6.29.

Figure 6.29: Working women cannotenjoy themselves in public places of Dhaka
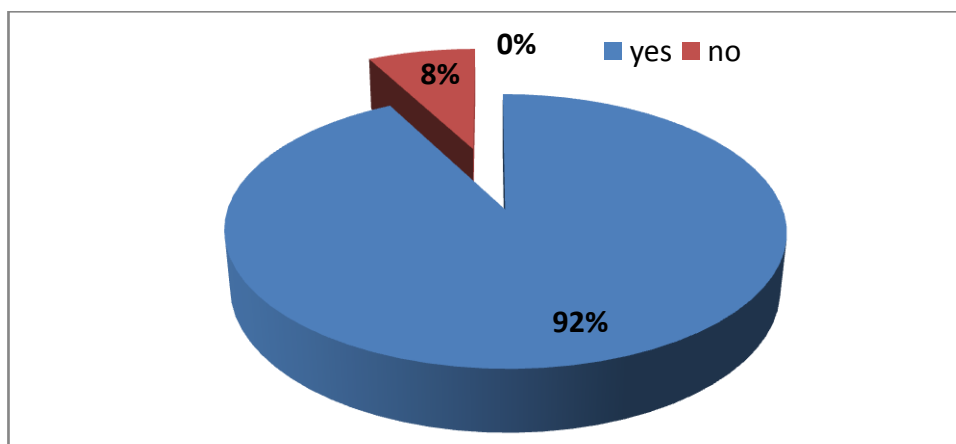
Age and harassment in public place:

Table 6.12 pinpointed that 16.08 per cent of the female service workers in beauty parlour, fashion house, shopping malls surveyed in Banani, MIrpur, Dhanmondi, Shahbag, Azimpur, Nilkhet has faced non-sexual physical violence.The data tells that 14.29 per cent of the respondents of the same age group has experienced sexual physical violence and 29.57 verbal harassment while using public place every day between their work place and living place. 19.58 per cent, 22.14 per cent, 30.65 per cent of the women of age between 21 and 25 have reported their experiences of non-sexual physical, sexual physical and verbal harassment respectively. Non-sexual physical, sexual physical and verbal harassment have been experienced by 10.49 per cent, 12.86 per cent and 12.37 per cent of the respondents aged between 26 and 30 in that order. Experiences of harassment in public places reduce with growing age of the respondents. 7.7 per cent respondents of the age group of 31 to 40+ years has reported their experience of non-sexual physical violence.

Table 6.13: Age of female service workers and experience of harassment in public space

Experiences of harassment	Age of the respondents							
	Up to 20 yrs	21-25 yrs	26-30 yrs	31-35 yrs	36-40 yrs	40+yrs	Not applicable	Total
Non-sexual physical	16.08	19.58	10.49	2.1	2.1	3.5	46.15	100
Sexual physical	14.29	22.14	12.86	5	2.14	2.86	40.71	100
Verbal harassment	29.57	30.65	12.37	2.15	2.69	1.08	21.5	100
Total	59.94	72.37	35.72	9.25	6.93	7.44	108.36	300

The table also uncovers that 10 per cent of the respondents of the same age group reported their experience of sexual physical violence and 5.92 per cent exposed their experience of verbal harassment in public places of the city when they use these places daily for maintain their survival or when they use them occasionally for recreational purposes and necessaries. 46.15 per cent respondents from all of the ages did not report on the occurrence of non-sexual physical harassment in public places. 40.71 per cent of the respondents did not expose their experiencing of sexual physical violence and 21.5 per cent did not mention about incident of verbal harassment.

Mode of transportation and women's public harassment:

Non sexual and sexual physical violence are experienced in a greater proportion by female service workers travelling by public transport rather than using those using walking mode. On the contrary, verbal harassment is experienced more by women using walking mode than those using public transport. The study draws attention on the fact that 28.87 per respondents using public transport, 19.01 per cent using walking mode, 4.93 per cent using rickshaw, 2.11 per cent using battery driven vehicle daily are facing non sexual physical violence. Sexual physical violence is experienced by 35.71 per cent respondents travelling by public transport.(Table 6.13)

Table 6.14: Use of transport by women and experience of harassment in public space of Dhaka

Types of public harassment experienced	Mode of transportation used by female service workers daily					
	Public transport	Walking	Rickshaw	Battery driven vehicle	Not applicable	Total
Non sexual physical	28.87	19.01	4.93	2.11	45.77	100
Sexual physical	35.71	17.86	4.29	2.14	40	100
Verbal	15.59	53.23	6.45	3.23	21.51	100

Rekha, a sales girl of a fashion house in Shahbag shared her experience of riding by public bus while coming from Sadarghat to her work place-

'Lots of problems are to be faced by women in the bus of Gulistan-Sadarghat.'

Sexual physical violence is faced by 17.86 per cent using walking mode, 4.29 per cent riding by rickshaw and 2.14 per cent by battery driven vehicle.

A women workin in a fashion house uttered-

> 'Touching and grabbing occur frequently when male co-passengers try to boarding on the bus in a haste and hustle.'

Verbal harassment is experienced by 15.59 per cent using public transport, 53.23 using walking mode, 6.45 per cent using rickshaw, 3.23 per cent using battery driven vehicle (Table 6.13).

Time of bitter experience:

Most of the female service workers (43.8 per cent) reported that they experienced incidents of harassment in public places at night time.14.6 per cent experienced harassment at day time. 32.3 per cent female service workers experienced assault in public places in both day and night time. 9.2 per cent respondents did not mention the time as they did not have such experiences in public or they did not want to report about any experience of harassment. (figure 6.31)

Figure 6.30: Time when respondents experienced danger in public place of Dhaka
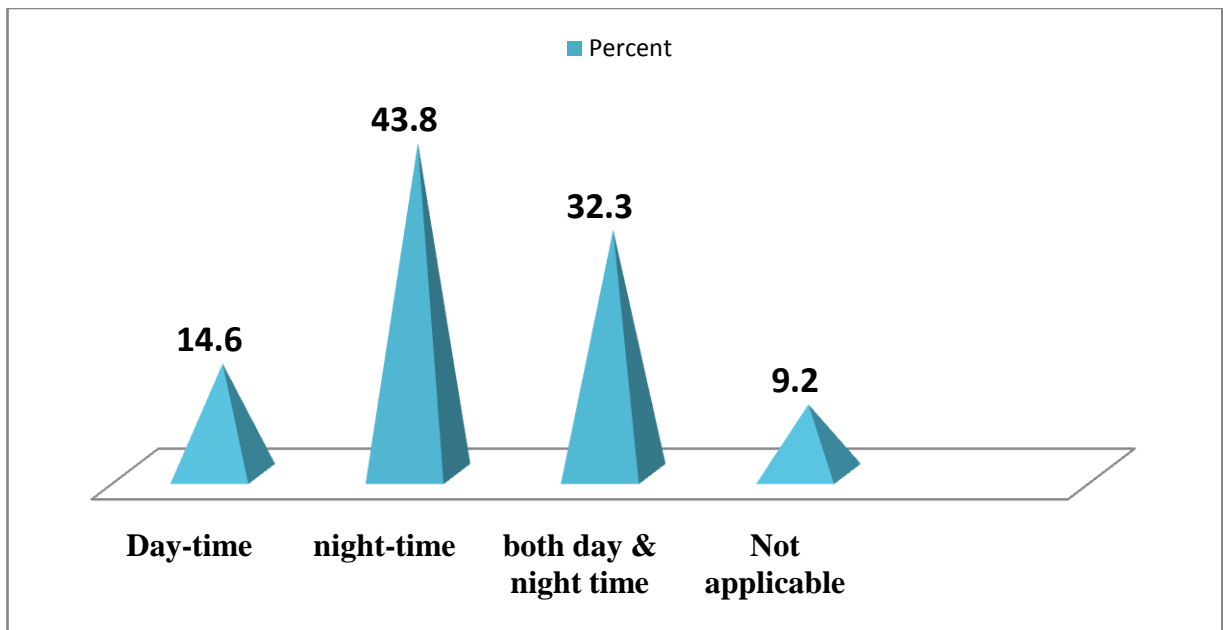
Places of incidents of harassment

It is clearly visible from figure 6.32 that 42.95 per cent respondents mentioned that they had experienced harassment in streets or subways. 28.86 per cent female service workers stated that they faced assault while using public transport. Harassment took place in market place and in bus stops for 8.05 per cent and 7.38 per cent respondents respectively. Again 3.36 per cent mentioned experiencing such situation in work place and further 3.36 per cent while passing through foot-over-bridge. 6.04 per cent did not mention about any harassing situation experienced by them.

Figure 6.31: Public Places of Dhaka where women experienced harassment
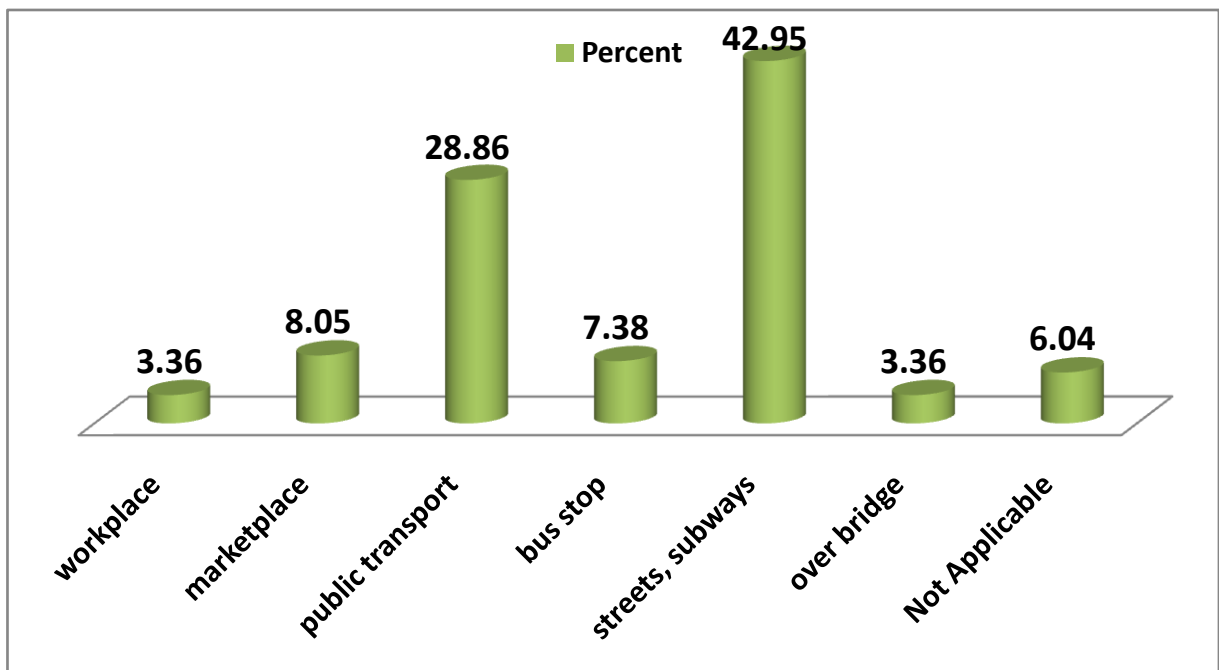
6.3.5. Protective strategies and restrictions on women's freedom

Social and cultural restrictions on women's movement:

Girls are made anxious by family, friends, colleges and media about the occurrences of women's harassment in public places and also socialized to restrict their movement in public places. It was revealed in figure 6. 30 that 14.38 per cent respondents mentioned that their family suggests them to move decently or modestly. Further, 13.01 per cent respondent's family and relatives advised girls and women not to protest harassment if they face in public places. Also 10.27 per cent of the female service workers' family gives them order to return home before night time and another 10. 27 per cent of the respondents' family advised them to avoid ultra modern dress. The data also uncovers that 7. 53 per cent respondents' family and colleges forbid female service workers to use subways, alleyway and certain dangerous places. Another 7. 53 per cent respondents is socialized to avoid strangers and talk to them and again 7.53 per cent is socialized to not to move alone. It was also revealed that 14.38 per cent female service workers get suggestions to avoid male friends or boyfriends, to avoid to go unknown place alone and to make the teasers understand softly not to disturb them. Again 11.64 per cent respondents are made anxious about experiencing of harassment in public space by media news and reports. 3.42 per cent female workers did not mention any suggestion or awareness given by their family, friends and colleague.

Figure 6.32: Impact of social and cultural restriction on working women's movement in public space
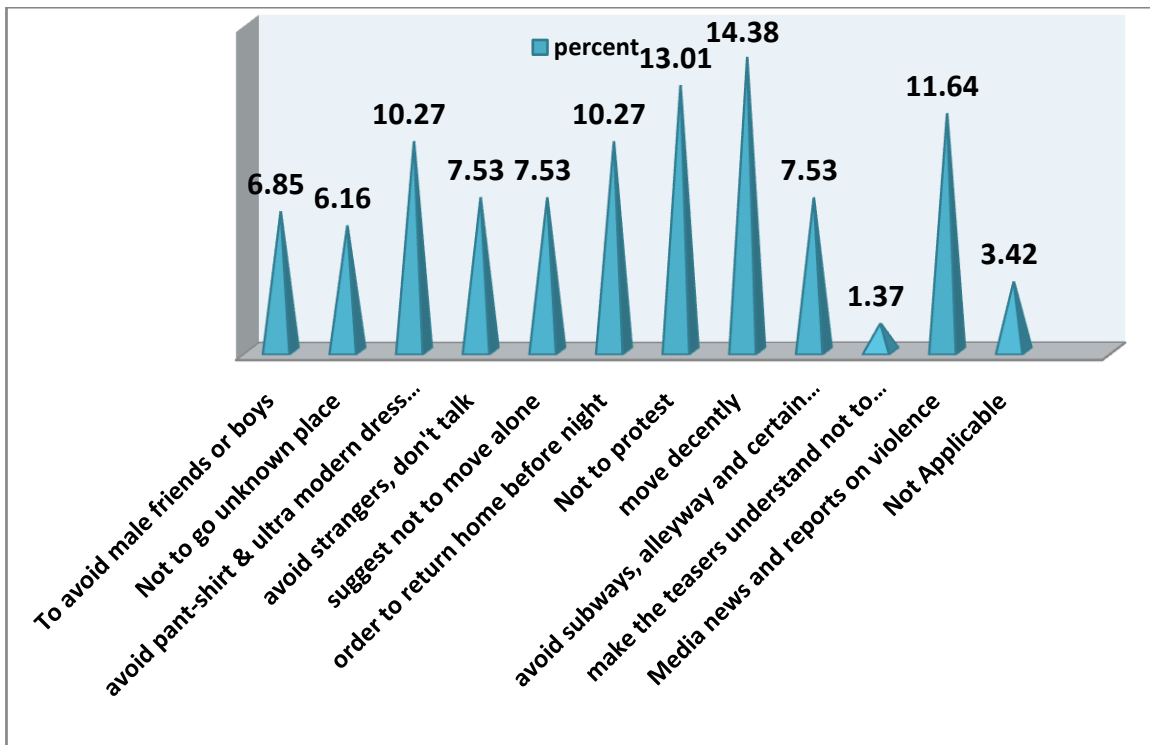
Protective strategies

Figure 6.34 indicates that 98 per cent women adopt different protective strategies to avoid harassment in public space. Travelling alone, avoiding public transport and crowd, avoiding certain unsafe places after dark, remaining in public places at night time are some of the protective strategies used by female service workers. Only 2 per cent women do not use any protective strategies while using public places of the city.

Figure 6.33: Protective strategies and women in public space of Dhaka
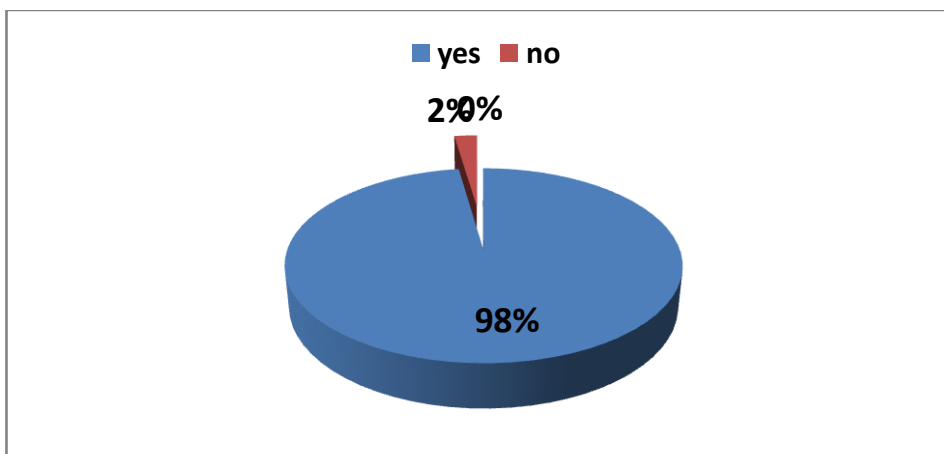
Adoption of protective strategies:

From figure 6.35 it can be learned that 28.44 per cent respondents does not walk alone at night, 18.96 per cent does not travel alone and 6.16 per cent does not use public transport to avoid danger.

Figure 6.34: Protective strategies adopted by female service workers
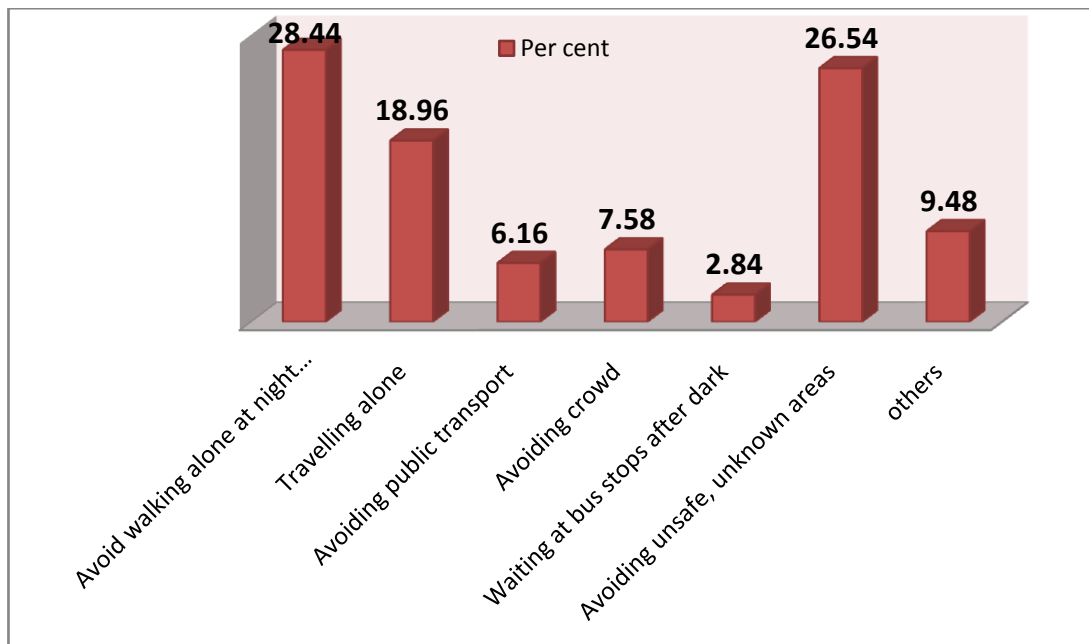
Crowd is avoided by 7.58 per cent and waiting at bus stops after dark is avoided by 2.84 per cent female service workers. 26.54 per cent respondents avoid unsafe or unknown places particularly after dark. 9.48 per cent female service workers avoid groups of men passing beside them, avoid those girls' association who move arrogantly, ignore the occurrences of harassment, ride by rickshaw, wear modest dress or do protest to avoid danger and stay safe in public place.

Restrictions on women's freedom and movement:

Figure 6.36 indicates that female service workers' freedom and movement is impeded by adoption of protective strategies to avoid danger in public space of Dhaka. 88 per cent respondents argued that adoption of protective strategies hamper their freedom and movement in public places.

85

Figure 6.35: Restriction of women's freedom and movement for adopting protective strategies
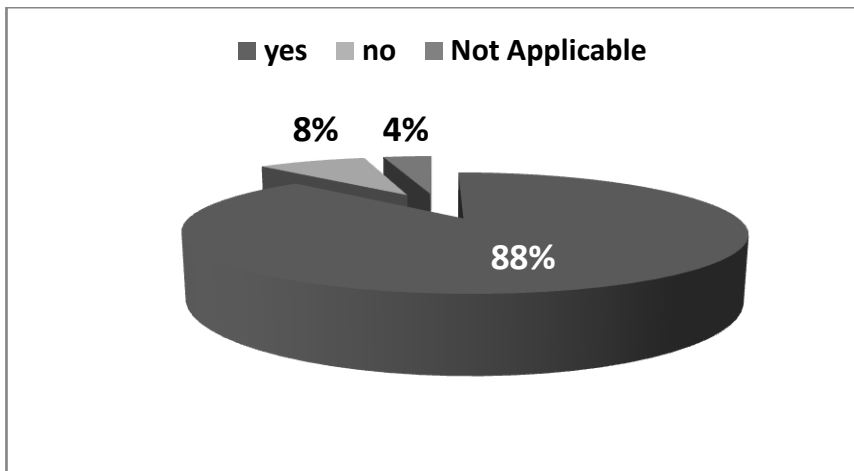
Only 8 per cent mentioned that following protective strategies does not cause hindrance to their free movement. Hindrance to movement in public places is not applicable to 4 per cent respondents as they need not to adopt protective strategies as they use private transport or live adjacent to their workplace.

Free movement hindered by protective strategies

Protective strategy to avoid harassment in public space hampers freedom and movement of female service workers severely. Table 6.15 uncovers that 51.15 per cent female service workers who adopt protective strategies to avoid danger cannot move freely in public space.

Table 6.15: Women's adoption of protective strategies and hindrance to freedom and movement

Protective strategies hamper women's movement	Whether women adopt protective strategies	
	Yes	No
1. Fear of male violence while remaining alone	9.77%	0%
2. Make necessary to be accompanied by others	5.75%	0%
3. Hinder movement in public space	51.15%	0%
4. Interrupt to enjoy jobs	21.84%	0%
5. Obstacle to enjoy modern life style	4.6%	.57%
6. Not applicable	5.17%	1.17%
Total	98.28%	1.74%

86

Following protective tactics interrupt 21.84 per cent women to do and enjoy their jobs freely. The freedom and movement of 9.77 per cent respondents who adopt protective strategies is hampered in public space as they are always fearful of male violence while remaining alone in the public places. For 5.75 per cent women, it is necessary to be accompanied by others in public space and it restricts their movement in public. For 4.6 per cent respondents adopting protective strategies creates obstacle for them to enjoy modern life style and for .57 per cent it is not an obstacle. 5.17 per cent adopts protective strategy but they do not think it as a hindrance to their movement in public space. 1.17 per cent respondents do not feel it necessary to use any protective measure in public place so that their movement cannot be hampered by any of the strategy. (Table 6.15)

6.3.6. Summarization of findings

However, the findings of the study could be summarized in the following way:

Diagram 7.1: Interaction between new urban space and spatial practices of women in new service   sectors
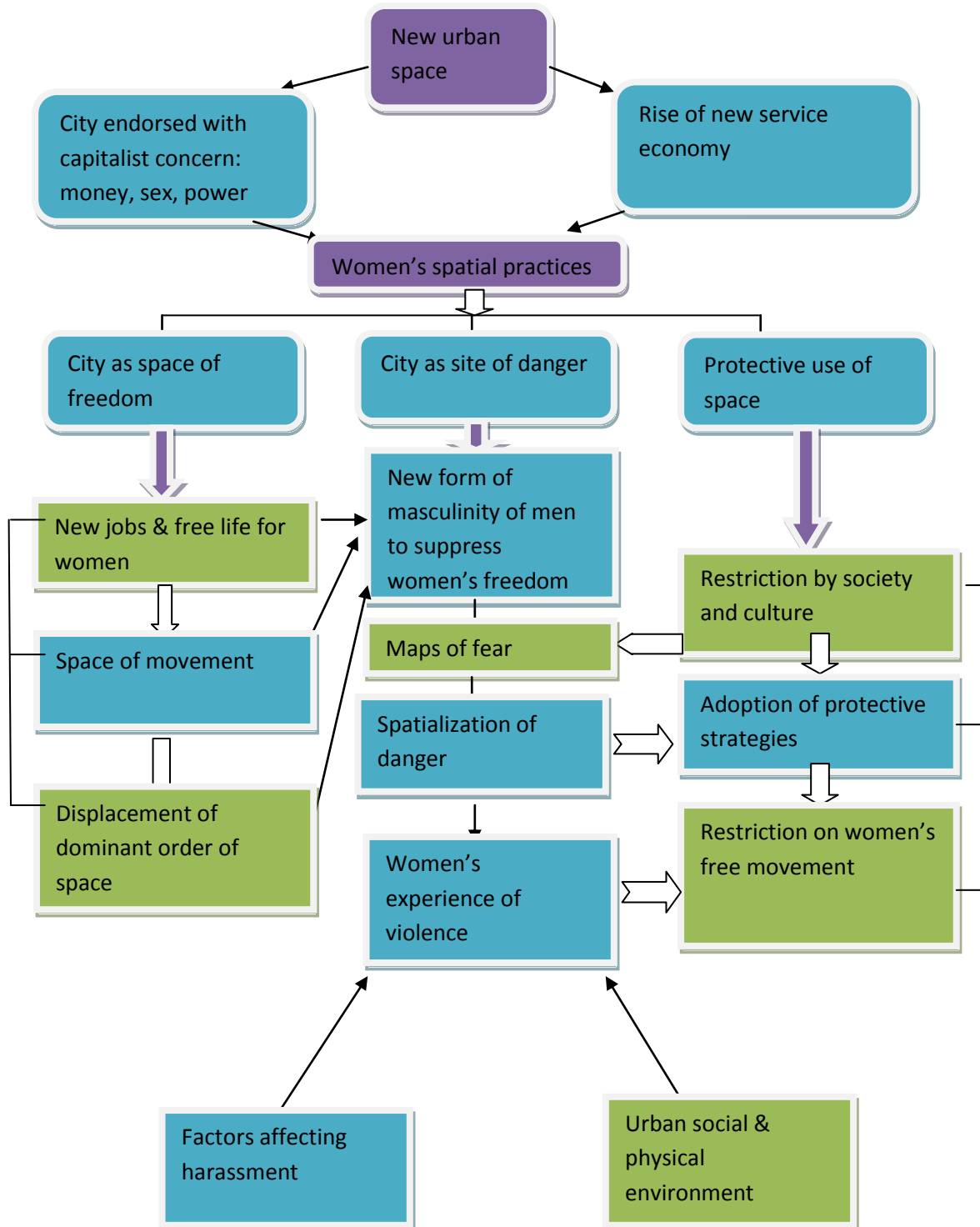
Chapter 7

Discussions

New urban space of Dhaka city is an outcome of capitalist concern pivoted on money, sex and power and the rise of service economy. The emerging service sectors, particularly shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors are increasingly becoming the livelihood options for young, less educated or even the tribal women. By dint of the rise of these sectors they have been entering in service-based economic activities. Their engagement in this service economy has made their visible presence in the public space of the city possible that was impossible few decades ago. Thus the city has become a space of freedom for women. It has become a place of danger at the same time by male violence while women remain and use different public space of the city. However, to avoid danger and remain safe, women use different protective strategies when they become visible in this space. The city as space of freedom, as space of danger and as a space of women's defensive strategies constitutes women's spatial practices. Therefore, this chapter has three major sections on new urban space and women's spatial practices.

7. 1. New urban space:

7.1.1. Rethinking the concept of city: Capitalist concern with money, sex and power

Expansion of service sectors and increasing number of working women are the most remarkable features of new urban space of Dhaka city. Rapid growth of service sector is essentially accompanied by increasing consumerism and the rise of consumer class or middle class. The new service sector is the ground which is giving the young girls ample job recruitments to provide customers with their services. Moreover, the job opportunities created by these sectors have received utmost salutation from the female segment for maintaining their survival at a very young age and with lower educational qualification. The girls are directly entering into these sectors without searching for any alternative livelihood option. On the contrary, finding no other livelihood opportunity left, the young boys get engaged in the shopping malls and salon services. But the proportion of the engagement of men in new service economy is not greater than that of women as exposed by the study. It is also unfortunate that the female service workers who are now visible in a large number in public space of the city by dint of the new service sectors are experiencing harassment and

perceiving fear of being harassed in public space by male violence. These are the new-fangled characteristics of modern urban space of the city along with the overgrowing urban population and influx of people coming from the hinterland of the country. Consequently, Thorbek (1988) has called for attention to rebuild the concept of city. Following Thorbek (1988), Dhaka city can also be rethought as the center for huge infrastructural, architectural and cultural development. The mounting number of gorgeous shopping malls, innovative fashion houses and a variety of beauty parlors symbolize modern Dhaka's developmental features that were absent in the city few decades ago. All of these features together have made the city 'the center of civilization.' The flourishing of new service sectors and increasing recruitment of the young female service workers also reinforce a purely capitalist concern which has nothing to do with the product of exchange any longer but to do more with money, sex and power. Thus, the new urban space of Dhaka puts female body in space and submits it to the authority of capitalism and at the same time male violence. Therefore, the meaning of new urban space revealed in the study strongly fits with Harvey's spatial practices in 'The condition of Postmodernity.' Increasing consumerism and the rise of consumer class characterizes Sharon Zukin's 'Pacification by cappuccino'.

7.1.2. Appropriation and production of space: The rise of new service economy

Beauty parlor, fashion house and shopping mall are the leading news service sectors in Dhaka city. These are the emerging service sectors that were not available in the city few years ago and they are growing so fast in the city that everyone can find them here and there of the city and can avail their services. Service centers, departmental stores etc are also emerging new service sectors in the city. A brisk commodification of the city and city life of Dhaka escorted by shopping malls, fashion industry, beauty parlor, cafes, departmental store and so on replicates Harvey's arguments in his 'Social Justice and the City'. The development of new urban space in Dhaka also echoes Harvey's (1989) 'appropriation and production of space' in the 'the Condition of Post modernity'. Appropriation and production of Dhaka's urban space by numerous fashion houses, beauty parlors, shopping malls, cafes, departmental stores etc and also by people's everyday transport practices perfectly harmonize with Harvey. The present also tones with Friedmann and Wolff's (1982) 'clusters of employment' in the sense that the cluster of luxury shopping and entertainment has replaced the cluster of manufacturing that was the dominant one few decades ago. Gritsai (1997) also pointed out spatial dimensions of urban reshuffling where the socialist Moscow has experienced a replacement of the typical manufacturing industries by business and services activities.

However, Dhaka city can play the role of CBDs as its urbanization is capitalist unlike that of the socialist Moscow.

7.2. Women's spatial practices:

7.2.1. City as the space of freedom:

The study reiterates the supposition of Tonkiss (2005) that city has become the space of freedom. It has supported her theoretical standpoint by confirming that- the city is offering new carrier windows and freer life for women; the city is creating space of movement for them and the city has displaced dominant order of the space by empowering women.

7.2.1.1. Newer occupation and freer life for young, less educated girls and women:

Fran Tonkiss (2005) purported that the cities are providing the younger generation of women newer livelihood and freer living in which they are entering into and thus they are enjoying social and spatial liberties and delights of anonymity. As a consequence, the city appears as a space of freedom for women. Correspondingly, the study reiterates Tonkiss' supposition as it has explored that new service sectors, more specifically, beauty parlor, fashion house and shopping malls are the up-and-coming livelihood options in the city of Dhaka to accommodate young and less educated women. Beauty parlor, shopping mall, fashion house are the service sectors where young girls and women are being engaged in a greater proportion than the middle aged or aged women. The study reveals that the female sales girls and beauticians are mostly young girls and women between up to 20 years and 25 years. Therefore, these are the sectors where young women work for their survival in the city. These are also the sectors which provide employment opportunities for the women with educational background from class six to HSC. Also the girls who have no schooling or have had their academic qualification up to class five are recruited in beauty parlor, fashion house and shopping malls.

Further,all of the respondents from the tribal background work in different beauty parlor. Therefore, it is the outstanding finding of the study that beauty parlor is the only new service sector which offers the means of subsistence for the tribal girls and women and thereby opens the carrier window for the disadvantaged population of the country.These sectors are thus empowering women who are young, tribal and low level of academic qualification by providing them job opportunities.

7.2.1.2. Women's visibility in public space: City as space of movement

Surprisingly, with the growth of new service sectors i.e. beauty parlor, fashion house and shopping mall, more women have been visible in work place and public place that was impossible for women a few decades ago. Respondents in this study argued that it is the credit of different beauty parlors, fashion houses and shopping malls to bring out huge number of women out of their four walls. For Tonkiss (2005), it is the credit of the great city that has made possible women's visible presence in urban space by giving them new jobs and free life. City as the space of women's movement has elaborated in three parts-

Female service workers in beauty parlors, fashion houses and shopping malls are to use streets, public transport, bus stops daily to earn their bread in the city and some use markets out of necessity. As they are to work for longer periods even sometimes covering the unsociable working hours throughout the week, they get hardly any leisure time to enjoy other urban public space for recreational purposes even in the weekly holiday. However, parks and lakeside are also used by a very few women occasionally.

Firstly, public transport and secondly, walking mode are used as major means of transport by female service workers of new service sectors to commute between their work place and living place. Some women use rickshaw to avoid harassment by men in the street. Battery driven vehicle is a special local mode of transport used by a few sales girl of Nilkhet to come from and go back to their living place situated in Hazaribag, Lalbag or New paltan. Peter D. (2011) in a study on five Southern countries also revealed that public transport is the first and walking is the second major means of transport for women and also women use public transport more than men in the city of Dhaka.

The distance between servicing place and residing place determines women's mode of transport. When the distance between the work place and living place is greater and public transport is the most available mode of transport to travel, the female service workers are to use this mode for travel daily to survive in the city. Duchene (2011) also regarded distance between living place and working place as a problem for women to communicate between their occupational life and housework. When the living place is situated near the work place, women use walking mode regularly to cover the distance. Some women tend to use walking mode from their neighborhood to the bus stops some women use rickshaw as it is less expensive to afford and some use rickshaw as they have avoided public bus. to cover the

distance between Nilkhet and Hazaribag or Lalbag women use battery driven vehicle that is less expensive but not very much women friendly.

7.2.1.3. Women's empowerment and displacement of dominant order

The study has also brought out a positive aspect of women's empowerment and engagement in new jobs. It is a fact that a huge proportion of men have also accepted women's engagement in public places. There are some young boys in a very few proportion who respect women and stand against women's harassment in public place. These young people give up their seats in the bus for female co-passenger standing inside the bus with many other male passengers. Some other men are still holding up patriarchy only within family in the form of domestic violence and gender discrimination.

7.2.2. City as the site of danger:

7.2.2.1. New service sectors, new form of masculinity and women's harassment in public space:

New service sectors are recruiting more women than men. Sassen S. (2007) also postulated the replacement of manufacturing and male workers by new service sectors and female workers. Nowadays the proportion of unemployment has become higher for male segment than the female segment. As women are availing more recruitment opportunities in these sectors, they are getting more empowered in the city life. The role of new service sectors is contributing to weakening or breaking down patriarchy. Men's masculinity is thereby on the verge of extinction in the face of women's increasing empowerment of women. So, they have invented a new way to uphold their masculinity against the opposite sex. Whereas the traditional masculinity of men is used to be forced against wife inside the home, modern masculinity is forced against women in public space of the city. Therefore, previously enforcement of masculinity against women used to take the form of domestic violence while enforcement of modern masculinity has taken the form of harassment of women in urban public space. With women's increasing visibility outside home, violence against women has also come outside home and has threatened women's prestige in public space and thereby women's right to the city. Valentine (1989) argued that in spite of having career success, women's freedom in public space is hampered by their fear of male violence. Tonkiss (2005) defined women's fear of male violence as the fear of space for which the city has become a space of danger for women.

7.2.2.2. Women's maps of danger: Fear is gendered:

Women's fear of violence is the conventional imagery that is socially rooted in the mind of women. This mental mapping shows them which places and times and also the crimes should be considered as fearful and which women are more susceptible to violence (Madriz, 1997). The present study also provides mental mapping of violence in urban public places of female service workers. Female service workers are fearful of non-sexual physical violence by men while using public places of Dhaka every day. They are most scared of pushing, deliberate tapping, winking and making provocative expression among non-sexual physical violence. They are also sometimes got worried about the fear of throwing papers and spitting, throwing acid by men targeting themand again about the fear of kidnapping. Amid of sexual physical violence, touching is feared by large number of women working in shopping malls, fashion house and beauty parlor are also fear. A good number of women are also fearful of rape, grabbing and caressing their private areas while remaining in the public space of the city daily. Majority of the women picked up bad or sexually explicit comments as the most fearful verbal harassment that a woman might experience anytime in the public places of the city. They are also severely scared of hissing and kissing sounds, leering and whistling.Women are more fearful of sexual physical violence than non-sexual physical violence and verbal harassment in the public space of the city. Many of the women are not fearful of harassment in public place as they have got habituated to it or they do not bother it. Young female service workers are more fearful of sexual physical harassment than verbal harassment when they remain in the public space of the city. But in reality, they have had experience of more verbal harassment than sexual physical violence in the public places of Dhaka city. Therefore women's feeling of fear is produced by the fear of male violence and mostly by sexual violence. Madriz (1997) described female fear as fear of male violence. In this sense women's fear is gendered as postulated by Tonkiss (2005).

For Tonkiss (2005), Spatialization of women's danger and safety depends on unstable geography of space. Following her theory, the present study replicates two dimensions of spatialization particular space (e.g. public transport, subways, alleyways etc) are unsafe; particular space becomes unsafe at particular time (e.g. night time); space becomes unsafe for the appropriation of it by various groups of people. Such as unemployed and deviant young boys, middle age men, rickshaw pullers, drunkards, gangs.

Accordingly, the study reiterates that particular space is perceived as dangerous by female service workers. Most of the female service workers in shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors feel unsafe while using public space. The largest proportion of female service workers feels unsafe in public transport and a good proportion in the streets. Women also do not feel safe in the bus stops and also in markets used by them generally. Parks, neighborhood and lakeside are not perceived safe by some women. Women feel more unsafe in closed space than in open space. Amongst closed space, subway, alleyway and public bus are first, second and third unsafe public space respectively as thought by the female service workers. Women also feel unsafe in shops that are also close space. Women feel unsafe the most in the streets, secondly in the parks and bus stops and thirdly in lakeside among the open public space of the city.

The perception that space becomes unsafe at particular times replicates the postulation of Tonkiss (2005) that space changes over time. Valentine (1989) insisted that space changes over time because of the uneven distribution of male violence. Night is perceived as the most unsafe time of the day for most of the female consumer service providers using public space of Dhaka city. It is supposed unsafe for them with decreasing day-time crowd when men take the opportunity to harass women remaining out of the visibility of others such as waiting in the subway or street corner, following up women in poor-lighted streets etc. Again, it is perceived more unsafe when their working hour extends to longer period after dark and ends in unfriendly time period at night. Pawson and Banks (1993) found that night time is utmost fearful due to the domination of public space by young boys. A good number of women also feel unsafe in the morning when they come out of their home for their work place. As everyone rushes to their work place early at the morning, particularly the bus stops and public buses become populous. At that time these women are to wait at the crowded bus stops and to board on overloaded buses competing with other men. Therefore, morning time is conceived unsafe for female service workers for increasing day time crowd. Sometimes afternoon and sometimes evening become more unsafe for women. It is also a fact that sometimes harassment of women in public space might occur almost all of the times.

Particular places become unsafe for women at particular dangerous time for the domination of unemployed youth, middle aged men, drunkards, rickshaw-puller, vagabond people, and gangs. But women who work as service workers in different shopping malls, fashion house and beauty parlors are harassed mostly by middle age men and secondly by unemployed and deviant youth in public space of the city. Rickshaw-pullers and drunkards also take part in

women's harassment in the public space of the Dhaka city. Therefore, streets, public transport, bus stops, markets of Dhaka city are mostly occupied by young boys and middle aged men and often by rickshaw pullers, vagabond people, and drunkards and so on. They again tend to show down their domination as the powerful group of the society on these public places by harassing women in different forms and varied degree. It also supports Harvey's postulation on the appropriation of space by different persons, classes and social groupings and also on the domination of space by powerful groups.

7.2.2.3. Work place is unsafe for some women but public place for the majority:

Most of the female service workers have absoluteand moderate freedom in their work place. Those who are absolutely or moderately unsafe in their work place are young women. They are harassed by their male colleges who continuously disturb them by offering them marriage proposal or proposal for making love relationship, asking for their mobile number and following up them towards their home and even sometimes by blackmailing them. Sometimes young boys disturb the beautician in their work place by tagging papers with indecent language and hanging them on the wall or the door of the parlor or by giving call to T & T numbers frequently and asking for different girls. Even when the beauticians effort to leave their parlor, they are underestimated and teased by men at the way out of the parlor. But very few of them enjoy freedom moderately in public space. A large proportion of women is to combat with restrains in their work place for harassment by men. About half of the women are to experience teasing and a good number of women feel fear of being teased while using the public space of the city. Some of the female service workers have got accustomed to harassing incidents as they to experience these awkward situations frequently. Only, very little number of women can enjoy public space of Dhaka city fairly.

7.2.2.4. Women's experience of harassment in public space of Dhaka:

Majority of the female service workers have experienced violence while using public space of the city. They have experienced pushing, deliberate tapping, winking and making provocative expressions, spitting, attempt to hurt physically, throwing papers, blackmailing, putting of scarf and touching with male sex organ among non-sexual physical violence. Greater part of them have experienced touching, some of them caressing their private areas and some grabbing among sexual physical violence. Women in major proportion have combated with bad or sexually explicit comments while using public places of Dhaka. A good proportion of female service workers have faced hissing, kissing sounds, whistling,

singing, leering, giving marriage proposal and proposal of engaging in affair, asking phone number, following, teasing, standing in front of rickshaw. Many of the women have not either experienced or not reported their experiences of non-sexual physical, sexual physical violence or verbal harassment in any public space of the city.

Night time is the dangerous period of the day when women remain on the way towards their home from their place of work. Most of the women have experienced danger in night time. So, Kskela (1999) argued that night time is more dangerous for women than day time. Some of the women have experienced harassment in public space at day-time. Significant number of women has faced harassment in public places both day and night time.

Streets and subways are the public places where female service workers have experienced harassment the most in the city of Dhaka. Public transport is the second public place where women have faced harassment in the city. Women also faced harassment bus stops, market place, foot-over bridge and also in their work place.

Women frequently experience harassment in public places of the city by strangers while very lower proportion of women experience harassment by familiar persons disproportionately. Sometimes the strangers, who disturb the female service workers continuously awaiting their arrival in a poor-lighted subway at night, become gradually familiar to the victims. In this way, the harassment by strangers turns into harassment by familiar persons. Mostly young girls are harassed by these types of young boys familiar to them. Further, male colleges of female service workers sometimes are in the habit of harassing the young female college starting from the work place continuing to their residing place. Both young and middle aged women are harassed mainly by middle aged men the most in the public space of Dhaka. Public transport is the most potential public place where these men get opportunities to stalk women. Fairchild and Laurie (2008) called harassment women by men in the streets and public transport as stranger harassment.

Due to increasing crowd and decreasing day-time crowd, particular public places turn into dangerous space for women. Female service workers are harassed in the midst of crowd when it increases at office-hour in the morning or at night when working hour is over. These harassing incidents specifically occur when women attempt to get access to public transport and to have a limited space by competing with lots of men in a crowded bus. It becomes hardly possible for the female passengers to board on the bus and ride by it without being touched, grabbed, tapped or caressed by male co-passengers or even by the helpers of the bus.

Decreasing day time crowd again significantly makes women susceptible to harassment by men in streets, subways or alleyways at night when the women return back to their home. Lefebvre argued that criminal violence such as theft, rape or violent behavior does not take place in busy and trafficked street. Rather, criminality is strengthened by the vanishing of business from the street i.e. decreasing day time crowd. Thus for Lefebvre, streets have turned into a form of oppression.

Lack of surveillance and poor lighting also contribute to women's harassment n public space of the city. Harassing situations take place against women by men even before the vision of police or traffic police. Sometimes they enjoy or overlook the situations or sometimes they encourage women's harassment in public space of Dhaka city by allowing the culprits to go unreported and unpunished. Moreover, they tend to take part in women's harassment by interrogating them differently after the incidents of harassment and thereby waste their time and let them go alone at night after interrogation. Further, they are teased while walking in poor lighted subways, alleyways or even the main roads on their way towards home from their work place. In poor-lighted areas, men get the opportunity to harass women outside the vision of other people. According to the theoretical argument of Tonkiss (2005), degree of visibility, openness or easiness of way in or out, poor lighting are some of the features of the physical environment of urban space that shapes women's perception of safety in the public space. Blobam and Hunecke (2005) also revealed that poor visibility offering potentiality for the occurrences of crime is produced in poor-lit area. Poor-lit area is a physical characteristics as reported by them. Both increasing crowd and decreasing day time crowd make it easy and possible for the culprit to way in harassing women and way out after the occurrence of the harassment. The female service workers of the city of Dhaka are also afraid of being harassed at night on their way towards home in poor-lighted street, subway or alleyways. Poor-lighting and decreasing day time crowd reduce the degree of visibility of the incidents of a woman's harassment in a dark subway and alleyway. Sometimes, due to shortage of public transport at night women are to wait at bus stops for longer period at night and are to be harassed by men. Thus produce problem of gender and sexuality in the street is not a factor of individual bodies but that of urban social and physical environment of the city as mentioned by Tonkiss' theory.

Women's harassment in public places is dependent on their age, occupation, mode of transportation, life-style, ethnicity, location of living place. Again, some men harass women in public places of the city without any reason. They are accustomed to disturb women and so

they do it accordingly. Young female service workers of up to age 20 to 25 are more frightened of being harassed in public places of the city. Non –sexual physical , sexual physical and verbal harassments have been experienced mostly by the female service workers aged between less than 20 and 25. Many of the women of age 26 to 30 have also had the experience of harassment in public space. But both Fear and experiences of being harassed reduce with growing of ages of women. Mode of transportation also determines women's degree and types of harassment in the public places. For example, women who ride by public transport to commute between their work place and living place are to combat more with non-sexual physical and sexual physical violence than verbal harassment. On the contrary, women who travel by walking mode every day for the sake of their survival experience verbal harassment to greater proportion than non-sexual and sexual physical violence. Women using battery driven vehicle as their means of transport, are to cope with touching, grabbing by young or middle aged men. Young boys follow up and tease those women who use rickshaw as their daily mode of travel. The supposition of Pain (1997) has been reproduced in the present study that women's susceptibility in public space is dependent on women's mode of transport. Pain(199&7) also argued that fear of violence is sustained more by young women.

7.2.3. Protective use of space:

7.2. 3.1. Society and culture restricts women's free movement and right to the city:

Family, friends and colleges of the female service providers working in different shopping malls, beauty parlors and fashion house have been and are still being socialized in conservative religion and culture. They are advised by the family, friends and colleges to move decently, avoid modern dress up and to come back home before dark or night. Even the women are strictly forbidden to protest any situation of harassment if they face and advised to come back home silently after being harassed in public places of the city. The female service workers are further ordered to avoid strangers and talking to them, to avoid to move alone or go to any unknown place and to use subways or alleyways after dark. Family suggests them to avoid male friends or boyfriends. Sometimes, boyfriends suggest women avoiding other male friends. Sometimes they are suggested to request the eve-teasers with soft voice not to disturb them further. These restrictions on girls' movement are described by Valentine (1992) as 'gender division of space' that liberates boys' spatial ranges whereas limits girls spatial ranges only because of their biological susceptibility to be assaulted by men. This type

of socialization of women in the childhood and adolescence has been described as 'a virtual curfew on women at night' in urban space (Kinsey, 1984, cited in Pain 1997). Bekker and Reuter, cited in Homes, 2008 defined women's socialization as weak, powerless and disadvantaged sex. Media news and reports on violence against women also play significant role in making the women anxious about their safety in the public space of Dhaka city. Exaggeration of news on crime against women broadcast by media also exacerbates women's psychological set-up(Valentine, 1992)

7.2.3.2. Adoption of protective strategies by women:

Warr (1985) talked about women's adoption of protective strategies to remain safe in Seattle.To avoid danger and stay safe in the public space of Dhaka city, almost all of the female service workers adopt protective strategies. Among the protective strategies avoiding walking alone at night and avoiding unsafe and unknown places are adopted by most of the women. A significant number of women also avoid travelling alone. Some female service workers have avoided public transport to remain safe while using the public place of Dhaka city. Many of the women avoid crowd and waiting at bus stops after dark to keep themselves aloof from unavoidable harassment in the public space of the city. The adoption of protective strategies by female service workers for their perception of fear and danger reinforces Tonkiss' (2005) 'Defensive use of space'. Women's perception of danger socially built up affects women's use of urban space. Thus space has become a social construction as space is itself the product of social practices and social practices are reproduced in space (Koskela, 1999). More specifically, urban space of Dhaka is produced by parental advices, discussion among friends, colleges as revealed by the study. Social practices such as to avoid dark, unsafe place, moving alone, wearing modern dress etc are produced in the same space. Doran and Burgess (2012) therefore, insisted that behanioral adaptation is affected by fear of crime.

7.2. 3.3. Restriction on women's freedom and movement:

Freedom and movement of most of the female service workers in public place of the city is hampered by their adoption of different protective behaviors in order to avoid harassment by male violence while remaining outside their own home. Implementation of protective strategies hinder women's free movement in the public places of city the most. It also interrupt to enjoy their jobs or engagement in new service economy. It also creates fear of male violence when they remain in the public space alone. Following different protective strategies by women in the service sectors also makes it compulsory for them to be

accompanied by others for their own protection and thereby impedes their freer movement in the public places of Dhaka. Some women also cannot maintain modern life style for adopting protective tactics to remain safe in public place of the city. Trench, Taner and Tiesdell (1992) revealed that women's defensive use of space interrupt their access to work and freedom.

7.3. Revisiting theory and research:

The present study has reproduced Harvey's (2009) scheme of spatial practices with reference to appropriation, domination and production of new urban space in Dhaka city. The new urban space has also put in practice his 'social meaning to space' demonstrating how body exists in urban public space and submits to the authority of male violence or female fear. But Harvey was particularly concerned with the right to the city overall whereas the present study is more specifically concerned with the right to a gendered city. This study also supports Lefebvre's (2009) dimensions of spatial practices where material practices have been characterized as experienced and representation of space as perceived. In this research, women's enjoyment of freedom and experience of danger are material practices and their map of danger in the public space of the city is their representation in the space. Further Tonkiss' (2005) 'geography of gender' and 'geography of danger' in the city has been reproduced in case of the female service workers in shopping malls, fashion house and beauty parlor in the context of Dhaka city. Finally, synthesizing the theories of Harvey, Lefebvre and Tonkiss, it can be inferred that there is a relationship between new urban space and spatial practices of women.

The present study replicates the previous ones in term of geography of danger in the city, socio-cultural construction of fear of space, adoption of women's protective behavior. It also supported the impact of socio-cultural construction of fear of space and adoption of protective behaviors on women's freedom and movement in public space of the city. Further, like the previous studies it accounts urban social and physical environment and also women's age, mode of transportation, lifestyle for women's harassment in the public space of Dhaka. But uniquely, this study has demonstrated how occupation and distance between work place and living place and use of mode of transport determined by distance affect women's harassment in public space of the city. None of the previous literature has explored emergence of a new urban space embedded by a purely capitalist concern and produced by the growth of service sectors. They also have not attempted to demonstrate its relationship with women's spatial practices. But the present study has outlined the appearance of new

urban space in the city of Dhaka and at the same time pinpointed its interaction with women's spatial practice with special reference to the city's public space. Outstandingly, the present study reveals women's harassment in public place as a result of weakening patriarchy whereas previous studies revealed violence against women as a result of a patriarchal system. Spatial practices of women have combined their margins of freedom and maps of danger simultaneously. Further, these women have been selected from three flourishing service sectors i.e. shopping malls, fashion house and beauty parlor unlike previous studies.

Chapter 8
Summary and Conclusion

8.1. Summary of the study:

The contemporary urbanization of Dhaka city has experienced growth of new service sectors and rise of consumerism. New service economy accompanied by increasing consumerism has commodified the city and city life of Dhaka. This economy is flourishing in the city with the expansion of dazzling shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors. The rise and roles of these new service sectors have brought about huge number of women out of the four wall of their home and have created a space of movement for them in the city of Dhaka. All of these features have together produced a new urban space in city. The study has confirmed the presence of these features of current pattern of urbanization in the city of Dhaka.

The study is an effort to show an interaction between new urban space and spatial practices of women working in new service sectors. It has revealed that these new sectors are offering livelihood options for young women tremendously. Among these service sectors, beauty parlor is unique in the sense that it has opened the carrier windows of less educated young generation tribal women for whom it was formerly impossible to come out of their home and even of their tribal regions. When the proportion of employment of men is decreasing in the country the employment of women is increasing by dint of new service sectors. Even though these sectors are also offering some job opportunities for the male segment of the population, the proportion of recruitment is not higher than that of the female segment. Because, this sectors are offering part-time employment to a greater extent along with the full time employment and these women are more likely to enter into any occupation whether it is full time or part time. They have welcomed these jobs for the maintenance of themselves in the city and also sometimes for the supplement of their family income. Many of the young girls are also trying to afford their educational expenses by being engaged in the part-time recruitments offered by the new service sectors. Therefore, by accepting these jobs women are increasingly becoming empowered.

Simultaneously, the new urban space has produced the city as a site of danger for women. The male segment of the population is reacting differently against women's presence and empowerment in the city. The men in the city tend to hold up their masculinity in the public

place by harassing women. While using different mode of transport to commute between their work place and living place, women are to combat with assault made by men towards them. Their mode of transport is determined by the distance between their work and residing place. Among the public places and modes of transport, public transport is the first and street is the second public place used by women generally. But women are harassed more in the streets and subways than in the public transport. Further they are to combat with verbal harassment in streets or subways and non-sexual physical and sexual physical harassment in public transport. They are to experience harassment when they start their journey early in the morning for work place and when they are on their way back towards their home at night. The nature of their job let them remain in the public space of the city (e.g. public transport, subway, alleyway etc) at night regularly and even at late light occasionally. They are to cope with harassment in public space for this nature of their job. They are harassed severely also because of their young age. Putting on modern or ultra-modern get -up or even traditional Bangali dress (e.g. sharee) and moving indecently further make these women vulnerable to harassment in the public place of the city. The new service sector has brought about young tribal girls in the city but has not been able to protect these girls from teasing in the public space of the city for their tribal identity.

Astonishingly, the middle aged men are in the habit of harassing women more than the young boys. The scope of harassment of women in public space of Dhaka is intensified by the social and physical environment of the urban space. The study has found that women experience harassment in poor lighted subway or alleyway with decreasing day time crowd or in the packed public transport or bus stops with increasing day time crowd. Lack of surveillance is also responsible for making women susceptible to assault in the city.

The working women in shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors are more fearful of sexual physical violence than verbal harassment in the public space of the city. But in practice, they have experienced verbal harassment more than sexual violence. Women perceive public transport, subways and alleyways as the most unsafe space for them and night time as the most unsafe time of the day. But they have experienced dangers mostly in night time and significantly both in day and night time. Some of the young sales girls have also experienced harassment in their work place by men or male colleagues.

The perception of fear of harassment in public space has been socially originated in the psychology of women. Family, friends, colleagues advise and even frequently order the women to come back to home before dark and to move decently. They advise them to avoid

strangers, male friends or boyfriends, subways, alleyways, unknown places to stay safe in the public place. Women themselves adopt different protective strategies to avoid danger in public places of Dhaka. Among the protective strategies, avoidance of unsafe places and stay alone at unsafe time in public space is followed by the female service workers the most. The social implication of psychological mapping of danger and following of protective behaviors impede women's free movement in public place and also sometimes to enjoy freedom of their jobs.

Women's engagement in new service sectors and presence in the public space, perception of danger and safety, experience of harassment as well as protective use of the space of Dhaka city constitute spatial practices of female service workers in the aforesaid service sectors.

8.2. Conclusion:

The public space of Dhaka city has been reshuffled with the capitalist concern. The capitalist concern in a postmodern situation is pivoting on three inseparable elements- money, sex and power. The capitalist concern has produced new service sectors and consumer culture in the city of Dhaka. These sectors are providing young, less educated and tribal girls with both full time and part time jobs. Particularly, shopping malls, fashion houses and beauty parlors are offering women employment and thereby empowering women. Thus the city has become a space of freedom and movement for women. Further, the young girls have also the appeal and energy to draw the attention of the consumer and provide them consumer services that contributes to the maximization of profit for the capitalists. With this role of the new service sectors of the city of Dhaka it has also put female body in space and has submitted it to the authority of men and male violence. This is exactly the fact of putting body in space pivoted on the capitalist concern with money, sex and power. The working women in the new service sectors are to come out of their home and go for their work place daily. They are to use different mode of transportation to commute between work place and living place. Most of the women use public transport and walking mode determined by the distance of their work place and residence. Public transport and streets and subways are the most convenient places for men of the public space of Dhaka city to harass women. These women are to leave their workplace at night daily and at late night occasionally. At that time these public places become more unsafe for these women. They also use bus stops, markets, parks, lakeside sometimes in their weekly holiday. But these places are not also safe for women for harassment by men. They have also developed a psychology of fear of public space of Dhaka

by dint of socialization as a girl. They perceive particular places dangerous at particular times. Their fear and experience of danger is also determined by their age, ethnicity and lifestyle. The urban social and physical environments also intensify women's possibility of being harassed in public space of Dhaka city. Women's socialization as a girl and their protective use of the public space impede their free movement in the public space of the city of Dhaka. Women's presence and movement in the public space, their perception and experience of harassment and protective use of space together constitute their spatial practices.

The new urban space of Dhaka city as revealed by the study reiterates Harvey's (2009) production, appropriation and domination of space. Women's spatial practicesreplicate Lefebvre's (2009) spatial code and Tokiss's (2005) geography of gender in the city space.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Case studies

Case 1

Both workplace and public place are not safe for Kakoli at all.

Kakoli is a sales girl of 18 years who works as a sales girl in a fashion house of a shopping mall at Dhanmondi. she face absolute restrictions in her work place. There was a drunkard boy who used to walk around her shop. Once upon a time he gave her marriage proposal. She rejected his proposal. He began to disturb her continuously. Kakoli also continued to avoid him and he attempted to hurt her physically at one point. She lives in Farmgate and use public transport and walking mode to commute between her living place and working place. She is to face teasing frequently by deviant young people while travelling and she is fearful of experiencing touching the most in public space. Her fear increases with decreasing day time crowd. She has taken it as a part and parcel of her life. She perceives that teenage contributes to service girl's harassment in public place. She is to do nothing but to live with it for the sake of her survival. She always avoids crowd and unsafe subways and backstreets after dark to stay safe from danger in public places. Her boyfriend also suggests her to avoid male friends to remain safe. These protective strategies hinder her movement in public place and interrupt to enjoy jobs.

Case 2

A new service career has shattered academic life of Bipasha.

She is a teen age girl. She had completed her HSC. She had come to Dhaka 8 months ago in quest of her survival. She got a part time job as a sales girl in a shopping mall of Mirpur-1. Her name is Bipasha. Soon after getting recruitment in the mall, her young male college began to disturb her. He offered Bipasha marriage proposal and also a proposal of making love relationship with him. But she refused the proposal. He began to disturb her continuously. He used to follow her towards her home from the shopping mall at night. But Bipasha did not bother him. At one point he complained against the girl to her family that she has gone to dogs after coming in Dhaka. Her family thus was misguided and so they stopped her academic career. It is unfortunate that she has been deprived of her right to education after coming in the capital city. When she complained against her college, the market committee fired him from his job. Her living place is at Mirpur-2. Men did not stop to tease her when she attempts to avail a bus or use walking mode towards her home. She was harassed by touching, pushing and sexually explicit comments. When her working hour is overday time crowd disappears. In this period of time the young people take the opportunity to disturb her. She has to pass by an alleyway that exacerbates her afraid of being harassed in this alleyway towards her home as it is poor lighted. To avoid perceived danger of touching she generally tries to be accompanied by her other female colleges.

Case 3

Rape is the most perceived fearful crime for Mohona

It becomes night when Mohona leaves her work place. On the way towards her home, a boy began to follow her for few days. Once upon a day the boy proposed her to engage in a affair with him. Mohona rejected him. The boy collected her phone number and kept it continuous to disturb her over cellular phone. She sent his cell number to black list. Having got angry the boy met with Mohona in the subway between her living place and working place and threatened her to show her what is what. Then he opened up a fake ID on face book using the name of Mohona and adding her cell number. Many men began to disturb her over phone by being knowledgeable about the indecent postings about the girl on face book. Now she is always afraid of harassing situation that might happen any time in public place. She perceives that rape is the most fearful crime that might occur with her. She becomes more afraid when she remains alone in the street or subway and when it becomes uncrowded or less crowded. Her perception of fear always hampers her movement in public place. But she does not express her fear of danger in public places any time. Her family suggests her not to protest any harassing situation that occurs with her. She is sales girl in a shopping mall and she has been living in Dhaka for three years. She works in Mirpur 1 and lives in Mirpur-2. She insisted that women have got empowerment. But men has not yet give them relief from violence within and outside home to show down their masculinity.

Case 4

Unemployed young men hold up their traditional masculinity by harassing women in public place

Chameli is a young sales girl of a fashion house in Dhanmondi. Formerly she used to walk through the subway beside Arong (a leading indigenous fashion industry).This road was severely unsafe and she experienced several incidents of harassment in that road. Now she avoids the road to stay safe. She does not protest against any undesirable occurrences taken place with her as she thinks that the young boys of Dhaka are not safe for the girls at all. She has observed that it is their habit to disturb girls and women irrespective of their age or dress pattern. Chameli stated that she is not afraid of ghost but of young boys as the girls are vulnerable to sexual assault by men. Those boys who are habituated to disturb the girls and women on their way are unemployed and deviant youth. They are reluctant to do jobs in service sectors as they underestimate these jobs and feel hesitation to do these jobs. So they remain unemployed. But young girls do not feel hesitation to do these jobs and they are becoming more and more engaged in these sectors and are becoming empowered. Women's empowerment is threatening traditional patriarchy. The young boys become jealous when they find young girls employed and empowered. So, to hold up their traditional masculinity they show down patriarchy in public places to endanger the girls and women. Her observation also reveals that sometimes some girls attempt to protest against assault claiming that the women belong to the society of their mother and sister. In response to this protest she heard the young boys saying that if all girls would be their mother and sister who would be their wife. One holiday Chameli was riding by a public bus. A middle aged man sat beside her. Frequently and deliberately he tended to caress her private area. As his age was similar to her father's age she could not protest the situation. She has observed that young men give up their seat if they find women standing. Many women of the service sector of the area wear Islamic and conservative dress only for travelling by bus. Those who ride by rickshaw or private car are not to face any harassing incident.

Case 5

Police do nothing but participate in and encourage the harassment of a girl in public place.

One week ago a young boy began to follow up her when she left her fashion house at night and started walking towards her home. She protested against the boy's unusual movement. The boy became much more aggressive and wanted to hit her physically. The girl grasped the collar of the boy. At that time his friend attempted to assault the girl roughly. The girl began to shout and police standing nearby came. The police let the boys to escape only by rebuking them shortly. Then the police began to ask the girl many questions about the incidents and wasted her time. At last the police let the girl to go for her home when night advanced more. But at that time there was none to drop the girl at her home safely. In spite of being personnel of law enforcing agency the police let the girl go home alone at night. Still now she becomes afraid when she remains alone in the street and when the night advanced. This is the case of Nasima Akhter working in a fashion house of Dhanmondi. She is 20 years old and lives in Elephant road. She has passed class five and has been living in Dhaka without her family only for the sake of her survival. She is to use streets and subways daily as she is a full time service provider in her fashion house. But she is always scared of male violence, specifically winking, hissing, kissing sounds, bad comments made by young boys towards her home. But for her, following up is the most fearful incident occurring in public space by men towards a girl or women. This fear of harassment is always hampering her free movement in public places and also her job satisfaction.

Case 6

Fashion industry requires more sales girl than sales boys.

Unemployed boys tend to harass women more in public place.

Suchana Halder has been living in Dhaka for 9 years. She observed that shopping malls are increasing day by day in Dhaka. The demand of girl is also increasing in market sector and so they are being recruited more and more in this sector. At the same time the job opportunities for boys is reducing despite of having higher certificate. Her brother was better than her in his academic life. Few months ago he was doing part time job in Arong. But he was retrenched from his job as young girls have much more demand in this fashion industry. Shuchana viewed that women's increasing job opportunities in service sectors is paving the way towards women's empowerment. It has adverse effect on traditional masculinity of men. So men become jealous of women's empowerment and have started to harass women in public to regain their masculinity in a new way. She heard her brother saying, 'This is the era of women. It is too tough to tolerate so many women in the street, parks, markets.' The young boys thus try to harass women in different public places. In this way assault against women is now not only confined to home but is spreading in public places. The young boys walking in the street tend to assault her only for the reason that she is a girl. Not only the young boys but also the middle aged women look at the girls and women with bad intention. Shucahna faces harassment mostly when she rides by tempo and it is performed by the co-passenger sitting beside her. She always remains afraid of touching while traveling by this mode of transport between her wok place and living place.

Case 7

Girls are now out of their home for survival but not safe outside.

Sumiya is a female service worker in a shopping mall of Banani. She claimed that it was not possible for women to come out of their home and do outside work for survival. Hundreds of shopping malls and beauty parlours have brought about the girls from their home and given them employment in these sectors. Sumiya has also coming out of the cocoon of her four walls. But it is unfortunate that she is not safe in public places and also in her work place for harassment of girls by men. When she passes through the corridor between her shop and the wash room in the same floor, the boys comment,

'ki hoise? Mone hoy diabetes hoise re?' *('What is the wrong with you? Have you caught by diabetes?')*

Sometimes she is to leave her work place late at night. Then men waiting under the foot over bridge from where she boards on bus bound for Mirpur-14 tease her saying,

'Se ki kaj kore naki takar jonno onno kisu kore?' ('*Is she doing job or other business to get money?'*

when she boards on the bus the male co-passengers often try to touch her while sitting beside her. Her female colleges always suggest her to avoid a subway beside a restaurant 'Star Kabab" in Banai adjacent to her work place as the place is a point where anti-socials wait for the girls to tease her while passing by them. Before the past Eid-ul-Azha (religious festival o Muslim), she along with her female colleges get leave from her work place late at night.

Sumiya feels too mush humiliated when she hears these types of bed comments from other people in the street. But unfortunately it is marching on.

Case 8

Occupation let her go home late at night and experience unavoidable harassment in the subway.

Rima is a beautician working in a parlor of Banani. She has been living in Dhaka for 6 years. Increasing working women and increasing fear and experience of violence by women in public space are two common features of modern Dhaka. She said that they have no particular time to end their working hour. Most frequently they leave the parlour at 9 at night. Then it became too difficult for her to pass by the street. The men standing on the subway used to say her,

'dekh, dekh, dui number mal aitase.' ('look, look, the second graded goods are coming)'.

The road was too poor lighted to create problems for the young female service workers for going home. Rima is fearful to pass by this road when day- time crowd decreases. So, she claimed her occupation only as contributing to her harassment in public places. The boys try to make indecent comments targeting her and it is much more humiliating for her. She is also more fearful of harassment such as winking and bad comments. Sometimes she rides by rickshaw or use main road when it was too late to leave her workplace and go for her home. The perceived fear of danger in public place and adaptation of protective strategies to avoid danger impede her free movement in outside home.

Case 9

A beautician should also have a right to the city.

Shirin is a thirty two years old receptionist in a beauty parlour of Banani. She live sin Mirpur 10. She uses public transport daily to commute between Banani and Mirpur-10. She is to wait at bus stop regularly at night as her duty is over at about 9 pm every day. Moreover at the time of different occasions it became more late at night to live her parlour and go back home. She feel sscared standing at bus stop at night. She is mostly fearful of kidnapping that might occur with her anytime. She has also to suffer from disgraceful comments made by the people standing on the bus stops. They made indecent comment indicating her arrival at night at bus stop for bus. many men tend to come closer to her. At the time of boarding on a bus at one night a middle age man caressed her private area.

She commented-

'Amake saree pore, make up kore protidin parlor e ashte hoy. Karon eta amar dress code. Kintu saree pora dekhle chelera aro beshi disturb kore'. (I am to wear saree and get make-up everyday as it is my dress-code. But boys disturb too much they see me wearing saree).

She felt too shy to disclose the matter to anyone of her family. She reads different news of harassment of women in public places daily on newspaper that makes her tremendously anxious of her daughter particularly. She is now seriously worried about the safety of her daughter more than herself in the public place of Dhaka. Her family encourages her occupation and she thinks that the family of most female service workers has accepted their occupation and empowerment. But men in public places cannot accept working women easily. They often take the presence of women in public bus, bus stops and street otherwise and attempt to assault women differently. Shirin awaits her right to the city so that everywhere in the public place she can move freely and safely as well as can enjoy her empowerment from the occupation.

Case 10

Newspaper flashing different news on women's harassment in public places has snatched Papia's sleep away.

After reading out different news on women's harassment on newspaper she cannot sleep well at night. She always thinks that she is even absolutely unsafe in her home, let alone in public places after being alert of the news flashed. She also mentioned that she is not safe in the beauty parlour where she works as a receptionist. Some boys have written down some sexually explicit comments with their cell number on a paper and tagged them in front the door of their parlour. They also disturb the beauticians of the parlour by calling them over phone frequently. She was regretful on the fact that everyone looks down upon the job of a beautician. She shared that when she used to wait for bus at the bus stop to come back home from her work place, men made many indecent comment about her. One day after completing her duty she was riding by a public bus towards her home. A middle ages man touched her heap from the backside when she was standing inside a crowded bus. Since then she has stopped travelling by public bus and has been preferring rickshaw as her daily mode of transportation in between her work place and living place. But still now she is not safe at the time of returning home from servicing place at night. Boys on motor-bike try to follow up her rickshaw until she reaches home. Once upon a time she was walking through slum of Mohakhali from her parlor towards her home. At that time fire set out in the slum. Everyone was in a haste and hustle to save their life and belongings. Even in this crisis situation a man took the opportunity to touch her body indecently from her backside. Then she slapped him and went away. This is the case of Papia, a 28 years old receptionist of a beauty parlour who works in Banani and lives in Mohakhali.

Case 11

Beauty parlor is the only livelihood option for Modhumita as she is a tribal. But she is unsafe in public places for her ethnicity.

This is the case of a tribal female service worker, Modhumita. She is a 25 years old beautician and has been living in Dhaka for more than 10 years. She has to struggle to win her bread as she is a woman, a beautician and further a tribal. She faces harassment in public bus mostly by middle aged men. They deliberately try to push, touch and tap her while standing or sitting beside her in the public bus. As she is a tribal woman, she is to experience these harassing incidents more severely for her ethnic background.

Moreover, it is too late a t night when she is allowed to leave her parlour. The middle aged men get more opportunity to disturb her at the bus stop and while boarding on the bus at night. So, she wants to avoid bus stops after dark. But her occupation does not permit her to do so. The young boys also make bad comments indicating her ethnic background such as

'***dekh, dekh ching-chong-chakma aitase.'*** (*'look at the ching-chong-chakma.she is coming towards us.)'*

'*ching-chong re khub sundar deha jay')* *'the ching-chong is very beautiful to look at.'*

'*ki sundar Chakma.'* (*'What a nice chakma it is!')*

However, Modhumita is struggling hard and soul to carry on her occupation as a beautician to earn her bread. She mentions that beauty parlor is the only sector to which the tribal girls can easily get access for maintaining their survival.

Case 12

Lots of shopping malls are giving recruitments to thousands of women

Park is not safe for Mohamaya to pass leisure time in holiday even with her husband.

Mohamaya is a sales girl of a fashion house in a shopping mall of Shahbag. She is 30 years old and has completed her SSC. She has been living in Dhaka for nine years and observed many changes that have taken place meanwhile.

Growth of service sector and increasing working women are significant features of modern Dhaka as exposed by Mohamaya. Shopping malls and beauty parlors are so great in number that these are found here and there; in every corner of the roads and subways. her importance has increased within her family. But she has been threatened with the domination of a new form of masculinity. This masculinity attempts to harass her in the street and subways when she goes to her work place and particularly when she is on the way back her home at night. Men disturb her by throwing bad comments towards her. Particularly she feels more frightened when she remains alone in the roads or subways. Even she avoids going to the parks and sitting beside her husband in the park.

The young boys think that the person beside whom she is sitting is not her husband but her boy friend. Then the boys began to make bad comments indicating her. She has mentioned the name of Sohorawardi Uddyan or park as unsafe for her and other women.

Case 13

Public transport is badly unsafe for women for indecent behavior of middle aged men.

*'*Rekha is a sales girl of a fashion house in Shahbag. She resides in Sadarghat. Everyday she is to use public bus to travel between her living place and servicing place. She experiences touching, grabbing by male co- passengers frequently while boarding on the bus or remaining inside the bus. more specifically, these are the problems that take place in crowded buses. She utters-*)*

Middle aged people are the main culprits who harass women in public transport frequently. Even the helper of the bus tries to touch her while boarding on the bus or getting down from the bus or collecting bus fair from the passengers. According to the opinion of Rekha, police or traffic play no role in making women safe from harassment in the public places. Rather the incidents of women's harassment take place before the eye of the police. Either they remain silent or they let the criminal go unpunished at the cost of only some money.

Amra dopatta diya chola fera kori; dhaikka-dhuikka thaki. Amader problem hoy. Ar jara bairer deshe open cholafera kore tader kono problem hoy ne. karon tader culture tai erokom.' *(we use scarf and maintain ourselves conservatively. However we face harassment. In foreign countries, girls and women move freely and openly. But they do not face any problem in the street. It has become their culture.')*

For Rekha, the culture of our country is responsible for harassing women here and there. It has become easy and usual that girls will be the victim of harassment in public spaces. It is the habit of men to touch or to grab or to caress a women's body while using public transport.

Case 14

Nasima avoids subway between her work place and living place at night to remain safe from harassment.

Nasima uses subway to arrive at her shop at Shahbag at morning. As the subway becomes calm and quiet at night, she uses main road for coming back home at Hatirpool. She follows this strategy to protect herself from the teasing of the young boys and also the middle aged people. These people are very much aware of the fact that Nasima uses the subway to commute between her work place and living place and also the time when she comes back home at night.. So, they await her to harass her differently on her road towards home at night. Therefore she is afraid of being alone in the subway after dark and uses main road. She thinks that it hampers her free movement in public space. for her, touching is the most fearful assault made against a woman. She shared-

'jara jane je, ami oi rasta diye protidin jatayat kori, tarai disturb kore. Tarai protidin eki jaygate dariye thake.' (Those who know that I pass by the road daily, await me in the same place to disturb me.')

This Nasima is a sales girl of a shop in a shopping mall. she is 20 years old and she has completed her HSC. She has been living in Dhaka for six years.

Case 15

Night became more fearful for Jhorna when her duty is over.

Jhorna is sales girl in a shop of Dhaka New Market. She is 16 years old and lives in Lalbag. At the month of Ramadan it became 2.30 at night when her duty was over. At that time she faced a great problem. There was a young boy in her neighborhood. He liked her and proposed one night on her way towards her home from work place. She rejected him. The boy got angry with her. He with his three friends blocked the way of the girl another night. The boy switched her phone off. He proposed Jhorna to marry him without any delay. She made an attempt to protest and shouted loudly. The boy slapped her. If she were silent, the boys would kidnap her and mistreat her grace. Since then the girl has been living in the home of her employer who is a female proprietor. But she is still afraid of rape the most when she uses any market, subway or main road. She marked Dhanmondi lake as an unsafe place for girl. She is afraid of young boys as they do not take into account whether a woman or a girl is of the same age of his mother or sister before they tease her. She regrets-

'chhoto chhoto chhelera ma-bon dekhe na. sobai kei tease kore.' (young boys do not take care whether the woman or girl is like their mother or sister. They tease all women and girls irrespective of age.')

Case 16

Poor lighting contributes to women's harassment in the subway.

Bristi works in a fashion house. When she rides by rickshaw, she is to pass by subway. Then the boys get the opportunity to tease her. Moreover, her duty is over at nine at night. She becomes scared when she passes the subway at night time. Another day she boarded on a public bus. a middle aged man opened up the zipper of his pant and touched her sex organ with Bristi's hand. She hit the man with her elbow. Her family and friends suggest him not to protest any harassing situation occurring in public place. In a word, streets, public bus, bus stops etc are absolutely unsafe for women. But insecurity can be reduced if a girl or a woman maintains her modesty. She thinks that women can experience harassment all most all of the times. She is always afraid of deliberate tapping, touching and bad comments when she remains alone at night in public places. She reveals that poor lighting is the weakness of urban infrastructure that contributes to women's harassment in public places. Subway is more unsafe for women than main road as it is poor lighted where the deviant youth take the opportunity to harass girls and women easily

Case 17

Parlor is situated at every corner of subway. Concentration of ten to fifteen shops makes a shopping mall anywhere.

Fahima is a sales girl of 31 years old in new market. She works in Nilkhet and lives in Kamrangir char. She has been living in Dhaka since her birth. She found that service sector and consumerism have been increasing in the city. Among them numbers of parlor and shopping malls are growing rapidly.

She viewed that both men and women are getting employment in new service sectors. Men are getting more jobs in shopping malls and women in beauty parlor. She shared that she is always fearful when she walks through streets. But she keeps her fear hidden inside her mind as she is to go outside everyday for her survival. To travel between work place and living place, she covers some distance by walking and then gets into bus. At the time of covering distance by walking mode, she faces too many problems in the subway. Young boys do not disturb her. Rather she is disturbed by middle aged men in the street. A middle aged man has been walking around Nilkhet after dark for several days. He has already attempted to harass three girls of their shop. He took a sales girl of their next door shop in an poor lighted and congested place at Nilkhet and hurt her physically. Fahima always remains conscious about the man whether he is following up her or not. She thinks that if a woman or girl remains conscious about her surroundings, she can tackle any problem occurring with her in public place.

Case 18

There is no freedom of women in public place. It will take fifty years to ensure women's freedom.

Rokeya Mahfuz works as manager in a fashion house of a shopping mall. she has been living in Dhaka for 12 years. He works in Nilkhet and lives in Mirpur-2.

She continued that as she cannot move freely everywhere in public places. She is to be accompanied by another woman who keep her request. Thus it not only hampers her movement but also the movement of other women. In case of public transport, the male co-passengers grab seats reserved for female passengers. It makes women stand inside the bus and tolerate touching, grabbing, tapping and caressing by other men. Once a day when she was returning home from her work place, a boy sat beside her and asked her where she is servicing. she kept her bag in between her and the boy. Despite that the boy tried to touch her and talk to her. At one point she gave her threat to teach him what is what.

She spoke out-

'ami rape er voy pai na. eta jonno ekta process lage. Ekta meyar pichone onek din lege thakte hoy,' (I am not afraid of rape. It need a process to rape her. It needs to continuously disturb a woman or girl.')

Rokeya is not scared of rape in public space. she argued that it requires a process to rape a girl or woman. It needs to target a particular girl, follow her up, disturb her and at last to rape her. But it is not logical that somebody will talk to a girl in the street and rape her by a day. Talk shows and programs are telecasted by media but ultimately they make no sense as commented by Rokeya.

Case 19

Onima is fearful of bad comments made by men in public place

Onima said that life-style affects women's harassment in public place. Those girls who move arrogantly and do not take modest get up are more susceptible to harassment in public place. But Onima puts on conservative dress up and so she is less vulnerable to harassment in public places.however she feels afraid to go home at night. Moreover, before Eid (biggest religious festival of Muslim community) festival it becomes one, two, three, four at night when she was allowed to go home.

For her, bad comments made by men in public places make her more worried and hinder her free movement in different public places such as, streets, subways, alleyways. Her family, friends and colleges suggest her to avoid alleyways and subways at night and not to move alone at night on her way towards home from her working place at Azimpur. She lives in Palashi and tries to go home back at night accompanied by other female colleges.

Case 20

Women have been doing jobs in market for five to six years.

Selina opined that there are more parlor, shopping malls, fashion house in modern Dhaka. For the emergence of these sectors women have got newer forms of employment opportunities. It was not possible for women five to six years ago. She is also happy with her occupation. But she is not safe in public places. While walking through the streets, She is to hear sexually explicit or bad comments made by young boys. It seems to her that if she does any protest, the boys will be more aggressive towards her. As she often rides by rickshaw from her wok place to her residence, she does not face so many problems in the street generally. But she thinks that who use walking mode to commute face lots of harassment in public places. Selina is always fearful of bad comments made for her by men.

She also thinks that life style is a contributing factor for harassment of women in public places. As she moves decently, she is able to tackle different severe types of harassment in public space.

So, clearly she wants to say that both men and women are responsible for women's harassment in public places. Even Selina avoids a girl's association who works in her next door shop as the girl move arrogantly. She is thirty years old and works in a fashion house of a shopping mall

Case 21

Markets, parlors are growing rapidly by keeping pace with overgrowing urban population.

Moni is a 30 years old sales girl of shopping mall of Nilkhet. Moni viewd that parlors, markets and show rooms are increasing with the rapid increase of urban population. Women are being increasingly recruited in these sectors. But these female service workers are not safe in public places. Moni stated-

'Sobai bole, meyeder sadhinota ase. Kintu ashole ta nai. Shudhu mukhe mukhe meye-chele soman.' (*everyone claims that women have now freedom. But in practice the situation is quite different. It is only a vague mumbling that women are freedom.'*)

Moni is not so afraid of rape-the most fearful crime for women. Rather she is fearful of acid throwing the most. Her argument is that rape does not take place in the street. It takes place at home. Moreover it needs the help pf 4-5 persons to rape a girl or woman.

She continued-

'*Rape korle ekta meye ke thik kora jay. Kintu acid dile puro jibon ta borbad.'* (' *a wman can be recovered from rape. But a woman cannot be recovered from acid menance. Acid throwing can spoil a girl's life thoroughly.'*)

She becomes afraid more in the subway than in the streets as there are many people to protest for her in the street. But in the subway a woman or a girl can find hardly anyone who will speak for her if any unpleasant situation takes place.

Case 22

Merry experienced verbal harassment for her tribal identity in a subway.

Merry is a tribal girl working in a beauty parlor of Mirpur-10. She has closed her academic life in class 6. For her, markets and parlors are growing in the city rapidly. These types of sectors are giving jobs to young women. She said that previously they have had no opportunity to come to the city for the sake of their survival at a very young age. Now, many women are coming towards the city to work in these sectors. She viewed that men have accepted women's engagement in occupation and public places of the city. There are many incidents of harassment occur with her in the subways. She is to combat with mainly verbal harassment thrown by men towards her. She thought that this type of occurrence hinders her free movement in the city. According to her perception and experience, women are mostly harassed by strangers in the streets of Dhaka city.

She commented-

'Jader nojor kharap tarai meyeder ke disturb kore. Valo ghorer chelera o meyeder ke jalaton kore.' (Those who have indecent motif used to harass the girls. Even boys from fairly good family disturb them.)

Case 23

Dola is severely fearful of harassing a girl's modest by middle aged men.

Dola is a 32 years old lady working in a fashion house. She is very much afraid of kidnapping from the street. She has experienced verbal harassment many times. Sometimes she does protest and sometimes overlook harassment. She shared-

'Ami baje kothar sob cheye beshi voy pai. Protibad korle aro beshi osomman kore.'(I am very much afraid of verbal harassment. Men harass women more severely in their middle age if they attempt to protest.)

For her Gulistan is the most unsafe area for women in Dhaka. Dola viewed that middle aged men harassed women to a greater extent that the young boys. Harassment of women occurred mostly n night time by middle aged men. She has experienced situations of harassment such as touching and sexually explicit comment in streets and public buses. She viewed that growth of fashion house, malls, cafes or bars are the features of modern Dhaka. Also she opined that these sectors have created more employment opportunities for women than men

Case 24

If there were no fashion house I could not come out of home for jobs.

Kajol works in a fashion house of Shahbag and lives in Firajgong of Sadarghat. Everyday she is to use public bus to travel between her work place and residence. She stated that there is a lots of problems for women in the bus of Gulistan-

'Gulistan er bus e shomossha hoy.'(harassment occurs against women in the bus of Gulistan.)

She has also coped with bad situations in the street. She shared-

'Rasta-ghate chelera konui uchu kore dariye thake. Ami hat namiye diye boli, 'rastaghat erok kore dariye thakbar jayga na.' (Many men raise their elbow and placed it to their waist. Then I place down their elbow and say 'streets are not the place to stand in this style')

Sometimes she does protest again the situations and sometimes she ignore these situations. She ignores harassing incidents against her when she thinks that there is no reason to behave with bad people. But she has a positive aspect regarding her employment in the fashion house. She thought if there were no fashion house I could not come out of home for jobs.

Case 25

Tonima wants to quit herself from her job for fear of severe form of male violence in near future.

Tonima is a sales girl in a jewelers' gallery of a shopping mall. She is a young girl of 18 years. She works in Banani and lives in notun bajar of Baridhara. She is very happy with her employment at a very young age. But she is very much worried about herself when she remains in the public places of Dhaka. When she starts her journey from her work place towards her home at night two or three young boys follow her up. One day they blocked her way towards home at night and attempter to touch her. She began to shout in order to get relief of the situation. But she was rescued from this bitter experience as two men from nearby shop came to save her. The harassments which she is to experience impede her free movement in the city as she cannot enjoy herself in the public space and even her job. Sometimes, she thinks about to quit herself from her job as she is more fearful for further harassment in a more severe form.

Appendix-2: Survey Questionnaire

The New Urban space & Spatilal Practices of Women:

A Study on Working women in Dhaka City

<u>*Survey Questionnaire*</u>

A. Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Q.A.1. Name:

Q.A.2. Age:

      i) up to 20 yrs=1   ii) 21-25 yrs=2   iii) 26-30 yrs=3

      iv) 31-35 yrs=4   v) 35-40yrs =5   vi) 40 yrs+ =6

Q.A.3. Marital status:

      i) unmarried=1 ii) married =2 iii) divorced=3 iv) separated=4 v) widow=5

Q.A.4. Religion:

      i) Muslim=1 ii) Hindu=2 iii) Christian=3 iv) Buddhist=4 v) others=5

Q.A.4. Ethnicity: i) mainstream =1   ii) tribal =2

Q.A.5. Education:

      i) no schooling=1 ii) up to class 5=2   iii) class 6-10=3 iii) SSC=4 iv) HSC=5

      v) Honors=6   vi) Masters and above=7

Q.A.6. Occupation:

      i) Beautician=1 ii) Sales girls=2 iii) Customer care=3

      iv) Receptionist =4   v) others (specify)......5

Q.A.7. Place of residence:

Q.A.8. Place of work:

B. Conceptualizing the New Urban Space

Q.B.1. How many years you are living in Dhaka?

i)   1-3 years=1   ii) 4-6 years=2
ii)   7-9 years=3   iv) 10 years & more=4

Q. B.2. Do you think public space of Dhaka city has been changed or is changing?

i)   Yes=1   ii) No=2 (skip Q.B.3)

Q. B.3. How will you define the new urban space?

i)   Overgrowing urban population=1
ii)   Influx of people coming from hinterland=2
iii)   Growth of service sector=3
iv)   Increasing consumerism=4
v)   Increasing working women=5
vi)   Decreasing men's participation in service economy=6
vii)   Increasing unemployment of men=7
viii)   Increasing freedom of men=8
ix)   Increasing fear of and experience of violence by women in public space=9
x)   Others……………… =10 (specify please)

B.Q.4. What kind of new service sectors you are finding in modern Dhaka?

i)   Shopping malls=1   ii) beauty parlour=2
iii)   Fashion industry=3   iv) service center=4
v)   Departmental stores=5   vi) cafes/Bars=6
vi)   Tourism=7   viii) manufacturing=8
vii)   banking & finance=9

B.Q.5. In which service sector you are engaged in?

i)   Shopping malls=1   iv) beauty parlour=4
ii)   Service centers=2   v) departmental stores=5

iii)   Fashion house=3   vi) cafes/bars/restaurants=6

viii)   Others (specify)….=7.

B.Q.6. What types of recruitment these sectors are offering?

i)   Full time=1   ii) part time=2   iv) seasonal=3

Q.B.7. Which segment of population is getting increasingly unemployed due to the emergence of   these services in terms of gender?

i)   Men=1   ii) Women =2   iii) Both =3

Q.B.8. Which segment of population is getting more recruitment in these new services?

  i) Men =1   ii) Women =2

Q.B.9. Which segment is getting more empowered in modern city?

  i) Men=1   ii) Women=2

Q.B. 10. How the employment and recruitment of women in new services and increasing unemployment of men are contributing to traditional patriarchy?

  i) Breaking down patriarchy=1 ii) Weakening patriarchy=2
  iii) reinforcing patriarchy =3(skip Q.B.11)

 Q.B. 11. What are the young men are doing to hold up their masculinity in the changing condition of patriarchy?

  i) Showing down patriarchy in public places by endangering women=1

  ii) Upholding patriarchy only within family=2
  iii) Creating newer employments for them=3
  iv) Respecting women in public=4
  v) Others (specify) =5

C. Spatial practices of Women

Enjoyment of freedom and movement:

Q.C.1.Was it possible for women to go out of their home few decades ago compared to present time?

  i) Yes=1   ii) No=2

Q.C.2. Have new service sectors played any role to bring out women in pubic?

  i) Yes=1   ii) No=2

Q.C.3. To what extent you are enjoying freedom with your service sector?

Absolutely Free	Fairly/Moderate Free	Somewhat/Narrowly Free	Somewhat/Narrowly Restrained	Fairly/Moderate Restrained	Absolutely Restrained
6	5	4	3	2	1

Q.C.4. How are you enjoying yourself in public spaces? (open-ended)

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

Q.C.5 Did you face any harassment in public space in the city?

  i) yes =1   ii) no =2 (skip Q.C.6)

Q.C.6.Does this harassment in public spaces restricts your movement or freedom?

  i)Yes=1   ii) No=2

Perception of Women

Q.C.7. Which public places you have to use generally?

i)	Streets =1	iv) bus stops=4	vii) cine complex=7
ii)	Public transport=2	v) neighborhood=5	viii) bars/cafes=8
iii)	Markets/malls =3	vi) parks=6	ix) tea stalls=9
x)	others (specify) =10		

Q.C.8. How do you perceive/feel these places?

Fully safe	Fairly/Moderate safe	Somewhat/Narrowly safe	Somewhat/Narrowly unsafe	Fairly/Moderate unsafe	Fully unsafe
6 (skip Q.C.9)	5 (skip Q.C. 9)	4 (Skip Q.C.9)	3	2	1

If your answer lies between 1-3, then please put a number of unsafety/risk on a scale 1-10; where 1 as the lowest & 10 the highest

Public Space	Scale		
	Low (1-3)	Medium (4-7)	High (8-10)
Street			
Public transport			
Markets/malls			
bus stops			
Neighborhood			
Parks			
cine complex			
bars/cafes			
tea stalls			
Other (specify)			

Q.C.9. Which places you think the most risky for women?

i)	Streets =1	iv) bus stops=4	vii) cine complex=7
ii)	Public transport=2	v) neighborhood=5	viii) bars/cafes=8
iii)	Markets/malls =3	vi) parks=6	ix) tea stalls =9
x)	Others (specify) =10		

Q.C.10. By whom women experience violence, harassment or crime?

   i)   Strangers=1   ii) familiar persons=2

Q.C.11. In which time you think these spaces become increasingly unsafe for women?

   i)   Morning =1   ii) Noon=2   iii) Afternoon=3   iv) evening=4   v) night=5

Q.C.12. Who dominate these spaces at this dangerous period?

    i)   Unemployed and deviant youth=1   ii)gangs=2
    ii)   iii) Revelers=3   iv) Drunkards =4
    iv)   Terrorists=5   vi) undocumented street workers=6

    vii)   Vagabond people=7   viii) others (specify)……=8

Q.C.13. Why do you think these spaces increasing unsafe for women?

    i) Increasing crowd=1
    ii) Decreasing day time crowd=2
    iii) Lack of surveillance=3
    iv) Shortage of public transport=4
    v) Poor lighting=5
    vi) Others=6……… (specify)

Q.C.14. Identify some locations of Dhaka city you perceive more risky for women at particular time?
………………………………………………………………………………………………

Q.C.15. Which factor/s affect women's harassment in public spaces

    i) age=1   ii) ethnicity=2   iv) occupation=3   v) life-style=4

    vii) mode of transportation=5   viii)Living place=6   ix) others=7
(specify………..)

Q.C.16. Does harassment in public spaces restricts women's movement and freedom?

    i) Yes=1   ii) No=2

Fear of women

Q.C.17. What kind of non-sexual physical violence you often fear in the public space?

    i) pushing=1   ii) deliberately tapping=2
    iii) throwing rocks=3   iv) spitting =4
    v) winking and making provocative expressions to women=5

Q.C.18. What kinds sexual physical violence you often fear in the public space?

    i) touching =1   ii) grabbing=2
    iii) caressing women's private areas=3   iv) rape=4

Q.C.19. What kinds verbal harassment you of fear in the public space?

    i) whistling=1   ii) hissing and kissing sounds=2   iii) singing=3
    iv) sexually explicit comments=4
    v)leering (smile indicating someone in an unpleasant way)=5

Q.C.20 . For which type of violence you are the most fearful about?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

Q.C.21. Do these places become more fearful at particular dangerous time?

    i)   Yes=1   ii) No=2 (skip Q.C.22)

Q.C.22. Where do you feel very unsafe or fairly unsafe?

    i) In open public spaces=1 (skip Q.C.24)   ii) In closed public spaces=2(skip Q.C.23)

Q.C.23 . In which type of open public space you feel fairly unsafe?

                                i)Streets=1

                                ii)Parks=2
                                iii)Lakeside=3
                                iv)Riverside=4
                                v)Others=5 (specify)

Q.C. 24. In which type of closed space you feel fairly unsafe?

                                i)Subways/underground-ways=1
                                ii)Alleyways(narrow passage behind or between two buildings)=2
                                iii)Public bus=3
                                iv)Shops=4
                                v)Cine complex=5
                                vi)Cafes/bars/hotels=6

Q.C.25. In what situation you feel unsafe in these places?

i)   When you are alone=1
ii)   When in a group=2
iii)   When accompanied by man=3
iv)   When in a crowd=4
v)   When in uncrowded space=5

Experiences of Women

Q.C.26. Have you ever experienced any type of harassment in public space?

    i) Yes=1   ii) No= 2

Q.C. 27. What types of non-sexual physical harassment you experienced in public space?

                i) pushing =1
                ii) deliberately tapping=2
                iii)throwing rocks =3
                iv) spitting =4
                v) winking and making provocative expressions to women=5
                vi) others (specify)=6
                vii) Not applicable=7

Q.C.28. What types of sexual physical harassment you experience in public space?

        i) touching=1   ii) grabbing=2

        iii) caressing women's private areas=3   iv) rape=4

        v) others (specify)=5   vi) not applicable=6

Q.C.29. What types of verbal harassment you experience in public space?

        i) whistling =1   ii) hissing and kissing sounds=2   iii) singing=3

        iv) sexually explicit comments=4

        v) leering (smile indicating someone in an unpleasant way)=5

        vi) others =6

        vii) not applicable =7

Q.C.30. What are the dangers and crime for which you are being advised by your guardians, relatives, friends or media to restrict your movement in public space?
……………………………………………………………………………………………….

Q.C.31. What time of the day you have experienced dangers or crime in public spaces?

        i)   Day-time=1   ii) night-time=2   iii) Both day and night time=3
        ii)   Not applicable=4

Q.C.32. Where have you experienced these harassing situations?
……………………………………………………………………………………………

Protective behaviors adopted by women

Q.C.33. Do you follow any protective strategy to avoid harassment in public spaces?

        i)   Yes=1   ii) No=2 (skip Q.C. 35)

Q.C.34. What kind of protective strategy you adopt to avoid violence in public spaces?

        i) avoid walking alone at night time=1

        ii) travelling alone =2

        iii)avoiding public transport at certain period=3

        iii)   avoid crowd=4

,   v) waiting at bus stops after dusk=5

        vi) avoid a fairly unsafe or not very safe areas such as subways, backstreets after dark=6

        vii) others (specify)......7.

 Q.C.35. Does any of the above mentioned strategy hamper your freedom of movement in public space?

           i)   Yes=1   ii) No=2 (skip Q.C.37)

Q.C.36. How do these hamper your freedom?

        i) create fear of male violence while remaining alone in public space=1

        ii) make it necessary to be accompanied by others=2

        iii)hinder movement in public space=3

        iv)interrupt to enjoy jobs=4

        v)obstacle to enjoy modern life-style=5
        vi) others (specify) =6

Appendix 3: Photographs

Image 1: New service sector in Dhaka

Shopping malls in Dhanmondi

Bithis Herbal, Sopura Silk And Usha Silk in Dhanmondi

Joyeeta in Rapa Plaza at Dhanmondi

Fashion Houses at Mirpur-1

Fashion Houses at Mirpur

shopping complex at Mirpur

Beauty Parlor at Mirpur

Beauty parlor in Nilkhet

Image-2: presence of women in service sector

Female service worker in Mirpur and Dhanmondi

Image 3- carrying out survey and case study

Conducting survey in MirpurMirpur

Carrying out survey in Nilkhet

Conducting survey at Banani

Carrying out case studies in Banani and Dhanmondi

Image 4. Harassment of women in public bus

Harassment of girls and women in Public space(staged for the Daily Star

Source: Weekly Daily Star Publication