

**UNDERSTANDING MASCULINITIES: A STUDY OF FEAR AND
HARASSMENT IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT SYSTEM**

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in partial fulfillment of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Anthropology

by

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Understanding Masculinities: A Study of Fear and Harassment in Public Transport System**” submitted by **Ayushya Singh** bearing registration number **19SAHL05** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of **Master of Philosophy** in Anthropology is a bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

This thesis has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for award of any degree or diploma.

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DECLARATION

I, **Ayushya Singh**, hereby declare that this Dissertation entitled “**Understanding Masculinities: A Study of Fear and Harassment in Public Transport System**”, submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of **Dr. Alok Kumar Pandey** is bonafide research work. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this university or any other university or institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

Date: 28 December, 2022

Ayushya Singh

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'A Singh', with a horizontal line drawn underneath.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between performances of masculinities and their relationship with experiences of fear and harassment in Hyderabad Metro Railways. The basis of the study is the online survey of the 81 metro commuters and a semi-structured interview with 15 women and 8 men commuters from the survey respondents. The originality of the contribution is three-fold. Firstly, the research provides an empirical analysis of the fear and experiences of harassment faced in the Hyderabad Metro Railways, where earlier studies in the given geographical context have focused only on buses and local trains (MMTS). Secondly, using the conceptual framework of Henri Lefebvre's Rhythm, Tim Cresswell's Friction, and Mobilities, this research expands the perspective for research on gendered violence, through the feminist approach to anthropology. The study reinstates that even in the current socio-temporal context, urban public spaces including Metro railways are experienced in a gendered manner where mobilities and rhythms of the space shape the ways in which sexual harassment is perpetrated, and experienced by women in public transit spaces. It adds to the knowledge of the role played by memory in the women commuters' negotiations with these experiences over time and space. Thirdly, and most importantly, this thesis adds to the knowledge of the perception of masculine performances in public transport by both women and men, and the reasons that facilitate these performances.

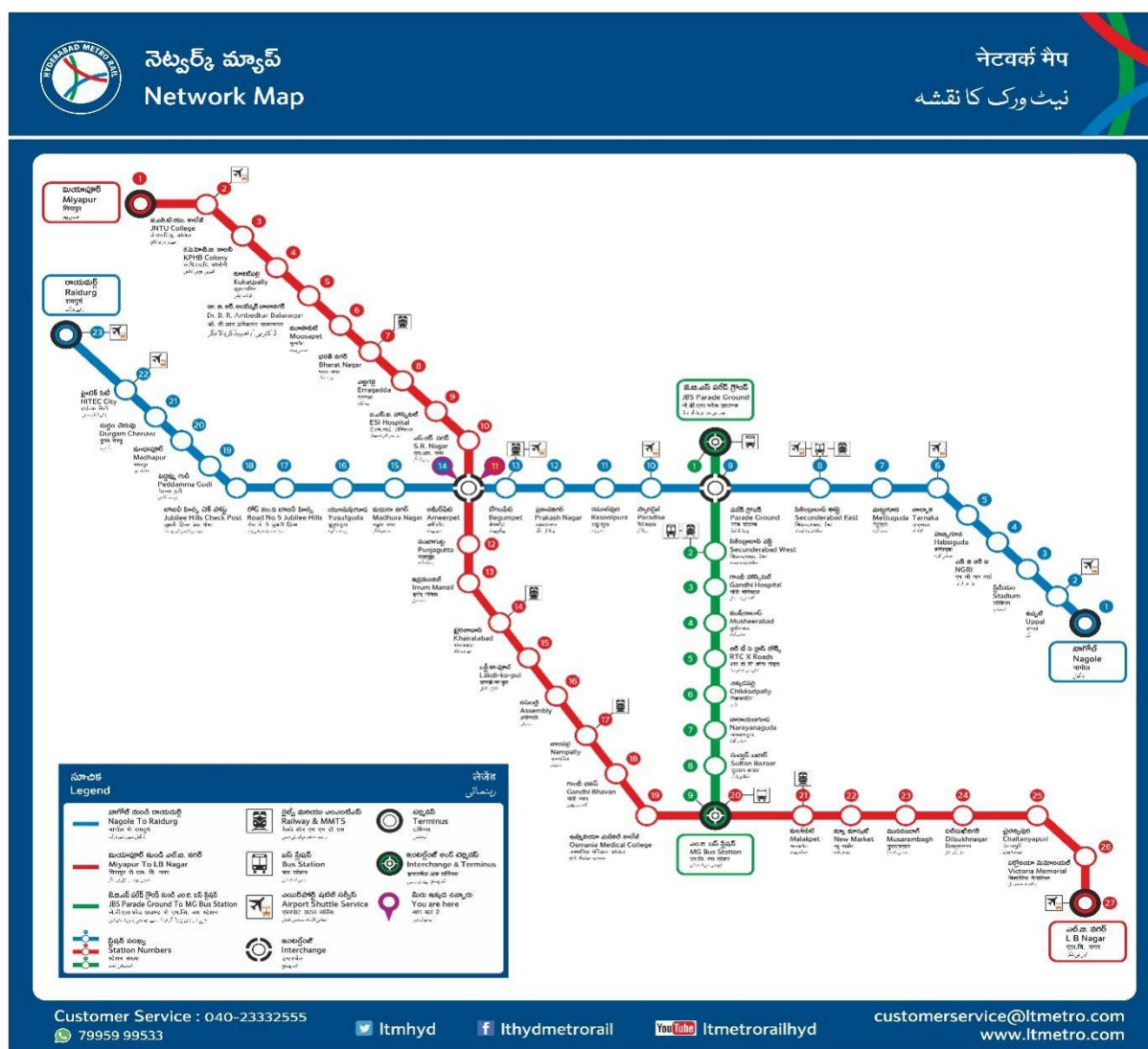
As a whole, this thesis contributes to our understanding of a particular form of violence i.e., sexual harassment taking place in a specific context of Hyderabad Metro Railways in a metropolitan city of India. The research highlights how women anticipate, experience, and negotiate sexual harassment in the public transport system. Another significant contribution of the research is that it explains the impact of these experiences, and the negotiations that women make to exercise their claim in the city, without reducing it to the attributes of fear and vulnerability. It highlights that women as active decision-makers, take rational choices to minimise and resist the impact of these masculine intrusions, ceaselessly renegotiating their claim in the city. It also shows that in a male supremacist patriarchal society it becomes necessary to narrow the understanding of others, for the very survival of masculinity. The trivialisation and continuous objectification of women is the result of this narrowed masculine self of the man in society.

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HYDERABAD METRO RAIL ROUTE MAP

Figure 1.1. Hyderabad Metro Railways Route Map¹



¹ Image Sourced from Hyderabad Metro Rail website: <https://www.ltmetro.com/metro-network-map/>

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

One of the basic tenets of modernity is swift, smooth, secure, and unrestricted mobility. With the rise of urbanism, accessibility to public transport is an important means that not only guarantees equal opportunity and freedom to everyone but also pushes towards the goal of sustainable development of all. Safe and affordable transport is a fundamental prerequisite for inclusive development of any society which ensures access to a plethora of essential resources including employment, health care, education, and child care among others. Personal safety and security become an essential factor that determines or influences people's decision to use public transport. Mobility, however, has always been attached to the element of power and privilege, and not every section of the society has enjoyed equal access to public transportation (Loukaitou-Sideris A. , 2016). Among all other social identities, gender has been a crucial aspect that plays a significant role in determining access to transportation. Creswell and Uteng in their study have observed that women have often faced restrictions in their mobility in form of physical, economic, and psychological barriers (Cresswell & Uteng, 2008). The way people move (where, how fast, how often) is demonstrably gendered and continues to reproduce gendered power hierarchies.

The acts of sexual harassment exist on a continuum. It ranges from assault in the forms of lewd comments, catcalling, whistles, and winking to more violent assault and rape. It not only adversely affects women's mobility, accessibility, and sense of belonging, but also limits the exercise of their Right to the City. In his theory of "The Right to City" (Lefebvre, 1996) states that an individual living in a city is also a citizen of the city, and therefore has the right to use and appropriate the urban space with a sense of ownership (Purcell, 2003), and their right to participate in the decision-making and the development of the space (Dikec, 2001).

Fear and anxiety of personal safety, often plays a decisive role in determining the usage of public transport, even restricting some users from its access. / Along with media attention towards the cases of sexual harassment in public space, there is also evident development in the academic discourse and research on the issue (Sideris & Fink, 2009).

Sexual Violence against women has received necessary attention by urban geographers at the level of infrastructural and design intervention, though, there is an immediate and pressing need to understand the cultural side of transportation and gender and, its linkage to rise in sexual

harassment, fear and safety in transit spaces. The unavailability of equal and affordable transport harms the economic status of the individual and at the same time restricts them to only domestic spheres.

Though several studies that have been conducted on the infrastructural aspects to ensure safety and security among women commuters, Loukaitou-Sideris argues that the need is for change in the social structure and institutions that perpetuate and maintain gender inequality (Sideris & Fink, 2009). Gendered public spaces and institutions act as a barrier to equal access to public transport to women. Valentine in her study in 1989 has highlighted that it is not the absence of proper lighting or infrastructure only that induces fear of crime among women but is rather the dominant gender inequality (Valentine G. , 1990). Coping strategies like appropriate dressing and desexualizing their body in public space indicate the patriarchal setup and puts the responsibility of safety on women themselves. In cases of crime against women, therefore, the women have to establish their respectability and purpose, to avoid ‘victim-blaming’ (Graglia, 2016).

Though, there are certain crimes and violence that might affect both men and women equally, say, burglary, identity theft, etc. but crimes like harassment are overwhelmingly committed by men over women. Scholars like Valentine, and MacMillan et al. have highlighted that most of the violent crimes against women are committed by men. Prioritising and understanding sexual harassment in public transport, enables us to explain the heightened sense of fear of crime among women (Valentine G. , 1989b; MacMillan, Nierobisz, & Welsh, 2000).. Harassment, thus explains the gendered differences in the fear of crime, where “sexual and stranger harassment are essentially female experiences” (MacMillan, A, & Welsh, 2000, p. 319). The unfamiliarity in public space, along with the normalisation of the incidents of sexual harassment, and the underreporting of the “minor” and “ephemeral” forms of male violence transforms the increased fear of crime to a sense of vulnerability in public spaces, especially in transitory spaces like transportation.

This work attempts to address the question of how the cultural norms including the role of women in society, patriarchal values, performances of hegemonic masculinity and the gendered nature of transit spaces affect the access of public transport by focusing on fear and harassment.

Sexual Harassment as a global pandemic

Sexual harassment of women has been long explored and studied in academia and law enforcement agencies across countries, over recent times, the discourse has developed to look at it as a pandemic, as a global social issue. The research stems from the personal interest to explore the restraints that are faced by women in accessing public transport and how the acts of sexual harassment act as a deterrent to women's equal access and claim to public transport. Looking through the performances of masculinity in a specific transport facility, i.e., metro railways, the research aims to understand its impact on the everyday mobility of women in the city over time. I will provide a brief social context to situate and provide a reference for the research, before dwelling on the aim, and objectives of the study.

On 20th January 2017, Donald Trump became the President of the United States of America. On the same day, a huge Women's March was organised with around 5 million participants (Hartocollis & Alcindor, 2017). This protest was held against the misogynist and sexist comments and anti-women policies propagated by Donald Trump during his election campaign. Mr Donald Trump had made obscene, offensive, and sexist comments against Megyn Kalyn, Carly Fiorina, and Hillary Clinton. Also, during the same time several women came out and accused him of sexual abuse and harassment after his 2005 audio clip resurfaced during the campaign. The protest was primarily at the Capitol at Washington DC, however, equally large gatherings were held in the other parts of the country including Boston, Chicago, New York, among others (Hillstrom, 2018).

In the same year i.e., in 2017, a combustible movement of activism on social media started when several actresses and women associated with Hollywood came out with testimonies of sexual harassment by Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein (Hillstrom, 2018; Luo & Zhang, 2021). The #MeToo movement stood out as a viral movement that laid forward the pervasiveness and magnitude of sexual harassment. The movement with its variants grew out of Hollywood, across national borders with women coming out and speaking out about their experiences of sexual assault and harassment in their daily life including especially their workplaces.

Similarly, #MeToo was also launched in Indian academia with testimonies of women against the rampant sexism and sexual misconduct. It was a crowdsourced list of several distinguished figures of Indian academia accused of sexual harassment, LoHSA (List of Sexual Harassers in

Academia), published by Raya Sarkar a US-based Dalit-queer law student in 2017 (Gajjala, 2018). There was greater support for the movement and even more critique, within the feminist academicians and activists. Nivedita Menon, one of the frontrunners of these critiques, who invoked the debate around legitimate ‘justice’, which for her understanding will disintegrate the feminist movement into a self-centred and short-sighted struggle (Sharma, 2021). To her, it worries us that anybody can be named anonymously, with lack of answerability ...[This] manner of naming can delegitimize the long struggle against sexual harassment and make our task as feminists more difficult (Menon, 2017). Though the LoHSA opened up the foundational debates around the gatekeeping within the feminist movement in India, exposing its fault-lines, on the power imbalance along other social identities, including caste, class, and other intersectionality.

Bhanwari Devi case became a rallying point and an important milestone of the women’s rights movement in India. The horrific incident and its social and legal process is a reminder of the caste-embodied, patriarchal setup of a state and its institutions. Bhanwari Devi, 40 years, hailing from the ‘Kumhar’ caste worked as a ‘sathin’ in the Women Development Project (WDP) of the Rajasthan Government. On September 22, 1992, she was brutally gang-raped by 5 men of the dominant caste who were angered by her actions as a ‘sathin’ to stop child marriage (Murthy, 2013). The observations and arguments that were made in the Sessions and District court (rural) highlighted the interplay of caste, class and patriarchy in the Indian state context (Mathur, 2018), which later acquitted all 5 accused on November 5, 1995. In the aftermath of the Bhanwari Devi’s legal development, several women rights groups filed Public Interest Litigation (PIL) in the Supreme Court of India. Hearing on the PIL, the Supreme Court made a historic judgement in 1997, called the Vishaka Guidelines, establishing the first formal guidelines to address sexual harassment in workplaces in India (Ramakrishnan, 2019). It was only in the year 2013, Indian Parliament after multiple notes by the Supreme Court on the absence of any legislative act for redressal of sexual harassment of women in the Public domain passed the “Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 (Sarpotdar, 2013). An important aspect of the Act is the definition of the workplace, which except for the traditional office set-up also includes any place visited by the employee during the course of employment including the transportation (Murthy, 2013).

Anjuli Fahlberg and Mollie Pepper have also concluded in their research that sexual violence by men is also used as a tool to maintain racial, ethnic, and caste-based hierarchies (Fahlberg

& Pepper, 2016). Similarly, in the case of caste-based societies like India, violence committed on the lower caste women by upper-caste men act as a deterrent to the claim of equality from these caste groups. G. Neupane et al., in their research done in Kathmandu in the year 2014, found that in any conservative society married women are often considered property of their husbands (Neupane & Chesney-Lind, 2014). Women bodies are often the object and site of violation, and its impact is intended towards the suppression of the entire community. The sexual violence committed thus, is not limited to individuals only, but is against the entire family, community, or ethnic groups. At the level of the nation-state, several behaviours and acts of masculinity are passed and naturalised in the machinery of law, and institutions of the state. It has been historically evident in any large-scale ethnic, or national clash, as the Rwandan Genocide, Bosnian War, etc. (Fahlberg & Pepper, 2016). This violence deters the action of returning to their homes in cases of exodus or mass-migration to their earlier or newer territory, challenging the cohesion of the group and their future as a community.

Please mind the Gap: Sexual Harassment in Public Transport

Literature such as Dorren Massey's (1994) "Space. Place and Gender" (1994), Kevin Lynch's (1960) "The Image of the City", Shilpa Phadke's (2011) "Why Loiter: Women and Risks on Mumbai Streets" have illustrated and established how urban landscapes are both sexed and gendered. The city spaces exist as an interactive social structure, influencing the interactions among different social actors and their surroundings. The spaces do not exist in any vacuum but are instead subjective, experienced differently by different individuals in a dynamic fashion (Srivastava, 2012). This interaction is further problematized due to the multifaceted identities that are ascribed or achieved by the individuals. In different contexts, these identities are either beneficial or even downplay their claims and rights. In these, some of the prominent identities apart from gender are class, race, sex, sexuality, caste, disability status.

Cities, the epitome of modernist public spaces as any other public space has masculine traits in its characteristic, both physically and structurally, thus producing gender inequalities in their interactions (Wolff, 1985). Though these spaces as a symbol of modernity, designed to be available to everyone equally including women, there is an evident lack of a sense of belonging for them. The fear and anxiety among women in public spaces is also an extension of the men's power over women bodies and rights in the domestic domain.

In the year 2017, the brutal gang rape and murder of Jyoti Singh, in the capital city of New Delhi inside a moving bus by 6 men, including a juvenile, shook the nation and across the globe (Standard, 2020). The brutal incident commonly known as the “Nirbhaya Case” not only created news for the brutality of the case but posed the question of the safety and accessibility of women in cities as equal citizens (Roychowdhury, 2013). In India, protests followed in several parts of the country to ensure justice, but it also raised the demand to ensure the end of sexual violence, and to make the governments accountable for such horrific incidents. In several countries, the everyday harassment of women in public spaces especially in transit spaces has gathered both media and academic attention. Here, I would like to present the scenario of some of the countries, especially those put under the category of developing nations where the incidents of sexual harassment have turned into an epidemic. Research has found that nearly 48% of women aged 20 years and above have faced sexual harassment in commuter trains in Japan (Horii & Burgess, 2012). In another study done in Japan, 70% of the women have faced harassment by ‘chikan’, (in Japan men indulging in sexual harassment like groping or fondling are referred to as ‘chikan’) with Tokyo, the capital city being infamous for endemic groping (Ekin, 2017). Public transportation in Nepal is a highly masculinised space, where men exercise their power, reproducing social inequalities. In the study done by Neupane & Chesney-Lind in the capital city of Nepal, Kathmandu, they found that about 97% of women using public transport have faced sexual harassment more than once (Neupane & Chesney-Lind, 2014). In the study done by Can (1994), out of the 44 respondents interviewed, more than two-thirds (88.6%) of women told that they have experienced sexual harassment in either public transport or the workplace (Can, 1994). Nearly 39% of the women who were surveyed in a study conducted in the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta reported having faced frequent sexual harassment in public transport (Kirchhoff, et al., 2007). Women-only transport including, the Pink-taxis in Mexico City, and women-only coaches in commuter trains have been introduced in several countries like India, Japan, Pakistan among others. However, feminist academicians who have studied the nature and construction of masculinised public spaces have concluded that it is not possible to achieve gender equality through spatial arrangements alone, but only through the restructuration of the social institutions that manifest and reinstate gender equality in the first place (Koskela & Pain, 2000). National Board for the Prevention of Discrimination (CONAPRED) conducted a study in 2008, 8 years after the introduction of women-only transportation in Mexico, and concluded that in terms of reducing violence and sexual harassment against it has not contributed any significant positive result (Graglia, 2016). In that

study, it was found that about 8 out of 10 women have faced sexual crime, with around 48% of women reported facing four or more incidents of violence.

Sexual harassment in transit environments can have a very long-lasting and dreadful impact on the victims causing mental trauma and low self-worth. Harassment in transit settings restricts their sense of belonging to space thus, adversely affecting their mobility and travel behaviour. Studies also implicate that individuals who have no choice, ‘captive riders’ are very vulnerable to victimization (Yu & Smith, 2014). A study conducted by Jagori Foundation in 2010 in Delhi observed that in the past years about 90% of women have faced incidents of sexual harassment. In the same study, it was also found that 51% of women have faced sexual harassment in varying degrees while riding public transport, and 42% have faced sexual harassment in other transit settings like while waiting for the vehicle (Women, 2011). Several similar studies have highlighted the serious problem of harassment within public transport in India. In the study of two districts of Kerala, Kozhikode, and Trivandrum, it was reported that 80% of women faced harassment while waiting for public transport in or while riding the public transport in Kozhikode, while 69% of women faced harassment while riding a public transport and, and 79% while waiting for the transport in Trivandrum (Sakhi, 2011). Deccan Herald (2013) published a report on the study conducted by BMTC (Bengaluru Metropolitan Transport Corporation) which found that nearly two-thirds of their female commuters have faced sexual violence. Thomson-Reuters Foundation also conducted a survey in 2017 around the world on unsafe transport in capital cities, which found that Delhi is the 4th most unsafe capital after Bogota, Lima, and Mexico (Reuters, 2014). Studies have argued that sexual violence in public space is an expression and exertion of the masculine, hegemonic, and male-dominated nature of public space, and transport is one such institution through which hegemonic masculinity is maintained (Sideris & Fink, 2009; Hsu, 2011).

There have been several instances of harassment in the metro railways all over India. On 15th February 2018, a Hyderabad metro staffer was arrested for molesting a girl inside the Hyderabad Metro premises at Ameerpet, Hyderabad (Chronicle, 2018). On 18th June 2019, in Delhi Metro, a woman has reported a man masturbating and flashing inside the Metro Premises (Times, 2019). Similarly, in 2018, a case was registered by police under relevant sections of the IPC, after a woman has alleged that she was harassed inside Delhi Metro Railways (PTI, 2020). Instances of harassment and violence might be relatively lower in Metro rail, in comparison to other modes of transport, however, safety and fear, and crime still stand out as one of the major concerns while opting for metro trains.

At the policy level, though infrastructure and other remedial provisions have been made, it alone cannot ensure gender equality. Studies have implied that only through changes in the nature of social institutions that reinforce this inequality can be the goal of a just and gender-equal space can be constructed (Koskela & Pain, 2000).

The study attempts to explore how sexual harassment in public transport settings instates a sense of fear of crime among the riders, affecting their travel pattern and behaviour. An important factor covered in the study is the role of masculinity in limiting the accessibility of both men and women in public transport.

Metro Railways is envisioned as an alternative to all other modes of public transport and some scale even of private transport. It is portrayed as a fast, comfortable, and eco-friendly version of public transport addressing modern transportation needs. Through mass media/popular culture it has been represented as a symbol of modernity ensuring comfort, and security, the two major needs of urban transport facilities. The presence and development of Metro is now seen as the development of that urban landscape.

The role and benefits of Metro Railways are not limited to providing only transportation solutions but are often depicted beyond it, into other aspects of human life. For instance, the Hyderabad Metro Railways envisages promoting family values through its services. It claims that the presence of the metro will reduce the fear of women coming out in the public domain. A larger section of women stepping out of domestic space both for education and employment will also uplift the economic standards (Network, 2020). It, therefore, becomes necessary to understand the accessibility of metro transport and what factors act as restraints to it.

Identifying and Defining Sexual Harassment

The initial phase of academic attempt in the early 1970s to define and address sexual harassment in public spaces was initiated with the outpouring of rage in the late '60s by feminist activists and organisations. Before this, though sexual harassment existed in the day-to-day dialogue, but was restricted mostly in the organisation and workplace settings. The workplace harassment here indicates the forcing down of sexual favours by the seniors in offices, or even by the co-workers (Brant & Too, 1994). Structurally the conducts of sexual harassment in organisational spaces correspond to the establishment of dominance over women who are relatively less powerful and lower economic positions than men (McKinnon, 1979). In the

case of sexual harassment in public spaces, as in the case with any other violence against women including rape, the interaction is never about sexuality, but instead about power (Leonardo, 1981). In her article *Political Economy of Street Harassment* (1981), anthropologist Micaela di Leonardo highlights that amongst other brutal and gruesome forms of violence including rape, battery, murder, child abuse, harassment in street is often perceived as trivial. Harassment in public spaces is as violent and detrimental as any other form of violence, perhaps the most pervasive among them all. Restricting mobility ties women's position to the domestic sphere, which hinders the complete development of the individual as an equal being and citizen.

Leonardo in the same article also comments on the fact that harassment in non-places is often not treated as grave as other crimes against women. To her, “it is because we do not want to admit our impotence...because there is nothing we can do about it in the short run” (Leonardo, 1981, p. 51). The experiences of women, made under the categories of violence of normal times, often fall outside the definitions of the serious crimes and are treated as mere misdemeanours, or even more tiring and toilsome is the law and order procedure. According to Leonardo, “street harassment is nearly fail-safe crime” (Leonardo, 1981).

Concerning the definition of sexual harassment. The Egyptian Centre for Women's Rights (ECWR) defines it in a very nuanced manner as,

“unwanted sexual conduct deliberately perpetrated by the harasser, resulting in sexual, physical, or psychological abuse of the victim regardless of location, whether in the workplace, the street, public transportation, educational institutions or even in private space...” (Rizzo, Parice, & Meyer, 2012, p. 460).

Vishaka Guidelines (1997) was formulated by the Supreme Court of India, which lead to the foundation for the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. According to the Vishaka Guidelines and, the 2013 act,

“Sexual harassment includes such unwelcome sexually determined behaviour (whether directly or by implication), as physical contact and advances, a demand or request for sexual favours, sexually coloured remarks, showing pornography, and any other unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct of sexual nature” (Vishaka & Ors vs State of Rajasthan & Ors, 1997).

Sexual Harassment in public spaces are the most commonplace violence experienced by women and has been defined by several scholars throughout disciplines. Anthropologists

Micaela Di Leonardo and Fiona Vera-Gray have studied the phenomena under the specific reference of ‘street harassment (Leonardo, 1981; Vera-Gray, 2016). Fairchild and Rudman have called it “stranger harassment” (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008), i.e., experiencing unwanted sexual attention from strangers in public, and most of these terms have been used as synonyms to each other. Both these terms among others that are context-specific, however, run the risk of omitting and neglecting certain spaces and their interactions holistically, spaces that are neither completely public i.e., semi-public spaces nor no-places.

Another altruism, that developed after the initial phase of academic indulgence in the area is that women have a much broader definition of sexual harassment- more than men (Barbara, 1995). Developing on the role of gender in interpreting sexual harassment, Pryor and Day suggested that men tend to identify more with the harasser, than the victim (Pryor & Day, 1988), being both infrequent victims of harassment and that they are more likely the perpetrator statistically (Barbara, 1995). One way to negotiate this subjective aspect is to permit survivors to explain the definitions, and what constitutes sexual violence, concerning their individual and shared experiences. This not only safeguards the subjective nature of the issue but also broadens and enriches understanding the scope of these behaviours (Kearl, 2010). The lack of consensus on a universal definition, however, should not act as a barometer to validate or falsify individual experiences, instead, it must serve the opportunity to place ‘survivors’ own experience’ at the centre of the theory development (Vera-Gray, 2016).

Literature Review

Masculinity and Masculinities

“Masculinity is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture” (Connell, *Masculinities*, 2005, p. 71)

Connell (2005) in her seminal work “*Masculinities*” defined masculinity through various ideological approaches including the essentialist, positivist, structural, and normative approaches. The attempt to understand masculinity and its power relations drew importance during the second wave of feminism, namely the two ideological groups viz. “radical feminism” and “socialist feminism.” Both these schools of thought brought the debate of gendered relations and patriarchy to the centre of feminist discourse.

Radical feminism viewed patriarchy as the manifestation of masculine power and privilege, and as the base of all social inequality, historically, the deepest form of oppression. Other inequalities stem from patriarchy i.e., the imbalanced power relation between man and women, other social relations being derivatives of it (Messerschmidt, 2018). According to Firestone, history is the dialectic of sex, i.e., the ever-continuing struggle for power and dominance of men over women (Firestone, 1970). The second wave of feminism finds its inspiration from the ground-breaking work “*The Second Sex*” by Simone de Beauvoir published in 1949 in French. To Beauvoir, it is not the biology that determines the role and position of women but, instead by the social and cultural ascriptions positioned in the unequal patriarchal relations forced to “assume the status of other” (Beauvoir, 2011). Kate Millet (1970) in her work “*Sexual Politics*” argues that patriarchy stands as the base structure of all the power relations, as a universal phenomenon, with all the social institutions- family, military, economy, and even state, functioning within its modus operandi, controlled by men (Millet, 1970). Patriarchy for Millet, though is present in nearly all the public avenues, the strangest fort of it is the most private and basic social institutions i.e., family. The sex-role socialization process develops the individual’s personality along with the standards of masculine and feminine values, conforming to the patriarchal standards. Apart from this, many contemporary radical feminists also reinstated that women’s sexuality itself, in a patriarchal society is moulded in the interest of men. In this line of thought Susan Brownmiller (1975) in her work “*Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*”, brought Violence as the central tenet of patriarchy, as its foundation.

Putting rape at the forefront of the violence, she argued that it limits the access of women, even regulating their freedom under its fear. Adding to it, Catherine McKinnon argued that heterosexuality and sexual dominance are the two tenets through which patriarchy as a system survives (McKinnon, 1979).

The second doctrine under the first phase was socialist feminism, i.e., they attempted to answer the questions of women domination through the Marxist lenses and categories. The women's labour under the capitalist system is never accounted for 'as real work' employed outside the sphere of the money economy. Women's "reproductive labour" within the household in production of use-values, never reaching the market is central to the subordinate status of women under the patriarchal system of capitalist economy. These works though identified the role of economic structure accountable for the subordination, left the most important question on the side-line: the interpersonal relation between man and women within the private sphere i.e., family. Under the Marxist approach women's domestic labour were understood under the reference of capital, not in relation with the men, Sheila Rowbotham (1973), attempted to rectify this shortcoming in her work "Women's Consciousness, Man's World" where she argues that women's labour, even reproductive labour in a patriarchal society is under the men's interests and control. To her patriarchy has existed before the capitalistic configuration, establishing it as trans-historical, under the capitalistic system many patriarchal liminalities have withered away but stall, it maintains the dominance of men over women in various social, political, and economic spheres. Rowbotham's theorises capitalism as the overarching phenomenon under which she explains the dominance of men over women. the supposed predominance of capitalism over patriarchy (Rowbotham, 1981). However, this conceptualisation was criticized by those who understood both economy and patriarchy as equally important to understand the subordination of women in contemporary society. Zillah Eisenstein in her work propagates the idea of "Capitalist Patriarchy" as a mutually intertwined independent systems, where they do not work independently in isolation, but shape the relations of power together (Eisenstein, 1979).

By 1980s. the problem of understanding women's subordination through patriarchy and gender itself found greater shortcomings and lapses. The strict compartmentalisation between an opposing binary, as given, reduces the scope of any further investigation. No further diversity, amongst, and within the groups can be explained if there exists a presupposed distinction, of what they are, and not how they are the way they are. R. W. Connell terms this practice by both

radical feminist and socialist feminists as “categoricalism” i.e., “the reduction of gender into two homogeneous categories, betrayed by the persistent blurring of sex differences with sex roles” (Connell, 1985, p. 264). This categoricalism creates a distorted picture of the social reality, reducing the role and impact of other factors of race, class, sexuality, age, and nationality among others. Also, although it was convincingly pointed out by the radical feminist theorist that men use violence as a tool to subordinate women, it cannot be universally applied as the sole criteria for the violence committed by men. A. M. Liddle (1989, pp. 762-69) has also argued that the effects of the violence must not be confused with the individual motivations of the perpetrators. The assumption that every male is motivated towards violence simply ignores the context and complexities of masculinity in any given society (Liddle, 1989, p. 762). The other condescending establishment of the radical feminist was the conceptualisation of femaleness as the pious and ultimate virtue. The then-contemporary colonial history stands as an illustrative example of the violence committed by the colonizer women i.e., white women, on the African American female slaves, and the women of colonised population.

Connell and colleagues emphasized the shift from patriarchy, and male sex-role theory towards a theory of gender practice. Formulation of this theory is based on the relationship between the social structures and individual actions and life, without reducing it to categoricalism and biological determinism (Connell, 1985). To overcome the shortcomings of radical and socialist feminism, the theory must be equally attentive towards the human actions that shape gender relations, and the role played by social structures, in which they live. The evolution of the concept of “hegemonic masculinity” alongside the theory of gender practice in the 1980s marked a new phase in masculinity studies. Connell postulated that masculinity or femininity, in any social context exists not in an essentialist, singular form but as a plural entity. At any given point in time, in a society, there exist multiple forms of masculinities and femininities. Hegemonic Masculinity or normative masculinity here is the form of masculine character (Connell, 1987) which has been established as the current ideal. Derived from Gramsci’s idea, hegemony constitutes the cultural dynamics through which one group derives its power and maintains its legitimacy of the power. Hegemonic masculinity in this case, can be defined as the configuration of gender practice that establishes the legitimacy of patriarchy, guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Connell, 2005, p. 77). It is culturally the most idyllic of masculine character, existing as the current ideal. However, this ideal standard is always in flux, and therefore so are the definition and characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity stands different from

other types of masculinities, present in any given society which includes subordinate, complicit, and marginalized masculinity. The concept of hierarchy finds its root in the sophisticated documentation of oppression of women and non-hegemonic men by hegemonic men. This specifically came through the rise of ethnographic cases of experiences of prejudice and violence of homosexual men by straight men. The acknowledgement of “homophobia” in academia during the 1970s already has depicted the limitations of the sex-role theory. Connell in her book “Masculinities” defines subordinate masculinity as those masculinities who might share benefits of the dominance of men over women, they stand at subordinate rank under hegemonic masculinity (Connell, Masculinities, 2005). Complicit masculinity on the other hand comprises those who do not actively seek dominance over women, though benefit from the social dispossession of women. Marginalized masculinity, however, includes those who lack enough favourable social identities like class, caste, race, or ethnicity to contest the ideals of hegemonic masculinity. Homosexuality is one such example of subordinate masculinity. In any society, only a very small group or section of society corresponds to hegemonic masculinity, though, the ‘patriarchal dividend’ (i.e., the benefit of the establishment of hegemonic masculinity) provides greater power and privilege to all men. These men might not conform to hegemonic masculinity themselves, but the benefits in form of prestige, privilege, and power are shared by all the members.

Table no. 1.2. Types of Masculinities developed from “Masculinities” by R. W. Connell¹

Types of Masculinity	Defining Characteristics
Hegemonic	• The culturally ideal, dominant, and acceptable form of masculinity • The normative format of the current times as a mode of being man • Have access hold of the greatest share of the cultural and social power
Complicit	• Ally of hegemonic masculinity, though the dominant position is currently unattainable • Enjoys the already available masculine privileges of the gendered social structure • As Connell notes, in their performances they might be sympathetic to women, and children, etc., yet support the status quo

¹ Author’s description using R. W. Connell’s book “Masculinities”

Marginalised	• Follows or adhere to the existing dominant cultural norms of masculinity, though the dividends/favours are not fully accessible • May lack the culturally ascribed attributes to obtain dominance • A sense of victimisation or emasculation towards the hegemony might be evident. • An interplay of gender identity with others like disability status, race, class, etc. defines the power position, e.g., men of colour, men with disability
Subordinate	• Possess or perform antagonistic or opposite qualities as those of the dominant form • Position where they are excluded from the several privileges that hegemonic masculinity provides. • Absence of power or social prestige which is often available otherwise. Connell identifies gay men as an example of subordinate masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is a relational construct and, thus, exists in relation to femininities and all other types of masculinities. Baldwin in his work, emphasizing the construction of white masculinity argues that the masculinity of a white man depends on the denial of the masculinity of the blacks (Baldwin, 1963). The very construction of hegemonic masculinity is based on the notion of subordination and marginalisation (Cheng, 1999). This subordination is shared by both women and men who display any other form of masculinity that is not endorsed by hegemonic masculinity. To maintain such a level of subordination and dispossession of social resources, it must invoke violence. This violence is present on a long scale from cat-calling, wolf-whistling, to rape and sexual assault, extending even to murder in numerous cases. It also must hold the largest share of the means and use of violence. Connell in her work illustrates that both historically and, even in contemporary times, men are far more armed than women. Even in armed services, only a very negligible section of women is armed. In the current global geo-political scenario, major episodes of violence (war, terrorism, etc.) are mostly transactions among men (Connell, Masculinities, 2005). Thus, the patriarchal definition of femininity demands both cultural and physical disarmament of women. Women are forced to accept the abuser's characterization of the women's dependence, fearfulness, incompetence, and helplessness. The establishment of hegemonic masculinity depends on a correspondence between the cultural ideal and institutional power, collectively. Therefore, the exemplary

figures of hegemonic masculinity must be amongst the most powerful people. They may be film actors, politicians, sportsmen, or even mythological or film characters.

The Construction of Gendered Spaces

The feminist theory around the 1970s looked critically at the creation of public spaces by the state and urban planners in a patriarchal worldview serving the men and heteronormative standards. Though feminist planning of the spaces and the initiatives to materially benefit the individuals have been made, the question of unequal access to the public domain as part of the community is still left much unanswered (Beebejaun, 2017). The work of Henry Lefebvre “Right to the City” still influences a great part of the critical debate of urban planning, towards the idea of citizenship to the city (Lefebvre H. , 1996). To Lefebvre, this citizenship of the city, for individuals is obtained by the virtue of being an inhabitant of the city, through living, shared by both the citizens and the urban dwellers. The right to the city constitutes the everyday life of the individual with equal and non-negotiable political, economic, and cultural rights. M. Purcell (2003) defines two main attributes of the right to the city, (a) the right to appropriate, and (b) the right to participation (Purcell, 2003). The right to appropriate is the right to fully use the urban spaces, the inhabitant as portrayed as an artist, creating and giving meaning to space, through their everyday activity of belonging. The right to take part in the decision-making of the surrounding, at any given scale of state or local to the inhabitants, is what constitutes the right to participation. Though Lefebvre in his works has not made any feminist claims, nor has he given special importance to the role played by gender relations, his work gives perspectives on the alienating impact of the neoliberal planning, and the scope for the inhabitant to participate in the creation of the space and its meaning (Fenster, 2005). Purcell, adds that the right to difference, is complementary to the other two rights of the Lefebvre, it is the right against forceful homogenisation of the inhabitant, burdened from above (Purcell, 2003). Defining every day, Veena Das, argues that “everyday life is the site in which the life of the other is engaged” (Das, 2010, p. 376). She identifies it as a multi-faceted site of habit and routine, while also as sites of trance, illusion, and danger. The intertwining of the ordinary, and the scepticism, are the defining characteristic of everyday life, where securing it is not for granted, but an achievement. Das also adds that every day is guided by the notion of “how I respond to the claims of the other, as well as how I allow myself to be claimed by the other” (Das, 2010, p. 377)

In de Certeau's, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, (1984) the sense of 'belonging' is formed through the 'use' of spaces and everyday activities done routinely over time. For him, space is a practical place, e.g., streets demarcated and designed by the state and urban planners is made into space in their fullest sense through its usage by the inhabitants in their everyday life like walking. de Certeau interprets the banal everyday activities of walking as an emotion, a political act as an embodied body. He contrasts this against the fictive act of planning by the cartographers, planners, and urbanists. The activities taken by individuals living might appear meaningless to the purpose of creation of the space, though, in the real sense, they break the unitary view imposed through the planning by the urban dwellers. Here, de Certeau brings forth the notion of 'strategies' and 'tactics' to clear the difference between the functioning and perspective of the institutions, and inhabitants. 'Strategies', i.e., the action of state institutions and planners, portray a unified, synoptic image of the city, whereas, the inhabitants have a tactical, temporary, and self-imagined meaning and purpose, which is never fully in accordance or determined by the planners, he called it "tactics".

Developing on the Lefebvrian Right to the City, and de Certeau's Theory of every day, Toni Fenster builds on her conception of *The Right to the Gendered City* (Fenster, 2005). She highlights that several theorists and feminist critiques have perceived 'the public' as a domain of the middle class, heterosexual domain, and the 'private' or the domestic sphere has been attributed to women. However, in her extensive study done in Jerusalem and London, she finds that "...even in 'private' their right to use is denied" (Fenster, 2005, p. 224), and therefore to fully grasp the right to use, we must look at both the 'private' and 'public' spaces and the roots of the restrictions that are manufactured and imposed. Even in a private space like 'home', women often lack the right to participate, and neither do they have the complete sense of belonging. The patriarchal model of functioning and dominance at home and the absence of a sense of control hinder equal rights and access even within the domestic sphere. Toni in her work critiques the creation of distinction between 'private' and 'public' in the Lefebvrian ideas. With the creation and overemphasis of two distinct spheres, the public sphere is established as a rather neutral space, existing in abstract and untouched by the power relations played at the site. In cases, as has been highlighted in the study by Elizabeth Wilson in her work "The Sphinx in the City" (1991), cities as a product of modernity have also provided greater choices and anonymity to the inhabitants, as opposed to the strong patriarchal control and surveillance in the domestic sphere. Therefore, it becomes an issue of grave importance to address the right to appropriate and participate in the home to understand the right to city discussion.

City spaces are often portrayed and perceived as gender-neutral and abstract entities which exist without any biases. Srivastava, in his study, however, contradicts the portrayal of spaces through the observation that “Spaces have a dual identity: they are both sites upon which different social relations play out in different ways, as well as sites for the formation and consolidation of identities. That is to say, spaces are both objects as well as a process” (Srivastava, 2012, p. 42).

The claim to public spaces is also constructed on establishing the purpose for utilization of the space. Public spaces as sites are available to men as a free space with the ingrained sense of ‘belonging’, as a space of work and leisure (Tara, 2011). In the case of women, however, it is only a transitory space and not an end in itself, but only to transition from one private space to the other (Gardner C. B., 1990). Women, therefore, need to negotiate public space by establishing their purpose of being in public spaces through performances, materials, attitudes, and gestures. These gestures and attitudes include their physical appearance facial makeup, holding bags, umbrellas, maintaining decorum, etc., and not appear loitering in public spaces (Phadke, 2012).

This deterministic division of labour based on sex and relatively lesser access to spatial mobility had played a crucial role in the development of gendered categorization of spaces, making public spaces highly masculine (Neupane & Chesney-Lind, 2014). The right to the city spaces is also maintained and regulated through religious, patriarchal, and cultural powers which sanctions the eligibility to access. The ‘cultural guards’ as Toni Fenster calls them, construct the meaning of particular spaces, whose access is provided on fulfilment of their regulated criterion (Fenster, 2005). They, therefore, create a very private realm within the public space, the cultural and ethnic norms regulating woman access distinguishing the forbidden and permitted realm in several cultures. Continuous demonstration of purpose and respectability is carried through various forms in their cultural context e.g. wearing matrimonial symbols, accompanying men as their protectors, clothing patterns among others. However, only when the inhabitants have a greater chance of exercising more choices, does a sense of belonging can be built. Valentine Gill in her article *Geography of Women’s fear* argues that:

“This results in restricted use of public space of women, especially at night, allowing men to appropriate it and hence making women feel unsafe to go out, reinforcing their comparative confinement in the home. Consequently, this cycle of fear becomes a subsystem by which male

dominance, patriarchy, is maintained and perpetuated. Therefore, women's inhibited use and occupation of public space is a spatial expression of patriarchy (Valentine G. , 1989).

Gendered Patterns of Mobility

The position and role of women in the household have a significant impact on their claim on the public sphere. The sexual division of labour, even with the steady growth of women in the labour economy, does not discount their responsibilities of household chores. The domestic responsibilities of women have a determining effect on the public life of women including travel behaviour. Women, even when they are employed, have to take responsibility for the children, elderly people, and infirm relatives apart from their other household chores (Camstra, 1996). The dual role of women as both homemakers and wage-earners forces them to adopt strategies balancing the two. These responsibilities have an impact on their travel patterns, which are very different from men. The distinct travel pattern of women commuters is also affected by the spatial differences in the labour place for both men and women. In a study done by Moser and Peake in 1987, they observed that the resettlement of Delhi's central area squatter colonies on cheap peripheral land had a detrimental effect on low-income people's opportunities, particularly women. The ability of women to get to work from these new locations was disproportionately affected compared to that of males: female employment rose by 27% compared to a 5% rise for men (Moser & Peake, 1987).

In their study of the countries of the southern world, Rosenbloom and Plessis-Fraissard found that women have to relatively spend longer time on travelling than men, because of their work type, the responsibility of both household and childcare, and their greater dependence on lesser flexible public modes of transport (Rosenbloom & Plessis-Fraissard, 2009).

Across the globe, more women travel through public transport than men, which makes their travelling more challenging as added with it is their need to make multiple trips. Amand Root in their study have highlighted that family and personal responsibilities constitute nearly 50% of the women travel (Root, 2000). According to the UN Development Programme, 6 out of 10 poorest people in the world are women (Programme, 2013). Their lower economic status affects their choices of transport, making them lesser mobile than men. Women, therefore often chose to work closer to their residence at the cost of better work or higher pay. The availability of jobs and social services becomes lesser available to women.

The travel pattern and behaviour through gender differences, especially for women have been mostly studied under the context of work-home transit, with women having shorter work trips than men. Gender along with other factors influences the access to resources of time, money, skills, and even technology. This plays a decisive role in determining the choice of mode of transport, timing, frequency, and purpose of the travel. Therefore, household responsibilities, housing, and labour-market, time and space restrictions produce restricted access to transport to women.

Bodies are bearers of embodied skills, i.e., the skills learned by individuals are a reflection of their social identity, and socialization provides a social meaning to it (Law, 1999). Though initially having similar physical potential, the capabilities and skills are constructed in a gendered manner. Studies have highlighted that women have lesser access to private transport than men, and have a greater dependency on public transport.

A large part of the study under gender and transport has focussed on the aspects of home-work trips, and their gendered distinctions. This is a direct product of western urban growth, with a larger share of women entering the labour force than earlier. Several large-scale, quantitative studies have been undertaken by transport agencies, and urban geographers and factors like trip distance, choice of mode, and purpose, etc. are used to define the phenomenon (Beuret, 1991; Little, 1994). However, this has overlooked and side-lined a large aspect of the transport behaviour-related aspect i.e., the non-work-related trips (including those for leisure activities). Daily activities like education, healthcare, social and political interaction, tourism, etc. also make a larger part of potential travelling needs. These non-work-related daily activities can also be a greater part of the way mobility is understood and perceived by the commuters than their work-related counterparts.

Gender and Fear of Crime

Fear of crime can be understood as a sense of vulnerability, or anxiety, which are products of individual experiences, social relations, and interactions with space (Yavuz & Welch, 2010). The fear of crime has a determinant impact on the interaction of the individual with space, and their decisions regarding it. Fear of crime must be understood differently from the actual crime committed. “As opposed to the actual crime committed, fear of crime is not a mathematical

calculation of actual risk but rather, an emotional response of dread or vulnerability that a person associates with a crime or even the symbols of crime” (Koskela H. , 1997, p. 304).

There exist gender differences in fear of crime. Ironically, there exists a paradoxical relationship between actual crime and the fear of crime, which is also established in the field of urban anthropology, sociology, and criminal studies. Studies on crime and fear of crime have highlighted that though men are more likely to be the victim of crime in public settings, especially transit spaces ((Smith, 2008; Hsu, 2011) women are relatively more fearful of crime (Riger, 1989; Sideris & Fink, 2009; Yavuz & Welch, 2010). Scholars have also pointed out that there exists a difference in the patterns of fear and the reasons behind it. Fear of crime for men and women occurs at a very far off on the spectrum. Studies have observed that men have a greater fear of violent assault, whereas women are more fearful of sexual assault (Sideris & Fink, 2009). With cases of violence including sexual violence, women are disproportionately more victimized. Valentine in her study has highlighted that women’s fear of crime stems from a fear of victimization by men (Valentine G. , 1989b), or that fear of crime among women is essentially a result of fear of sexual assault, in which they are victimized more than men (Hsu, 2011). Thus, what emerges from the literature is that though men and women both face similar kinds of threats like thefts, assault, etc., crimes like sexual assault, and rape are committed majorly against women by men. Incidents of teasing, groping, intimidation, sexual comments, catcalling or, other ‘minor’ incidents with sexual undertones reinstate the fear of crime on the women and heighten their sense of vulnerability. Viswanath et al., call these ‘minor’ incidents as the ‘violence of normal times’ i.e., these crimes are often lesser in the degree to strictly fall under the category of ‘crime’, though they continuously limit and restrict the access of public sphere of the public spaces to women (Viswanath & Mehrotra, 2007; Sideris & Fink, 2009). The fear of crime among women, therefore, is strictly not due to their physical vulnerability (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981), but instead of the social context of everyday incidents of harassment and the threats of greater violence (Viswanath & Mehrotra, 2007).

Studies by Walklate and others suggest that the presumed ‘irrational’ high fear of crime among women that is highlighted in most of the studies and surveys on transit safety is also a result of underreporting by women, due to the victim’s fear of shame, victim-blaming, and also due to complex and tedious police and criminal procedures (Heidensohn, 1989; Walklate, 2004). The ‘hidden victimization’ i.e., the experiences that are not brought out to other people or the public,

therefore adds to the difference between fear of crime and actual crime, where women might face equal victimization as men (Painter, 1992; Pain, 1993).

However, studies have also highlighted that men neglect their victimization, and ignore their risk of fear under the guise of masculinity, whereas, women tend to report more fear of crime. The men's fear of crime and its impact on their travel behaviour and mobilization is often discounted in research. Loukaitou Sideris argues that research has often prioritized and focussed majorly on the women's accounts of transit violence (Loukaitou-Sideris A. , 2014). Researchers have pointed that fear of victimization harms the movement of men also in public spaces, and thus there is a pressing need to address the fear of crime on men too. The assumption of hysteria, or the irrational fear of women, is based on the premises that establish the men's fear and their reaction as the norm. If reversed, it can be argued that the relatively lower level of fear reported by men, even though being victimized manifold than women is 'irrational'.

Researches on transit safety have shown that train travel is one of the most fearful public activity, as commuters are confined within the space and there is complete unknowability of the assaulter (Walsh, 1999). Here, gender emerges as the most significant factor related to anxiety and victimization in transit spaces (Loukaitou-Sideris A. , 2005). The experiences faced by an individual in the city are determined by their class and privilege (Viswanath & Mehrotra, 2007). This privilege is defined by an array of social identities age, race, class, cultural and educational background, sexual orientation, and disability status. However, these social groups must not be seen as homogenous or stereotypical, as these identities interact with each other producing a matrix of vulnerability in unique contexts (Gilchrist, J., Ditton, & Farrall, 1998).

Fear of crime is one of the most important factors that restrict or limit the use of public transport for individuals. It also has a considerable impact on both choice, and captive riders, where they modify their usage of public transport in response to the fear of sexual assault (Pain R. , 2000; Cheng Y. H., 2010). Captive riders/ Non-Choice riders are those who use public transport as they either cannot drive or cannot afford their vehicle, whereas Choice riders are those who can drive and own cars but opt to travel through public transit. Hsu in her research on the transport-behavioural impact of fear of crime finds that the responses can be both short-adjustments like getting off the train at certain stations, opting for a specific spot on the train, sitting or standing in women-only compartments (Hsu, 2011), to long last psychological

impacts like social isolation, reduced self-esteem, and an increased sense of vulnerability (Loukaitou-Sideris A. , 2014).

Aim of the Study

The overarching research question of this thesis is: “what role does performances of masculinity play in limiting the accessibility of public transport to women?.” The supplementary question following the main explorations is to understand “how women commuters of Metro Railways understand, perceive, and define masculinity and its linkage to harassment in public transport.”

Unequal accessibility of public space to women has received significant attention from both urban and feminist academicians. The gendered patterns of mobility, economic restrictions of equal access of public transport to women, harassment, and violence against women in public transport, the masculinised nature of public spaces including transport settings have been dwelled in deep by different scholars in varying contexts. Scholars like Amy Dunckel Graglia (2016) who have done their research in Mexico, and even several national and international organisations like UN Women & Jagori (2011) have looked into how gendered are the transport agencies, ignoring distinct and specific needs of the women travellers.

There is an evident lack in the way gender studies, mobility studies, and feminist discourses have interacted to understand how the everyday performances of masculinities affect the accessibility of women in public transport. This study thus attempts a two-fold goal. Firstly, and primarily, it focuses to provide a stand-point understanding from the women on how they understand masculinity and its impact on their access to transport facilities. It is done through the empirical analysis of the experiences of the commuters, and how they perceive these incidents and the perpetrators. Another aspect that must also be kept here is that though research on the availability of public transport has been conducted in the Global South, the framework, categories and even the methodology used have often been lifted from the context of the Global North.

Secondly, the analysis of women's experiences in public transport leads to the understanding of space, mobility, and knowledge as a conceptual framework. It aims to demonstrate the transport environment, like other public spaces is operationalised in a gendered manner, with unequal access to women, mobilities being shaped through the perpetration of violence. The

women do not occupy the public domain as equal citizens, and consumers of the service, where both the ‘fear of crime’ and the actual crime create a ‘hostile and unwelcoming environment’ for them. The conceptual framework consisting of space, rhythm, mobilities and gendered nature of spaces, have been used simultaneously with data collection and literature review. The literature used in this research was guided by the experiences of the respondents of the survey questionnaire and in-depth interviews besides the literature reviewed before conducting the study. These theories, theorists, and the literature (including Lefebvrian Rhythm analysis) was brought together in the analysis process. The major concepts that have been used in the thesis were used throughout the chapters dealing with the empirical data creating insights about the experiences of sexual harassment in public transportation.

The aim of the study has been achieved through a field study and empirical qualitative analysis, which subsequently shaped the development of the thesis. The interest of the researcher is to explore the Metro Railways in Hyderabad, as a part of public space, as a site of mobility, while at the same time examining how women negotiate the space in their everyday life. The elaborate and specific objectives of the research are a product of this exploration. With the intention to explore the city and especially metro railways as a site of mobility, unequally accessible to women, I also wanted to understand the negotiations against the risk of sexual violence or aggression. This led to the formulation of the following research objectives:

- 1) To explore the everyday experiences and negotiations of individuals with the city, Hyderabad, and the Hyderabad Metro Railways.
- 2) To understand the ways in which sexual harassment manifests in Hyderabad Metro Railways and its key features.
- 3) To understand how incidents of sexual harassment impact mobility, accessibility, and the negotiations over time.
- 4) How women commuters of Hyderabad Metro Railways understand, perceive, and define masculinity and its linkage to sexual harassment in Metro Railways.

The research aims along with the conceptual framework that has been used in the research allowed a better understanding of the multi-faceted manifestations of sexual harassment in public transportation including its temporal and spatial embodiments. Now, I will provide a general structure and overview of the thesis and its organisation.

Thesis Overview

Chapter One: Introduction, includes review of literature, research questions, research objectives, Methodology, and Research Design for the study. The chapter provides a brief account of the prevalence of sexual harassment in public transport across the globe and its menacing impact, especially on women. The chapter lays out the severity of the issue of sexual harassment as a global pandemic in nearly all walks of life, gradually moving to the specific environment of public transportation. Public transport as a compulsory and intermediary space acts as a link and interconnecting space between domestic and public space. Therefore, sexual harassment in public transportation not only impact individuals' security and comfort in transit space but also limits their accessibility to the city itself. The chapter also lays out the definitions of sexual harassment across feminist, sociological and criminological discourses.

Developing upon the introduction, the chapter further develops a guide and explanation on the methodology for the research and research design that has been utilised in this thesis. In the methodological orientation and in dealing with such a sensitive and intra-personal issue, the feminist discourse on the stand-point theory and researcher's reflexivity has been focussed. After this, I have detailed how online survey-questionnaire and semi-structured interviews have been used to gather details about their experiences, and perceptions of Metro Railways in Hyderabad. I have finally, then outlined the process of data gathering and data analysis, empirically.

The thesis had been organised in a manner that the relevant literature is presented in each chapter before the empirical analysis. However, here in this chapter, a broader literature review has also been outlined about sexual harassment and the literature that has been utilised in the subsequent chapters. Beginning with the academic discourse on Masculinities, it moves towards the feminist and anthropological literature on gendered construction of spaces. Following this, it reviews the literature on the gendered distinctions of Mobility, and how it generates a gender-specific need and concerns. Including both feminist, and criminological perspectives, it reviews the literature that deals with the relationship between gender and fear of crime, particularly in public space, about how this fear manifests and is experienced differences across contexts.

The second chapter, i.e., **Chapter Two: Flaneuring in the City: Gender and Mobility of Hyderabad Metro Railways**, focuses on the everyday experiences and negotiations of the respondents with the city i.e., Hyderabad and Hyderabad Metro Railways. This chapter

establishes the context for the explanation of sexual harassment in a gendered urban landscape. Flaneur and its gendered nature have been used as a concept to critically analyse women's mobility in the city, both historically and in the contemporary city. The chapter also graphs the evolution of urban modernity and with it the birth of newer sociabilities and rhythms of modern cities and their public life. The latter half of the chapter, using the data collected through interviews and surveys, along with the concepts of rhythms and flaneur analyses the sociabilities and negotiations in Hyderabad city. The account of an individual's mobility through the lenses of outlined concepts presents a different way to understand the gendered nature of urban spaces and the negotiations to exist in the city, avoiding the risk of fear or restrictions.

In **Chapter Three: The City, Hyderabad Metro Railways and Sexual Harassment**, the mobilities perspective has been used, particularly the Lefebvrian (2004) concept of Rhythmanalysis, and Cresswell's (2010) concept of Friction. To explore the manifestation, and experiences of sexual harassment in Hyderabad Metro Railways, illustrative accounts of sexual harassment has been presented and analysed. It is used to explain how the specific mobilities and rhythms of the city permeate and influence individuals' mobilities, facilitating and concealing sexual harassment. The ways in which women respond to the experiences of sexual harassment, the impact of the Metro Railways sociabilities in determining their responses inside a closed, mobile space of temporary inhabitation. Lastly, it lays out how the transitory nature of the space, with only a fleeting nature of the interaction between individuals also facilitates the perpetrator to commit sexual harassment anonymously, remaining hidden. Using the mobilities perspective, this chapter outlays the ways in which the spatiotemporal context of a space creates an environment where harassment can be perpetrated.

Chapter Four: Negotiating Metro Spaces and Experiences: Memory and Performances against Sexual Harassment, deals with the aftermath of the incident of sexual harassment and the negotiations to deal with it. It is done by using the concept of memory of sexual harassment on the individuals and their movement in the city. The immediate and long-term impact of sexual harassment has been dealt with and explained through feminist and sociological discourses on memory. Three case studies of women's experiences of sexual harassment inside the Metro train has been used along with the conceptual framework of trauma and memory. Its analysis presents the ways in which memories of past experiences, shape the present inhabitation and interaction with the city including Metro railways. Moving beyond the notion of fear, victimisation, and vulnerability it deals with the negotiations made by women survivors

to claim their space, continuously adapting and renegotiating the social and spatiotemporal adjustments. Drawing on the case studies, the analysis through the conceptual framework allows us to explore and explain the impact of sexual harassment in public transport and the negotiations to be present in the city, as comfortably and securely as possible, over time.

Chapter Five: Masculinity at Play: Masculine Performances and their impact in Metro Railways, deals with the aspect of masculinity, its manifestation and performances in Metro railways. In this chapter, taking on the Michael Schwalbe's notion of Masculinist self, I explain the inconveniences and discomfort that women commuters of Metro railways experience and the ways in which they perceive these acts of masculinity. A vast academic discourse and debate has covered the relationship between different aspects of masculinities and violence, both at interpersonal level and large-scale violence's likes wars. The chapter also indulges in the discursive development of the masculine attributes in the present world order. Based on the accounts of the interviewees, both men and women, the chapter deals with the everyday negotiations that are being made to transverse Metro Railways. As has been highlighted through both the literature review and the respondents account, there exists a difference in the perception of these violence and aggression by men and women. the chapter concludes with explaining the root cause of this differential perception and the failure of men in understanding the pain and discomfort of others (in this case women) is due to necessity of narrowing the moral self, to survive the masculinity.

Chapter Six, i.e., Conclusion, is the last chapter of this thesis and in this chapter, I bring together all the findings throughout the research, discussing the fulfilment of research aims of each chapter, along with the central overarching research aim of this study. It presents the original contribution provided by this research to knowledge regarding it, further, highlighting the scope and area of future research and policy and planning implications.

Methodology and Research Design

This section provides a systemic and complete details of the approaches, methods, and epistemologies that have been used for the research. They have played a guiding and determining role from the very beginning of the research including formulation of the research question, data collection, analysis of the data, and finally the presentation of the findings. The central theme of the research is to understand the fear of crime and harassment

in the Hyderabad Metro Railways, within the context of masculinities. Furthermore, it also aims to study the limitations of access to public transport, and the city itself; the role played by gender differences and masculinities.

The study initially took an ethnographic approach, and has also been utilised, however, due to the restrictions of the Covid-19 pandemic and contained mobility, survey questionnaire, and interview schedule was used primarily for the process of data collection. The interview method was fruitful due to the nature of the research inquiry.

In the following section I will elaborate the methodological approaches adopted in the research along with the feminist epistemologies, including the standpoint theory and the relevance of the researcher's reflexivity. I will also provide thorough details of the methods used for data collection, beginning with observations that were made during the fieldwork. It will help in explaining the understanding of the space, and individual performances performed within it. Following this, I will describe the process of data-collection through survey-questionnaire, followed by semi-structured interviews, and the justifications for the choice of methods used. The details of the recruitment of the respondents and the sampling process will also be provided in this chapter.

Feminist epistemologies and Stand-point theory

Standpoint theory is a product of second-wave feminism which started during the 1960s and lasted for nearly two decades and included its prominent advocates including Nancy Hartsock, Smith, and Patricia Hill Collins among others (Hartsock, 1997; Smith, 1997; Collins, 1997). Nielsen and Longino have highlighted three basic tenets of standpoint epistemologies viz. acknowledgement of the power relations, situated knowledge, and the acknowledgement of marginalised standpoint (here it is the case of feminist standpoint (Nielsen, 1990; Longino, 1999). Feminists have used this interpretive epistemology as against or in counter to the positivist notions and realist approaches that claim to produce independent social reality. The process consists of similar steps where data collection is followed by its analysis and finally the writing process. The standpoint epistemology guides the process and pushes towards providing equal and unbiased space in the analysis to diverse and varied experiences and perspectives provided by different social groups and actors. In the quest for objective knowledge, through the positivist explorations, certain knowledge is often privileged over others. This privilege is not necessarily epistemological, but are political or even ethical.

However, as Alison Wylie in her essay, “Why Standpoint Matters” argues the usage of inversion thesis in the Standpoint approach i.e., those who are subordinate or being in the subjugated state under the social power relations, experience social phenomenon differently, and thus, also their understanding of these experiences stands different (Wylie, 2003). The Standpoint theory, as Hartsock and others have acknowledged has its roots in the Marxist framework, and borrows from the theorisation of “the standpoint of the proletariat” (Hartsock, 1997; Harding, 1997; Wylie, 2003). She argues that the women live and their experiences carry the potential to be the critique of the dominant patriarchal knowledge production, similar to the proletariat living in the capitalist mode of society (Hartsock, 1997).

However, the feminist standpoint doesn’t stand as an advocate of the automatic epistemological privilege, neither the standpoint is reduced to the mere social location of the individuals. Donna Haraway in her essay, “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective” has reinstated this argument that “There is no single feminist standpoint because our maps require too many dimensions for that metaphor to ground our visions” (Haraway, 1988, p. 590). No knowledge here stands as the objective truth of the phenomenon or society, but that every knowledge is partial and subjective. Similarly, none of the social groups exists in any isolation from others, limited to their social locations, having their own and unique worldview. Gramsci, in his argument on the nature of identity has noted that “one’s capacity to think and act in the world is dependent on other people, who are themselves also both subjects and objects of history” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 346). The individuals themselves are the product of their social relations and their history. The feminist standpoint emphasizes actualities of the everyday life that women live, under the specific context of their particular environment. Highlighting the importance of everyday life and its experiences, Smith argues that “it is through and through saturated with the social relations, including the social relations of discourse, in which what is being spoken of is embedded as well as those of which the moment of speaking is part” (Smith, 1997, p. 395). Speaking up through their own experiences, about their categories and classifications opens up a critique of the dominant and hegemonic understanding, from which the marginalised are often left unheard and unheeded. The accumulation of their experiences of communication, omissions or what is granted, and the thorough understanding of their social relations, henceforth is a language in itself, which Michael Polanyi calls “tacit knowledge” (Polanyi, 1967).

Ethnographer's Reflexivity in Research

A product of late modernity, brought in the enquiry after the unearthing of Malinowski's diary after his death, "A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term" (2004), reflexivity is now an inseparable aspect of anthropological discipline for the past three decades. In the post-positivist phase of anthropological and even sociological studies, reflexivity stands as a necessary methodological and guiding doctrine that has unsettled and questioned several epistemological claims of the past. For Jennifer Robertson, "reflexivity describes the capacity of any system of signification, including a human being-an anthropologist-to, turn back upon or to mirror itself" (Robertson, 2002, p. 785). The reflexive approach works as a check to the claims of the realist, and positivist agendas claiming a presupposed supremacy of the researcher over the researched, resulting in the "subjectification" of the people among whom the study is being conducted. It brings the positionality of the researcher at the question, along with their situational knowledge, perceptions and, worldview, and its contribution/effect/influence on the research. Disentanglement of the power relations between the researcher and researched is one of the pivotal purposes of reflexivity. Anderson defines reflexivity as "self-conscious introspection guided by a desire to better understand both self and others through examining one's actions and perceptions in reference to and dialogue with those of others" (Anderson, 2006, p. 382). In the theorization of reflexivity by Anthony Giddens, knowledge assumes critical importance, which separates the act of reflexivity from self-reflection. For him, "should be understood not merely as self-consciousness but as the monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life" based on rationalization (Giddens, 1984, p. 3). Jay Ruby in her seminal work, "A Crack in the Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology" (2016), reflected on the existence of the idea of 'reflexive thinking', about storytellers, and evoked the examples of some of the earlier ethnographical works of reflexive approaches including "Return to Laughter" (1954) and "Behind Many Masks" (1962). Ian Burkitt has emphasized reflexivity as mere rationalisation of thoughts and social experience but also involves relational, dialectical, and emotional events (Burkitt, 2012). Here emotion stands as an intrinsic and unavoidable part of reflexivity. To Mary Holmes, reason and emotion are an inseparable part of reflexivity, with an interactional/dialectical relation between them, Holmes in her article in Sociology, emphasises the "emotionalisation" of the theories of reflexivity (Holmes, 2010). Bourdieu's reflexive sociology, overcomes the practical challenges of reflexivity, without it becoming uncritical, generating a critical ethnography, and theoretical apparatus for the newer model of interpretative analysis (Kenway & McLeod, 2004). [Reflexivity calls] less for intellectual

introspection than for the permanent sociological analysis and control of sociological practice...It entails...the systematic exploration of the unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 40). Bourdieu focussing on the scholastic point of view, explains that it is an intellectual biasedness, a product of academics, which already constitutes its own sets of dispositions and perspectives. This singular, objective, and motionless viewpoint, the scholar's perspective is regarded universal "Since all the subjects find placed there..., and assured of having the same objective view" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 21). Renouncing 'scholasticism', and repudiating the 'scholastic fallacy', Bourdieu demands a relentless historicism and continuous analysis of one's thoughts and perceptions (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 121).

Methods and Methodologies

This dissertation is based on ethnography, as it enables the researcher to study the everyday life of the inhabitants in their social setting i.e., in the Hyderabad Metro Railways. To better understand the day-to-day activities, in the contextual setting, with some degree of participation provides a more nuanced and deeper meaning to the actions. Ethnography as a research medium "convey the inner life and texture of the diverse social enclaves and personal circumstances of urban societies" with the aim to be "more sympathetic to the human beings involved" (Lowe & Short, 1990, p. 7). Therefore, while preparing for data collection, it became necessary for me to travel within the Hyderabad Metro Railways to understand the spatial peculiarities, social interactions, and performances being played out in the Hyderabad Metro Railways (HMR).

This research derives its primary data through the survey method. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, and the entire world being restricted to solitary confinement and isolation, which continues to some extent in various senses, the survey using a google form was circulated online. The online questionnaire consists of 36 questions divided into two broad categories viz. personal information, and travel experiences in the Metro Railways. The questionnaire for the Survey has been attached in Appendix A of this thesis. In the beginning of the Questionnaire, an informed consent form was attached, only after filling it can the respondents proceed with the survey. Considering the sensitive nature of the information, and due to the obvious restrictions that came with the COVID-19 pandemic, the data was collected through snowball method of sampling. A total of 81 respondents filled the questionnaire, which consists of 28 men (34.5%), and 53 (65.5%) women respondents. Important variables, such as age, level of

education, income status, residence and domicile etc., were gathered in the initial part of the survey questionnaire. Further at the end of the questionnaire, an additional question was asked to the respondents for their consent to do a one-on-one interview, with the preferred medium to contact and conduct the interview. A total of 30 respondents gave their consent, and provided their preferred contact details for the interview. Out of these 30 respondents, 23 respondents were women and, 7 men respondents.

In-depth and concrete data for the research was gathered through interviews, both done face-to-face, and online. As said earlier, the Covid-19 pandemic has greatly affected my mobility and in-person interactions, so online interviews proved a necessary and important method for the interviews. Looking at the earlier researches conducted on similar sensitive issues, I found that in most of the studies either survey methods have been used or rapid assessments. However, using interviews, as a qualitative method adds to the above modes, while widening the scope of inquiry, which may have been gone unnoticed otherwise. Interviews, that are not hard-bound, i.e., are semi-structured or even unstructured provides ample opportunity to move beyond the visible and observable, being highly limited to the researcher's worldview and categorizations. It opens up a more dialectical and space, providing ample opportunities for the respondent for a deeper dialogue focusing majorly on the respondents' answers and their point of view. Oakley emphasises on creation of 'reciprocity' between the researcher and the respondents, which further facilitates intimacy and rapport building (Oakley, 1981, p. 49). Also, it generates a space, where even the respondents feel capable of asking back to the respondents, thus forming a two-way channel for interaction.

The interview questions were open-ended; as necessary primary information was already collected through the questionnaire. The interview schedule is divided into three broad categories. The first part of the schedule consisted of the questions regarding their usage pattern of public transport and city space of Hyderabad city. In the second part, the questions dealt specifically with their experiences in the Metro Railways, challenges, and factors that affect their travel behaviour. The third and last part focuses on how do they perceive masculinities and their performances, harassment, and the fear of crime. It also enquires them regarding their coping strategies and mechanisms. As the research was semi-structured, the schedule only facilitated to guide and direct the interview and was not to regulate the questions and their framework.

In the data collection, and further in the analysis of the data, utmost care was taken to avoid any homogenisation of the experiences of women. Women must not be understood as a homogenous category, where they neither share a similar worldview nor material conditions, hence negating any unitary basis of evaluating their experiences and understanding. Patricia Hill Collins has also highlighted the need to differentiate between the experiences of women (Collins, 1990). Therefore, an intersectional approach was adopted in the interviews where the gendered experiences were inquired concerning other social positions including caste, religion, class, age, disability status, and other differences of marginalisation.

Data Analysis

Focusing on how individuals construct and explain their experiences, implying that the experiences are construction and identity of self, I have used narrative analysis for the research. In the method-theory debate over objectivity and validity, the understanding of human beings as narrators is often neglected, which otherwise enables the researcher to explore and examine their experiences and their meaning and motives as a text (Sandelowki, 1991). This is done here, through the use of dual analysis, firstly through the participant's explanation and interpretation of their own experiences, the symbols, and meanings attached to it, and then analysis of these accounts paralleling with literature and conceptual framework available. In doing so, I have used a dual interpretation and explanations of these social phenomena and individual experiences. In their accounts of the experiences, the respondent aims to produce the most consistent and coherent explanation of the past in present, living present, expanding to the present future. In their "remembering moments" (Spence, 1982, p. 31), "tellings are remembrances, retrospections and constructions about the past in a fleeting present moment soon to be past" (Freeman, 1984, p. 4). In this research, my explicit aim is not to understand the truth, but rather how meanings and motives are attached to these experiences. Deployment of narrations is often critiqued as story-telling, where the respondents are positioned as the narrator and the researcher as an audience, trying to create a distinction between truth and fiction. Clifford Geertz responding to this debate argues that exists due to the confusion between "imagined with the imaginary, the fictional with the false, and the making things-out with making-things-up" (Geertz, 1988, p. 140).

Abductive reasoning or abductive approach has been used in this research over deductive or inductive approach. The Abductive approach overcomes the shortcoming of the lack of clarity

regarding the use of theory and hypothesis formulation in the deductive method, whereas the inductive suffers the inadequacy that no amount of empirical data will necessarily enable theory building (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2012). Through the pragmatic perspective, using logical inferences, the phenomenon narrated by the individuals are elucidated through the best possible explanations, using both numerical and conceptual frameworks. In the process of research, along with data collection, I was simultaneously engaged in the constant review of the literature. Through the conceptual frameworks used, I also filtered individual experiences and tried to find if they substantiated or contradicted further interview experiences. Doing this enabled me to understand an individual's interpretation, along with contextualisation with others as a whole.

As in cases, where the abductive approach is preferred or needed the initial process of analysis provided unique and deep descriptions of the experiences. Through correlation and comparison, codes and congruence were established, further analysed with the conceptual framework laid out in the thesis. The data management of the research was done, without use of any software for qualitative analysis, allowing in-depth involvement and interaction with the data. Beginning with scribbling and doodling, underlining and highlighting the key points of the interview transcripts, the first structured analysis commenced after the completion of all the interviews. Initially, through individual familiarity with each source, I proceeded to highlight the key elements of the interview beginning individual interaction and belonging with the city (this was also substantiated by the response from the survey with details about how long they have lived in the city, their demographic details, their experiences in city and metro), their experience with the city and Metro railways and finally, details of the incidents (where, when, what, and how).

A visual description was thus available to me, as a product of this exercise outlying the incidents, its temporalities, demography of the individuals, details of the incidents, their responses and both the immediate and overall impact on the individual. The analysis followed a spiral process, cyclic in nature with continuous analysis of the narrations with a constant review of the literature. The initial analysis was split into 4 core themes, which also forms the empirical chapters of the research: experiences with the Hyderabad city and Hyderabad Metro Railways in a broader sense, incidents of sexual harassment inside metro space, the impact and negotiation with the experiences, and the understanding of masculinity as a causal factor. The individual experiences were organised in a systematic pattern based on the spatial temporalities of the city and Metro Railways, their experiences and the manifestation of the incidents. Thus,

through this process, I could connect the data, and highlight the notable concepts to organise and work along with the framework.

Chapter Two

FLANEURING IN THE CITY: GENDER AND MOBILITY IN HYDERABAD METRO RAILWAYS

Introduction

The rise of industrialisation in Europe in the 19th century, with the development of urban centres as ports, production centres, economic and political capitals, and administrative hubs created a huge inflow of population from the rural settings to cities. The freedom and access to greater physical mobility, i.e., the ease of movement from one place to other with a lesser challenge, defining the process of urbanisation, stands as an important hallmark of modernity. The development of cities and the kind of new social relations being formed in the urban centres has been an important concern for academicians. Studies have highlighted that the design and devolvement of space, in this case, urban centres, defines and affects everyday life and their social relations with and within the city. Sanjay Srivastava has argued that space possesses a dual nature, both an object and as a process, not natural in their attributes, and having social character (Srivastava, 2012). Many feminist scholars have also argued that “space is not given but is ‘constructed,’ and that “people make space as much as space makes people” (Phadke, Khan, & Ranade, 2011, p. 66). Spaces and social structures are intrinsically interconnected and share a dialectical relationship. As Lefebvre stated that “Social (space) is a social construct”, i.e., spaces are themselves socially constructed, and social structures play in the production of the space (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith, 1991). Therefore, the city i.e., Hyderabad, and Hyderabad Metro Railways, must not be understood as a mere site of commute, but also as a place that constructs social structures and space through its impact on the everyday life of the inhabitants.

In the previous chapter, we reviewed the concepts of space, gender, and masculinity. I will begin this chapter with the conceptualisation of flaneur (discussed in detail in the next section), and its gendered nature, to understand the mobility of individuals in the city. To understand this, it becomes necessary to understand the rise of modernity and the development of the process of metropolitan. Deploying the concepts of loitering, space and harassment, I will analyse the empirical findings of the commuter’s everyday life in the city of Hyderabad and Hyderabad Metro Railways. In the empirical analysis, I will begin with the broader everyday

interaction of the people with the city. Exploring their movement, loiter, and fear will bring forward the fashion in which their urban sociabilities are designed and performed, and how it impacts their experiences. As ‘the city is not just a backdrop but an active participant’ they perform varied roles in the structuration of social roles. Being an ‘embodied experience’, experienced differently by different individuals, space can act as both a site of comfort or even stress and anxiety. Through the theoretical use of the earlier stated concepts, I will explore that how both the city and Hyderabad Metro Railways, can induce a sense of freedom and fear. This will enable us to understand the accessibility of the city, and metro spaces, and the impact of fear and harassment as a barrier to their everyday sociabilities. The chapter will show us that the fear of harassment or gendered violence and inaccessibility affects women’s freedom and their right to the city.

Loitering: Gender, Modernity and the City

Shilpa Phadke argues that the idea of loitering, i.e., physically occupying public spaces is essential to the claim of city citizenship (Phadke, Khan, & Ranade, 2011). Loitering is a subversive activity by nature, which is completely voluntary, anti-conformist, with an absolute lack of purpose. Through the concept of loitering, we will be able to understand the gendered nature of the interaction with the public space visible in the daily life of individuals. On the aspect of physical mobility in the city, Loukaitau Sideris states that not every section of the society, especially women had equal access to freely move around in the city. In contemporary society also, women continue to face several challenges including accessibility, and lack of freedom that restricts their free movement and the threat of harassment or gendered violence constitutes an important reason for it.

One of the finest example of these acts of loitering finds place as a comical figure of Flaneur in the 19th century “The Physiologies”, and in the works of Balzac, while depicting the Parisian lifestyle. Edgar Allen Poe, drew the earliest English caricature of the flaneur in his short story, “The Man of the Crowd”, published in 1980, about an unattached all-observing man in the city market. Later, Baudelaire also wrote an essay on flaneur in his essay, “The Painter of Modern Life” (Baudelaire, 2010), written in 1863. Walter Benjamin, inspired by flaneur, and Baudelaire’s works developed its characteristic in relation to modernism and definition in “The Arcades Project” (Benjamin, 1999). The flaneur originated in the period of mass urbanisation, is an embodiment of liberating, and pleasurable enjoyment through aimless, and anonymous

loiter in the public spectacle. Essentially a male figure, and a symbol of “urban consciousness”, flaneur remains a key element of urbanism and modernity (Wilson, 1991). The flaneur has been portrayed as an idle urban man, in the public sphere, without any specific destiny or purpose, indulged in the pleasure of walking and observation. It is essentially, an urban construct, a product of modernity, unattached to the surrounding, indulged in the transgressive street walking. Flânerie, i.e., the act of flaneur consists of two major constituents – unrestricted access, and anonymity. As Baudelaire described it as “to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden” (Baudelaire C. , 1964, p. 9). This “civil inattention” as Goffman called this ‘sociability’ is a product of modern cityscapes (Goffman, 1963), based on the notion of ‘public life’, and conditions of ‘co-presence. Loukaitau argues that when men’s wandering was being romanticised as explorers, adventurous strollers, women’s presence in the street without any purpose was a cause of angst and stress (Loukaitou-Sideris A. , 2016).

In the post-colonial Indian literature, we find similar tropes of the flaneur, as an essential part of the modern cities, typically male. One significant example amongst it is “Delhi: A Novel” (1990), written by Khuswant Singh, where the protagonist portrays a typical flaneur behaviour through its unrestricted and aimless strolling, roaming and observing the city. Amit Chaudhari’s protagonist Jayojit Chatterjee, in his fourth novel, “A New World” (2000), presents a cosmopolitan, diasporic flaneur. Here the narrator-protagonist focuses on the mundane and banal activities and spaces of the city. In both the writing, however, these characters have been shown as both financial and culturally elite, having access to places not only outside the city but also their nation. Reflecting on his idea of a flaneur, Chaudhari describes it as:

“The flaneur stops, starts, pauses again, ponders, constantly stuck by the unremarkable object that the city passers-by don’t notice. Things, thresholds, buildings that have fallen out of use or look like they have...” (Chaudhuri, 2008, p. 231).

There are several other works in modern Indian literature, where the tale of cities is told by an urban, male stroller. Aravind Adiga’s, “The White Tiger” (2008), stands out as another important example of these writings. In all this writing, whether of the 19th century Europe, or even as in the Post-colonial cities of Bombay, Kolkata, and Delhi, the flaneur is the arch type of modernity. The cities have been depicted as a site of masculine presence, with access to the spaces. In the works of Arun Kolatkar “Kala Ghoda” (2004), we experience the city, Bombay, through very, masculine perspectives, through the flaneur, who knows the city inside out.

Women in the city

Janett Wolff denies the possibility of female flaneur i.e., flaneuse in the 19th century, given the social structures, and the prevalent sexual division of labour (Wolff, 1985). Scholars have argued that the construct of a flaneur is highly gendered, its availability restricted to males. “These heroes of modernity thus share the possibility and the prospect of lone travel, of voluntary up-rooting, of anonymous arrival at a new place. They are, of course, all men” (Wolff, 1985, p. 40). Women neither historically nor in the contemporary time had an equal share of public accessibility as men did. The division of public and private space is also a construct that helps us understand the different spaces sanctioned to males and females, differently. Wolff through the debate of a female flaneuse in modernist literature illustrated the absence or restricted presence of women in public.

Even when in public, Dreyen argues that women have been both the subject as well as the object of consumerism. The relative absence of freedom to loiter in the streets for women is also linked to their intricate relationship with consumerism. In classic English literature, while describing flaneur, women were often reduced to either shop girls, or prostitutes, and were never treated as equals, having a rightful presence in the city (Wolff, 1985; Sideris, 2016). In 19th century Europe, the ‘nightwalkers’ or women who were in the streets after dark were often understood as prostitutes, who by their mere bodily presence were susceptible to stigmatization, aggression, and even violence. They were either the subject of violence or the object of the male gaze and desire. Women’s failure to perform the purposefulness of their presence in public was either understood as unrespectable, lacking morality, or their sexual availability. The indicators of women physicality, including their dressing sense which, earlier denoted their class and order, has now turned into a sign of their respectability. The gendered relations and sociabilities were an important deterrent to the accessibility of public places like streets and market places. Sennett in his work, “The Fall of Modern Man” (Sennett, 1974), states that women could not access the pubs and hotels of Paris on their own, and “the right to escape to the public privacy was unequally enjoyed by the sexes” (Sennett, 1974, p. 217). The construction of an archetype modern- the hero, the stroller, and stranger in the literature of modernity has also been formulated by ignoring the lives of the women in the society.

Some scholars have argued that female flaneur have always been there in all the facets and times of modern society. One of the most referred, and historically significant is the life and works of Virginia Woolf, who has described her strolling in the Bloomsbury in her works like

“To the Lighthouse” (1990), London, and that was both an intellectual inspiration and a source of pleasure and comfort. Her works like, “The London Scene: Five Essays” (1982) and “Street Haunting” (2005) deals in-depth about her relationship with the city, and that the degree of anonymity, which London gave her is one of the most desirable qualities of the city.

In another example, we have, George Sand, a French novelist who lived in Paris and was one of the most notable and famous among her contemporaries including Victor Hugo, and de Balzac. We find in her everyday life that she used to dress up as a man, with a grey suit and men suits which provided her access to a large part of public spaces, and activities like smoking in public, which was restricted for women (Wolff, 1985). Women in her period were allowed to wear men’s attire only with prior permission from the police, which Sand never acquired. She explains that apart from being cheaper, sturdier, and comfortable, this disguise allowed her to a greater degree of freedom to access, spaces and activities which was unavailable to her, or even to women of social standing. Janet Wolff, however, contends the notion that women never had equal access to the public spaces with similar accessibility, and anonymity as a man. She argues that, only under the disguise of flaneur was the unrestricted, and anonymous access to the public space was available to her, and that the role of flaneuse was unavailable (Wolff, 1985). Though, “the ‘separation of the spheres’ was a very incomplete process” (Wolff, 1985, p. 43), and women were still present in the public space mostly, to earn living, most of them were still employed in the domestic work. Further, in the works of scholars like Janet Wolff, we can see how the rise and development of cities as a masculine space, and the sexual division of labour in the highly-industrialised order, created a dichotomy of private and public space, with women assigned to the former (Wolff, 1985).

Regarding the presence of women, Wolff argues that it was usually the middle-class women, shop girls or prostitutes who could be seen in the public spaces like shops, and streets. These women, even in contemporary times, have access to public space, loaded with purpose, which is to be continuously performed. Not only do we witness restrictions on the accessibility of public spaces for women, but also there are sanctioned activities and performances that are differently available based on gender. These sanctions are not only regulated through individuals but also by religious and community identities. Additionally, this purposefulness is attached inherently to the notion of respectability. The absence of respectability and purpose creates a sense of sexual availability and can attract violence. Shilpa Phadke argues that “this is not an acknowledgement of citizenship but a concession to convenience” (Phadke, 2012, p. 58).

I have deployed the concepts of Flânerie, along with its performers the male flaneur and the female flaneuse, as they act as an important tool to understand the relationship of city residents to the city spaces, and their right to the city. Though it is implied that not all interactions and movements fall under the categorisation of Flânerie, a purposeless, and anonymous strolling, it is also important to understand the level of freedom and individuality available to people in the city as equal beings. As Shilpa Phadke argues that security is not the absence of violence, but a sense of comfort (Phadke, Khan, & Ranade, 2011). Continuous interaction with the city, with the contemporary Hyderabad, along with the patterns, and accessibility, will be engaged along with the empirical accounts in this chapter. Through their everyday motilities, both in the public urban spaces, and the Metro Railways, I aim to redefine the understanding of the active presence of women in public spaces, as a citizen of the city. With the recognition of their pleasure, freedom and anonymity, along with their anxieties and fear of potential risks and violence, I aim to highlight the acts and performances that act as a disruption to their patterns, and rhythms of mobility and their identification with the city.

Gendered Mobilities

In this part of the chapter, through the narratives of research participants/ respondents and their multifaceted interactions with the city I will portray the relationship and the aspects of pleasure and anxiety within contemporary Hyderabad. The narrative analysis of their experiences, and understanding of the city as an individual, using the concept of flânerie and the rhythms of movements will allow us to envision a new way of understanding mobility in the public urban spaces.

I will begin the analysis through the exploration of the residents' experiences with the city in a very broad term including their apprehensions, and expectations from the city, along with the empirical and experiential aspects of independence, flânerie and anxieties. In doing so, I would also bring out the patterns and accessibilities that nurture and build these urban sociabilities which manifest into these experiences. Developing further in the chapter, the focus will shift to the specific context of Metro Railways, though not in isolation from the other urban settings, and the experiences in Metro railways as the site of both pleasure and anxiety, comfort and stress. not as an event but as a process. At the end of the chapter, through narratives, I will highlight how fear of harassment and violence acts as a deterrent to the accessibility of both Metro Railways and the city and on the equal claim on the city, as a citizen of the Metropolis.

Understanding the City life: Moving with the city

Metropolis, or Cities, as a site of modernity, with a distinct sensibility and social order, provides a plethora of opportunities and access that is identical to the urban landscapes, through the lenses of colonialism, stands as an indicator of development and independence. Hyderabad, too among other metro cities in India, exists as a symbol of progress, and development and space to get better opportunities for many. Swati, a 25-year old woman from Karim Nagar, in Telangana describes her first impression of Hyderabad when she moved here 8 years ago:

“Hyderabad always represented a place of opportunities, from education to employment. Since childhood, it was always a place to move to from my home town, without going too far. It represented a place which was both known, and also to be explored by self.”

Amrita, 24, who grew up in the Pedapalli district of Telangana, describes how she came to Hyderabad for higher education, which she had long planned while finishing her class 12th. “I wanted to come here because most of the seniors from my place have done their Higher Education from Hyderabad itself. So I also wanted to come here for my studies, and had planned accordingly to get admission in some university here....”

Similarly, for Priya, a 25-year old woman from Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh, whose first interaction with a Metro City was in Hyderabad, the city stands a representation of choices and independence which was relatively lesser available to her in her home town: “Though this was never first preference of city, now I find it both comfortable and easy to live, in comparison to other metropolitans. It provides similar opportunities as other cities but is yet not completely modern, and I find that comfortable. My only issue is that I should learn Telugu, at the earliest.” In all these descriptions, we see that the respondents have highlighted the freedom or opportunity that the city can provide. Here the perceptions of the city, and the possibilities of choices, preceded its experience and brought them to the city. The 19th-century notion of a modern city, with its emancipatory appeal, portrays and promises a better prospect of life, yet not completely available in rural or sub-urban places.

Though appeal, and desires of the urban opportunities, are responsible factors for this mobility, circumstances play a decisive role. We do see a sense of anticipation and even reluctance in certain cases, as is evident in the case of both Chaitali, 24 years from Delhi and Angelina, 29 years old woman. Chaitali states that “It was my first time away from home, away from family, where I knew no one, everyone was a stranger. Initially, I struggled a lot with it, however, it got into a routine later.” She further adds that that “I am fine now, have friends and contacts in

this city. I still do find parts of this city alien to me, but have become comfortable with it now. I have learnt a lot of things just by being here....” Chaitali left the city after completing her higher education in the city.

However, she took the first job opportunity that she got here, taking a fresh start, and settling here she now sees Hyderabad as a home away from home:

“While studying here, I wanted to leave the city at the earliest, to leave for home. I had my discomforts and hesitations, there was a huge cultural difference and even the language was unknown to me. Being at home for 7 months, I realised that my routine, lifestyle have completely changed, and I wasn’t even comfortable at home. I like Hyderabad now, though I still feel uncomfortable sometimes, a large part of me feels like home here.”

These experiences resonate, what Simmel in their work has highlighted about the gradual shift from shock and anxiety induced by the urban space and lifestyle towards a sense of appreciation and comfort (Simmel, 1903). The lifestyle enabled in the city and the availability of opportunities, facilities the residents from constructing their own space within the city. The multicultural aspect of the city and prospects of a better life has a pull on individuals, far more than generally realised. These elements though not explicitly evident, are present when inspected closely. These are the defining characteristics of Hyderabad, and elements that make it a modern city. Angelina who has lived in the city for more than 3 years speaks that “I like the diversity of this city. The city in its nature and constituent was always diverse and multicultural, which is increasing even more due to the huge inflow of people from other places and states. It is not that there is no racism or incidents of discrimination and othering, but a large part of this city is accepting of each other.” When asked a similar question to Richa, who works in a multinational-tech firm in the city, says that “it is the mix of different people and culture in the city that no one stands a complete outsider here. You will find certain dominant cultures in respective parts of the city, but at the same time, you will see various diversities in them too.” Chaitali, who now works in a digital news organisation in the city also resonated a similar emotion explaining what she likes the most about the city is “that though as an individual, I am aware that I am outsider, and I can even see that perception among the residents of the city. I will stand as an outsider here, as anywhere else, but they usually don’t treat me as other. They don’t act on it.” The diverse nature of the city, and acceptance without othering, becomes an important characteristic that provides a sense of anonymity and fleeting freedom while wandering in the city. As, Anupama, a 22-year-old female student in higher education

and a native of the city add, “I find its peculiar to this city that everyone is partially stranger and partially a native in parts of the city. Everyone and no one neither completely fits in nor stands out.” Though there has been evident vagueness of *flâneuse* in the modern urban landscape, we can argue that we do find its presence in contemporary Hyderabad. Speaking about her experiences in the public spaces of the city, Priya also adds that “Nobody bothers here, I guess no one knows me or even intends to. I know that I will not bump into familiar faces until I don’t want to. This anonymity makes me feel a bit freer. It might be due to the sheer size and ever-increasing population of the city.” Anonymity and the freedom to wander, observing the spectacle being unnoticed are the two most significant attributes of *Flânerie*. This very attribute had been highlighted as an important feature of Hyderabad to many who live in the city, and especially the pleasure of doing it all alone, unaccompanied in the city, as Vaishnavi, a 27 years old woman from Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh, working in a global consulting firm states “I manage every day by myself now. Earlier I used to go out with others, but now I have started liking my own company. I walk around, take a metro or city bus to different places or events in the city by myself. I know this city, and will not be lost. Often, I go out just to have ice cream and spend hours outside.” Adding further she says, “I like outdoors, and I go out often except for work also. Hyderabad in that way is a good place to live in. You can take any route or transport, and can explore a completely new part of the city.” When asked about what he likes about the city, especially regarding freedom, Ravi, a 22-year-old University student says that”

“Hyderabad in a way has opened up an entirely new leisure activity for me, i.e., walking or roaming in the city. It has become my hobby to go around the city exploring new foods, heritage sites, and I even like to go to malls. Once you are out in the city, you can always do something new, and it’s not very costly either. Sometimes due to college, and other works, I am not able to go out for long, still I go around, walking the streets, have chai or something, and just enjoy looking around.”

We find evidences and experiences from the participants that contradicts Janet Wolff’s argument of invisible or elusive *flâneuse* (Wolff, 1985). We do find examples of women strolling around the city, alone, where development in gender relations and lesser constraints on accessibility also has a role to play. Another important aspect highlighted often, in these narrations is the aspect of anonymity. A greater degree of anonymity enables a higher chance of freedom to access and is one of the most significant elements of the act of *Flânerie* (Baudelaire C. , 1964; Wilson, 1991). Hyderabad, as a city, as described by the respondents

provides a greater amount of freedom and privacy, in the public domain also. Akhil, 26 years old college student, pursuing his PhD in Hyderabad, speaking on the public nature of the city and the freedom it provides in public, says that: “for the most of the city I can be here as I want, even do as I want, and people usually do not notice or they ignore.” Arpita, a 37 years old married woman while talking about her experiences in public space in Hyderabad, in comparison to other cities that she has lived in, said that:

“the place from where I am from, people continuously notice you and observe you. Here, for me, it is very negligible, and I know this because before coming to Hyderabad, it had become my habit to notice people stalking and observing me in the city. I go alone to buy cigarettes, even for tea somewhere, and people do not give a shit. It is amazing that though I don’t speak the local language, even dress a little differently, most of the time it goes unnoticed.”

Here we find the representation of the Wolff (1985) argument that cities present a new pattern of behaviour and experiences, and a distinct metropolitan personality, which Simmel calls as blasé attitude, which treats everyone with a greater degree of indifference or even ambivalence in a rapidly changing and contradictory stimuli (Simmel, 1903; 1971). Blasé attitude combined with the flow of money economy, creates a dull sensitivity towards everything, where not one is preferred over the other (Boy, 2021). Speaking on the people’s attitude towards their surroundings, Anupama, who is from Hyderabad states that: “It is visible that people are too busy, and are in a rush themselves to notice others. Sometimes, it might seem that they are unfriendly, but that is not the case. People are running, from or to their offices, have to finish their works, have to catch a bus or MMTS, and are occupied in themselves. It also sometimes acts a protection thing, that they don’t get want to be involved in the happenings of the surrounding.” It becomes evident that even those who are from the city, Hyderabadis are aware of this attitude, which can often be presumed as indifferent or unwelcoming, especially by those who are from outside and are not used to it. Explaining this issue, Bhawna, who has been in this city since her birth and works in a news organisation based out of the city, stated that:

“It is not that we are rude in our behaviour, or completely indifferent, and detached from others. I think, everyone is a stranger to the other in the city, and people like it to be that way. One reason for it might be that there is a very large population in the city, who are outsiders, from different parts of the county and even world, therefore everyone tries to keep themselves to themselves. It is kind of a social norm, especially in metro cities that people

mind their own business, which I like. I can carry on with my business, knowing that no is going to disturb me”

This links us to the idea of ‘metro individuality’ or the ‘blasé outlook’, highlighted in Simmel’s work, where people in modern cities treat others with indifference or even ambivalence, separating themselves from excess and unregulated external stimuli (Simmel, 1903). Also, we find here, what Goffman (1959) has described as ‘civil inattention’ as a mode of maintaining social order and privacy-protection, where individuals explicitly do not acknowledge or distance themselves to each other presence and actions in public spaces. These are very commonplace, though routinely practised acts of the indifference of others presence in public space, where a person makes a temporary, yet personal claim in a shared space avoids their imposition on the personal space of others. Here, through the experiences we witness, there is a very clear difference in the understanding and effect of this subtle communication between those who are accustomed to it, and those who see it as rude and hostile as an outsider. This sociability of ‘individuality’ or ‘civil inattention’ to others, thus also creates a space for the existence of anonymity, a comfort available in the acts of the flaneur.

Baudelaire’s (2010) description of the flaneur, who is “...away from home and yet to feel at home anywhere; to see the world, to be at the very centre of the world, and yet to be unseen of the world ...” resonates in the experiences of the people, especially women where the diverse nature of composition in the metropolitan, provides them with the opportunity and pleasure of anonymity. Chaitali describes a technological tool that enables her a greater degree of inattention and privacy, says that:

“you know, earphones are one of the easiest and most common ways to avoid interaction and attention towards other people in public spaces. I usually plug in my earphone as soon I as get into public, sometimes even when I am not using them to listen to anything. It kinds of sends a signal that I am busy and people very rarely disturb or talk to someone who is wearing an earphone. Also, putting back my earphone, immediately after the conversation means that I am not interested much.”

Along with the descriptions of anonymity, we also find evidence of the social interactions and intimacies, however transitory, to exist as an everyday experience due to constant co-presence in urban life.

Irfan, 26 years old male student from Kerala, currently pursuing a Master degree in a Central University situated in the city stated that:

“I am often squashed in public spaces, especially in the metro, MMTS, or in buses, with people touching my arms and stuff, and most of the times it is unavoidable, as so many people are present around all the time. Like most people, I also look into these acts not committed on purpose but out of conditions and necessity. We cannot avoid people in very close proximity to us, and I think in that way people are very tolerant of each other. It can sometimes be a drawback or an issue, as the intentions often remain ambiguous.”

We also see that these informal, often unintentional urban sociabilities, can also be comforting to individuals while being both anonymous and short-lived. Amrita describes, that “no one is alone here, though they are strangers, there are always people around you. I don’t feel isolated, and these short and fleeting interactions can be comforting sometimes, like someone holding your bag, while I am standing in trains or buses, or someone leaving their seats for me. Everyone is aware of the instant duration of these interactions, and I find these intimacies with no expectations of reciprocation very comforting.”

Scholars argue that these short, transient, and anonymous interactions and fleeting intimacies with strangers are a peculiar phenomenon available exclusively in the urban landscape, usually to men. The anonymous presence, along with the privilege to observe others without the compulsion of interaction, is an essential phenomenon of the flaneur. The experiences of strolling in the city, often devoid of any purpose, along with the voluntary transitory interactions, especially by women, indicate the possibility of the presence of flaneuse in contemporary Hyderabad. However, it is not beyond comprehension that these spaces of anonymity, indifference, and fleeting interactions can also create a hostile, non-consensual and intrusive environment. In the later part of this chapter, we will bring back the debate around these free and fleeting interactions, where women share their experiences of harassment, its risks, challenges, and the impact of their everyday interactions with the city.

Understanding the rhythms acts as an important parameter to help us comprehend how people experience the city, along with their comforts and anxieties in the process. Knowing the intricacies and rhythms, create a sense of both comfort and belonging to the individual. It is a crucial aspect to understand how people negotiate in public spaces, like transit spaces, streets etc. As Bhawna who lives in the older part of the city and often uses Metro and MMTS for transportation states: “I am usually very confident and fearless when I travel around in

Hyderabad, because I know the ways to carry myself. This city has its own rhythm, and once you get used to it, you don't even have to think about it again." A sense of belonging is established, through the corporal everyday performances of the repeated performances, and fulfilment of the right to use. This awareness and the sense of knowing the city is built through accumulated shared experiences, memory and everyday experiences of the self. Getting accustomed to the spatial-temporal nature of the environment leads to a specific understanding of the city, Meherwas whose preference of transport depends on her purpose of going out, as connectivity here is the main criteria of transportation for her says that "I can move around in the city very vaguely and purposelessly, at the same time can be very specific when I need to, and it feels like an achievement. I am aware of the routes, travel patterns and the Hyderabad lingo, can move as swiftly or as slowly as I wish because I know the city."

Michel de Certeau in his book, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) links two elements of 'belong' and 'use' together. Belonging, as he argues is a sentiment born through the repeated use of space in everyday activities, over a period of time. In this theory of territorialisation, de Certeau states that "the spaces that are defined and geographically established by the planners are given a meaning and transformed into a space by the walkers" (1984, p. 117) To Lefebvre, these collective everyday activities are a work of art, territorialisation being done through the usage of the city parts by the residents, walking and appropriating them, thus producing both an individual and collective meaning to the different city spaces. Here, rhythms also constitute the attributes of pace and speed, as an intrinsic part of understanding Hyderabad and its defining elements. Arpita elaborates on this as: "Though exciting and often comforting, the pace of the city and its crowd often becomes exhausting. people are always around you, going somewhere, with no space devoid of people. The all day-all night culture of the city gets tiring over a period of time, where you also must know to withdraw yourself, to be able to go out again."

The understanding of the city's rhythms and its intricacies nurtures a sense of belonging and ownership of the city to both those who have moved here from other places, and to those who grew up here, though it can be in varying degrees. Vaishnavi states that "I am completely different at my native place, then I am here, and it changes instantly as I come here. As soon I step into this city, I behave completely different behaviour while travelling in the city too, I become very fast and quick, with no eye contact with others, occupied in myself. The way I behave also changes, I can smoke almost anywhere here, use rude and

cuss words, spend time alone in places, all of which I can't do back at my place. I even reply or fight back to any issue that I face from other people.” According to Rukhsar, who lives in Uppal has been in the city for a larger part of her life, describing the way the knowledge of the city changes the way of navigating the city says that “I am often a bit arrogant I guess, that I know Hyderabad more than my friends and contacts know about. This is my city, and my claim to the city comes to the greater familiarity with the city and its lifestyle and behaviour.” These experiences provide an account of the ways perception of belonging is built among the people through the awareness of the dominant patterns of rhythms and getting acquainted with them. Though, even complex and often hidden, the embodiment of performances, consciously or subconsciously leads to conviction and confidence in the city. This conviction and comfort franchise them to experience their own ways of *Flânerie*. The city spaces that have been described as a symbol of freedom and choice, made accessible through metropolitan sociabilities, can also be sites of isolation, fear and alienation. Many scholars have argued that urban spaces have been perceived as being dangerous, at least in the initial interaction with the city, particularly for women. The city lifestyle can induce a sense of purpose and excitement, however for others indifference and unforgiving pace of the city and the resultant interaction and sociabilities can also generate a sense of isolation. Speaking about it Shivani Jha, from Bihar, staying in Hyderabad for the past 3 years working as an academic consultant in an online education website says that:

“Hyderabad is a fast city, full of strangers, who do not mind your presence, neither do they interact, which is good many times. Though I have felt that people here do not look at you, they don't give a shit about you. If I start to cry at a metro station, or on a bus, I know that probably no one is going to come and ask me. If you are feeling low in this city, it becomes even harsher and disconnected. I have experienced it several times, that nobody comes to you or talks to you, they will just carry on with themselves.”

The conflicting nature of the urban sociabilities is evident here that along with the desirable attribute of freedom, comfort and anonymity available to the people, often existing very subtly, is also a space of isolation and loneliness for many. Even people who talk excitedly about the freedom of mobility and the derived comfort, feel the need to be away from the paced lifestyle of the city, to a slower and less crowded place, with lesser interactions. Bhawana told that: “Sometimes, I feel like it had been too much, and I must take a break from the city itself, I stay indoors, clean the house, cook food, but do not go outside my house. I am often like...usually on long weekends, I go to some place for a day two, outside

the city, a places lesser people around, lesser traffic. I find it both necessarily recharging and refreshing to carry on again with the daily life in the city” In the accounts of people, we find a multitude of rhythmic compositions that people adopt in their everyday lifestyle in the city. The metro space, as a transitory space, has its own rhythm of mobility, that impacts the other movements that are taken by the individuals, therefore detailed attention is given to it in the next section. Through it, we can gather a deeper understanding of the rhythms and sociabilities that produces the unique character and nature of the Metro Railways, which has a significant impact on the interaction that takes place.

Nature and Rhythms of Metro Railways

Metro Railways is relatively a faster, and regular mode of transport, in comparison to other modes of public transport including TSRTC buses, and MMTS. In Metro space too, there is a replication and enactment of rhythmic mobilities, that are experienced in other city spaces. Thrift (1996), characterising railway transport for the 19th-century states that the bodies travelling in it become “an anonymised parcel of flesh which was shunted from place to place, just like other goods. Each of these bodies passively avoided others” (p. 266). In an initial, and apparent observation, travelling itself, and specifically in public transports exists as an isolating experience. Moulded in a circadian attitude of commuters, the metro is identifiable as a fast-paced space with a lesser or complete absence of emotional involvement and deference towards others. Yet in an in-depth observation, and concrete analysis, the apparent multitude of rhythms, both collective and individually, and the tension between them becomes evident. Mobilities cannot be completely isolated and alienated from the environment, where ‘being with’ becomes a defining characteristic of nearly all modes of transport. The environmental nature and the formation of the specific sociabilities in the Hyderabad Metro Railways shall be explored in the following part of the chapter.

Describing the necessity and importance of Metro Railways, most of the residents of Hyderabad have emphasised constancy and predictability as its defining and recommendatory characteristics. Each metro station has real-time computer updates about the train arrival, accurate wait time, along with timely periodical updates of the same through audio announcements. During most of the hours, there is hardly a gap of more than five minutes between departures, though this was different in the Covid pandemic time when the field work was done. Through the description of her travel pattern, Priya shows the

appreciation of the accuracy she had for her commute, “I leave from home at around 7:45, walk to the station for about 20 minutes, then the first train takes some 8-10 minutes, and then the other train takes another 30 minutes. I do that every day and it has kind of become auto-pilot for me.” Comparing Hyderabad Metro to TS RTC buses, Swati says that “for work I prefer Metro, then buses or even MMTS. It is very convenient, and almost always on time...even if I miss one, I know that the second one will be there immediately. I don’t have to wait for more than 2 minutes, which often happens with MMTS and buses.” The predictability of the transit here also symbolises the ease of travel. Being aware of the surroundings and understanding the rhythm makes them more familiar with the space. As Arpita, who teaches English literature and grammar in a private engineering college in the city says, “for people like us who travel everyday...we don’t even pay much attention to it. We do it every day, and the fixed timing and route, makes it very easier.” Aman described “it is a very routine work ...at platforms, it is same every day, I even have my fixed spot, because I know exactly where the door opens. I have set patterns of stairs in and out of the metro also” and for Srinivas, a B.Sc. student in a state university, Metro is convenient because, “I don’t have to think on which platforms to go, or to check anywhere. It is very simple and easy to work out.” This depicts that the self-governed nature among the metro users which under a legible environment adds to its efficiency. Along with the efficiency, predictability and familiarity also develops a sense of security among the commuters. Meherwas, who teaches in a private elementary school, says that “the uniformity and reliability of the metro, make it very safe and secure than other transports. You become so familiar with the things, that you become unconcerned about them. It becomes different from outside in the city, once inside the metro station, it is not easy and you know everything here.” Priya, also describes that: “No, why shall I be scared or frightened. The metro is so familiar and reliable; I know that place very well. Every day is the same, usually, it’s also the same people, same routine.” The self-governed and synchronised pattern is the most dominant and obvious rhythm of the Hyderabad Metro Railways, facilitating a fast and effective collective movement. Though there are obvious benefits of regularity and efficacy, it is evident from the experiences of sexual harassment faced by commuters, particularly women, that expectations of self-governance and time efficiency heavily impacts how women navigate these experiences inside the Metro. The physical dimensions of the Metro and the way it is structured institutionally (both the stations and inside the carriages) also have an equal impact in determining or encouraging a distinctive homogenous mode of conduct. Behaviours and conducts that speed the mobilities within the space, in terms of

volume, are both fostered and embodied. Rapidity, a defining characteristic of the city is also encouraged in the Metro railways for both the mechanical frequency of the trains and in ways that individuals move in and out of the stations in the most efficient fashion. Vaishnavi, who frequently commutes through Metro says that:

“I don’t know, but inside the metro station, I am always in rush. Starting from the stairs to getting out, I never stop or break. It’s not that I am late or anything, I guess it is because everyone around me is also in rush. Missing a train annoys me, it even ruins my mood for the day, though I have got the next train within 5 minutes without any problem. I usually have enough time while travelling, but still, I am rushing. This often becomes stressful also, being over conscious about time.”

Similar is the experience by Ravi who describes his pace and rush in metro as: “I am very fast inside the metro, it’s is not just me, but everyone is moving very swiftly in metro and I am just part of it. It’s like I am running there, trying to find the most efficient route, without being in someone’s way. I try to escape the crowd which is slow and run through escalators. Most of the time, I keep walking on the escalators too, and so do many.” Spaces and their environment must not be understood as invisible and ephemeral phenomena, but as an active agent that forcefully alters how we inhabit those spaces. This is resonated in the accounts of several women, where they not only find a change in their pace but a significant change in their personality too inside the metro. Arpita states that “this commute turns me into an aggressive and quarrelsome person, which I am not otherwise. I think everyone in Metro behaves like this, and it is contagious.” Rachna, mirrors this in her account, “I think I am not a friendly person inside the metro, I don’t look at others and interact even rarely. I am always in rush and just want to get through.” Swaroopa, who works in an NGO in the city, describes her behaviour within the metro station as: “I often lose my temper inside metro station...usually on the infrequent users. During rush hours, there is already a big crowd but they don’t know what they are doing at ticket barriers and are holding up. I feel like shouting at them.” This is similar to what Bissel argues regarding the affective nature of commuting, that though the environment might seem like an invisible and ephemeral phenomenon, it often forcefully affects the way individuals inhabit that space (Bissell, 2010). This is also reflected in Simmel’s idea that the nature and rhythms of the metropolitan alter an individual’s personality, which he has referred as metropolitan individuality (Simmel, 1903). These above said responses are often the product of the interruption onto the collectively performed and synchronised rhythms. “You should already be aware in the direction you are

going to, your platform, entry and exit, and always must be ready with your token or ticket at the gates, otherwise your holding people up,” says Mohith, a resident of the city working in a tech firm in Hyderabad. Similarly, Srinivas said that: “You must be ready, and shouldn’t obstruct others way, you tap your card, move along. If you have any issue move to the side, let others go. It annoys me that people are not as ready as you and then take others’ time also.” Recalling her initial experiences, Angelina says that:

“If you haven’t got your ticket ready, you just want to become invisible, because you know that you are delaying other people too, even though it is hardly for seconds. It becomes very awkward to come back from the barriers, slowly you try to learn and avoid those experiences.”

Another aspect that the respondents have highlighted along with the pace and collective performances, is the “metro etiquette” like standing on the right side of the escalator, taking up minimal possible space in the carriages, keeping your body parts, especially arms closer to your body. This demonstrates how certain behaviours and movements are performed inside the metro and is embodied and self-disciplined by the regular commuters. Certain social rules and sociabilities have been idealised and are maintained by individuals but also often pushed on others who are non-conforming. In the accounts of commuters, we can see a sense of pride, and authority too, when they talk about how they have called out people for acting inappropriately. Telling people to move their backpacks, or not to spread their legs too wide or too far while sitting on seats, or to vacate the seats for elderly people or pregnant women. This pervasive regulation of other people’s behaviour highlights how the dominant behaviour are forged, fostered and embodied by people conforming to the corporeal behaviour through self-governing and policing others. This reflects with what Nigel Thrift (1996) calls “imitative cognition” in how particular affective behaviours are formed, and how they are dissipated through the bodies. Also, it signifies the clash between the homogenous normative rhythms established as social conduct and the ways in which deviating or non-conforming acts and movements by individuals disrupt this collective rhythm and flow of people.

However, we also find aspects of behaviour in the metro similar to the *flaniere*, where even (or because of) in the fast-paced and transient nature of the spaces, and in its normative rhythm and anonymity it generates fleeting intimacies and interactions allowing a sense of pleasure and comfort. Especially, while the debate is around if *flaneuse* even existed, here

we find that in the metro sociabilities, there are fragments of flaneuse characters that are both embodied and experienced. “you can be completely detached from the crowd around you, and continue without any interaction with any one....and it is very common in metro. People quietly minding their own business” says Chaitali further adding the experiences of transitory intimacies, “Sometimes you just look at someone, and they smile back to you. These small acknowledgements can make your day like you are smiling at a small baby and their parents also pass an approving smile. These are very small and negligible moments, but they make you feel good.” On the idea of being anonymously alone without being observed, Irfan says that: “often when I have bad days, I stay in the carriages for a longer time before going home. I even extend my journey to additional stations, beyond mine. It gives me some alone time as no one is interacting with me, even though I am in the crowd with people all around me.” Even in the hostile and transitory nature of the Metro, it can surely be experienced as a site of pleasure and comfort.

Interrupting the freedom: Fear of Sexual Harassment in Metro

The accounts of respondents, especially women about how their interaction with the city (and Metro) gives them a greater sense of choice, freedom and comfort, don’t however translate in the absence of fear and risk of sexual harassment and its impact on the negotiations and experience with the city spaces Bhawana who has stayed for a significant amount of time in the city, having a sense of ownership and belonging to Hyderabad, also highlighted that:

I think, most parts of the city are accessible to me, nothing is too far away. But also there is a constant question on it, where I reassure myself that I have access to these places. I often have these mental discussions assuring myself that I can do that...I can go there. I always have to think twice do any such thing, which I don’t like....”

Smita responded similarly, that “thinking about these things is an additional burden, and it mentally exhausting also” and Swati says that “it is very annoying that I have to think twice before doing these things, like going out very late at night. It’s not even that I purposefully do it, just that it is already always in my head.” Most of the women have highlighted that being aloof and anonymous is not always accessible to them, shunting the very intrinsic aspects of being a flaneuse. They also recognise the gendered aspect of this risk and its actuality being a women exclusive experience which either men are unaware of or seldom

experience. On this aspect, Mariyam, a 28-year-old PhD student, resident of the city says that “for men, it is not a part of their everyday routine. For us we know it, even expect it and usually accept it too” Swaroopa recounts that her male friends either are in surprise or disbelief when she shares with them these experiences of sexual harassment in public spaces, similarly, Rachna who has been in the city for about 4 years, working at a private bank also says that her male colleagues and friends never take it very seriously when she shares her experiences with them “I often tell them that this is not a joke. They will never understand it because they don’t know how it feels when you are being continuously watched and observed all the times.” Shalini, who works at a managerial position in a hotel chain in Hyderabad expressed her frustration that:

“I know that men have no idea about it, or how it feels because they haven’t experienced it and that is why they so easily dismiss the experiences of sexual harassment we face because they have never been followed to home, no one has been exposed to them, no one has touched their private body part, have rubbed on them, or have even been cat-called. Even if they do, they don’t understand that for us it is not a one-off, but are a regular part of our everyday routine itself”

In their accounts, though many women have highlighted the freedom and pleasure that Hyderabad provides, they have also expressed that the fear and actuality of these experiences constantly reinforce the underlying apprehension. It forces a continuous assessment of their interaction with the city, negotiating their presence and safety in public spaces including Metro. Relatively, there is an absence of gendered violence and sexual harassment by strangers in the day-to-day experiences of men than women for whom it has become a part and parcel of their being, both consciously and subconsciously negotiating around it. Akhil says that: “I have not faced any explicit sexual harassment in the city, but I know that women face it every day. My female friends have told me about several incidents that they have faced, and it is very disturbing to me. I think it can disturb your entire day or even more.” Aman shares his experience of witnessing different kinds of such incidents himself, not being a subject to it: “I have often seen men looking at women, talking about her with their friends, or even taking pictures and making videos of women, pretending of doing something else. It is very common in MMTS, Metro, Chai shops etc., where they constantly stalk women and even pass ludicrous comments on them.”

Talking about the risk and difference of threat appraisal for men and women, Irfan notes that:

“I know that is different for men and women. Often when I feel being touched on my body, I first check to reassure my belongings like mobile phone, wallet, watch etc. I think for women, it becomes different because apart from theft, they also have the fear of harassment. Many times, these contacts are unintentional also and can happen to anyone, that’s why while travelling I try to occupy the least possible spaces and keep my body away from others. Also, I think I don’t get as disturbed I find someone’s body in contact with mine, which is different for women. It is very common in Metro and MMTS and most of the time you can even do anything.”

This reinstates that complete and free access to public spaces, unrestricted and anonymously are not available to women in Hyderabad, thus questioning the possibility of flâneuse even now. Flânerie as an analytical tool helps understand beyond fear, threat and dangers of sexual harassment as the defining parameters of women’s experiences in the urban landscape. It prevents the possibility of reductionism that comes through the identification of only these aspects, highlighting the multitudinous and complex nature of women’s experiences in their interaction with the city lifestyle. Through the lenses of Flânerie, it enables us to understand how individuals foster, embody and perform to achieve their freedom, comfort and if desired, even anonymity.

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the research aim: “to explore the everyday experiences and negotiations of individuals with the city, Hyderabad and Hyderabad Metro Railways.” Beginning with a historical and theoretical description of flâneur and flâneuse, it discusses the evolution and modern individuality and the comparative presence of men and women in urban public spaces. Through the use of Lefebvrian notion of rhythm and the concept of flânerie, the chapter lays out the tension in negotiating the claim of belonging in contemporary Hyderabad. The accounts of individual experiences represent the rhythmic patterns of the city and how they affect and influence the experiences in the city and Metro Railways. By deploying the aspects of the “negotiations of the belonging” and the rhythmic patterns of the city together, it has been demonstrated how the risk and actuality of sexual harassment and violence, produces an interruption to accessibility and disrupts the normative

and synchronistic rhythm of life in the city space including Hyderabad Metro Railways. It unveils the tension and complex contradictory nature of experiences and the mobilities performed to live in the city, especially for women. Concerning the women residents of the city, it is evident that certain attributes of flaneuse are exercised by women in their everyday activities, though the fear and experiences of sexual harassment highlight the underlying adjustments and negotiations that hinder their access to the city. This presents us with a clear picture of the gendered mobilities of the city.

This chapter here lays a substantial backdrop allowing a contextualised understanding of the challenges of mobility in the city, and the negotiations that are made to avoid them. To understand the ways in which people experience the urban space including the Metro railways on daily basis.

Chapter Three

THE CITY, HYDERABAD METRO RAILWAYS AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Introduction

Under Mobility studies, several scholars have studied the social interactions that take place in the transport environments (Thrift, 1996; Urry, 2007; Bissell, 2010). Sexual harassment in public spaces including transit spaces has a deterring effect on the commuters, which creates fear and anxiety, restricting their free and unhindered access to these city spaces (Sideris & Fink, 2009; M. Natarajan, 2017; A. Gekoski, 2015). Transport is a basic and essential service in the city, restriction to its access makes the individual stationary and immobile. Thus, sexual harassment in public transport affects the all-around mobility and accessibility of individuals in the city, impacts their presence and claim in the city. This chapter brings together mobility studies' perspective and sexual harassment on transport together, which has garnered very little attention from both the scholars of the new mobilities paradigm and feminist scholars. Lefebvrian rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre H. , 2004) provides us with a conceptual and analytical framework to understand how rhythms of the Hyderabad Metro Railways and the city impact and shape the perpetration and experiences of sexual harassment.

To Henri Lefebvre, rhythm is an important and integral part of mobility, and his rhythmanalysis provides a nuanced and deeper perspective to understand social mobility. Rhythm can be understood as an agglomeration of repeated movements and pauses that have been systematically measured, visible in various activities, including music, ballet, and even in everyday activities of walking the streets and travelling in public transport (Lefebvre H. , 2004). In this chapter, rhythmanalysis along with the mobilities perspective will be used to understand the empirical observations of sexual harassment in Hyderabad Metro Railways and how these incidents take place within the spatial and temporal rhythm of the metro. The metro railways exist as a microcosm within the geographical context of the city, however, the rhythm of the city, its sociabilities do percolate into the metro spaces also. It becomes necessary, therefore, to consider the wider nature of the city, the preferred mode of conduct in the Metro, along the fast and ephemeral nature of the Metro railways. Though transport

and travelling have been associated with acceleration and paced mobility, it also constitutes de-acceleration, blockages, and congestion. Cresswell uses the concept of friction (Cresswell, 2010) to help explain the impediments to mobility and how it breaks and slowdowns. To him, friction plays out in different forms and is unevenly distributed. It affects different individuals varyingly, and can also be yielded as a weapon under unfavourable conditions by the marginalised. The use of the concept of friction along with the Lefebvrian rhythmanalysis enables us to understand and analyse sexual harassment in transit spaces like Metro.

We witness a multitude of rhythms that exist together in the Metro and often come in conflict with each other, which includes the distinct rhythm of the city along with the paced and transitory rhythm of the metro. In a particular time and space, the interaction between these rhythms creates specific sociabilities. It is these rhythms of the metro that provides the opportunity for sexual harassment in Metro premises and carriages. The particularity of the time and space, like the crowded period of office hours in the morning and evening, the empty and lull periods, and the late-night time all facilitate and conceal sexual harassment differently. David Bissel argues that though we are intimately alienated while travelling, it is a place of relational being, where a huge population exists in very close proximity (Bissell, 2009). This proximity between strangers held together for a transitory period of time also generates its own sociabilities (Urry, 2007). This is evident when along with the desired acceleration of the commuters, there is obvious slowing down and friction in the rush hours in the metro premises and trains (Urry, 2007). This proximity and fiction of rhythm enable certain kinds of sexual harassment, playing to the advantage of perpetrators, navigating through the dominant way of motion, synchronised with the movements of the crowd. The concealment of the particular kinds of harassment is facilitated by the friction that is generated between the commuters. Several other similar aggressions are done utilizing the normative rhythm of the spaces, without transgressing out of the accepted and normal sociabilities. Often, even if realised by the survivor it is always laden with a sense of ambiguity and thus limiting the negotiations which are often distressing and disturbing for them.

The rhythm of Metro permits, fosters, and encourages certain acceptable modes of behaviours and interactions. Together, the bodies under the Metro environment moves in a “polyrhythmic” (Lefebvre H. , 2004) fashion, collectively. For a description of mobility in transport, Cresswell uses the imagery of Charlie Chaplin’s “Modern Times”, which is

similarly identified by Hornsey as “a factory assembly line” (Hornsey, 2012). The continuity of measured and designated movements and pauses is often sporadically disturbed due to obvious friction and is often looked down upon (Edensor, 2011). Lefebvre argues that rhythms in any space are organic, lived, and endogenous, while at the same time they are exterior, forced and mechanical (Lefebvre H. , 2004). It is obvious that the multiplicity of movements that are synchronous and in harmony often will come in a collision with each other. This deviation of an individual from the normative rationalised rhythm towards the lived and embodied aspect is what, Lefebvre calls “arrhythmia” (Lefebvre H. , 2004, p. 78). Goffman (1959) identifies that the particularity of space and performances tied together creates a ‘space-specific behaviour’, and that people are generally aware of the preferred behaviour while moving. One of the important aspects of travelling in public transport is the state of purposeful and voluntary alienation from the people and their activities around them in the crowded spaces, which Goffman (1963) describes as “civil inattention.” Manning designates this civil inattention or alienation as a method necessary for self-preservation (Manning, 1992), however, it also leads to a sense of indifference and hostility, devoid of any individual or social responsibility towards others. Simmel finds this rightly present in his theorization of “metropolitan individuality” (Simmel, 1903), or as Fuji describes this absence of communication between proximate unacquainted strangers as “intimate alienation” (Fuji, 1999). Under these conditions, the attempt to break from the normative code of conduct, and result in fiction, weighs down women’s reaction even when they recognise harassment or aggression towards them. Several respondents have accounted for their reluctance to react overtly, apprehending that it might create a sense of condescension for the other and a sense of embarrassment for self.

Transit spaces like bus stops, metro stations, and train carriages etc. are non-stationary in nature for the inhabitants, where they stay only for a short duration of time, experiencing fleeting interactions with others. These encounters that take place in these spaces are sudden, unexpected, and often unregulated in their nature. The fleeting nature of the space and its sociabilities makes it nearly impossible for the inhabitant to perform any premediated or rehearsed response. Similarly, it affects the way sexual harassment is experienced by individuals in the public transport spaces like the Hyderabad Metro Railways. The ephemeral nature of space barely provides enough time for the victim to comprehend the violence committed, to process and respond to it. While on transport, the primary objective of any commuter is to reach the physical destination, where other commitments take the

background. This “allocation of involvement” (Goffman, 1963) where certain activities are to be carried out as the main or “dominating involvement”, and others as the side or “subordinate involvements”, also impacts the nature of engagement of the victim with the assaulter, as often the end of the journey, also translates into the end to the experience too. Often, individuals ignore the incidents with a fear of creating any friction and carry on with their normal mobility without slowing down. This is also used as a ‘cover-up tool’ by the perpetrators, who under the disguise of the rhythm, the anonymous nature of the spaces, escape the scene after committing the acts. Thus, we can see that the rhythm of the metro spaces including the stations and carriages and the normativity of the behaviours in the environment provides a favourable opportunity for the violence still maintaining the anonymity of the harasser.

The concept of rhythm along with the deployment of the friction provides a more nuanced outlook and analytical perspective to understand the incidents of sexual harassment in Metro Railways, and how commuters experience these incidents. Putting these accounts of the incidents into a contextualised framework of the spatial-temporal setting of the city and the transit environment presents the impact of specific rhythms in facilitating these incidents of sexual harassment to play out. It portrays a detailed picture in which particular space, time and temporalities develop both favourable circumstances or otherwise for the incidents to happen, even providing anonymity and elusiveness to the assaulter. The response of the survivors, whether overt or its dismissal is also influenced and often, determined by the compliance or deviation from the normativity of behaviour and performativity in the metro spaces.

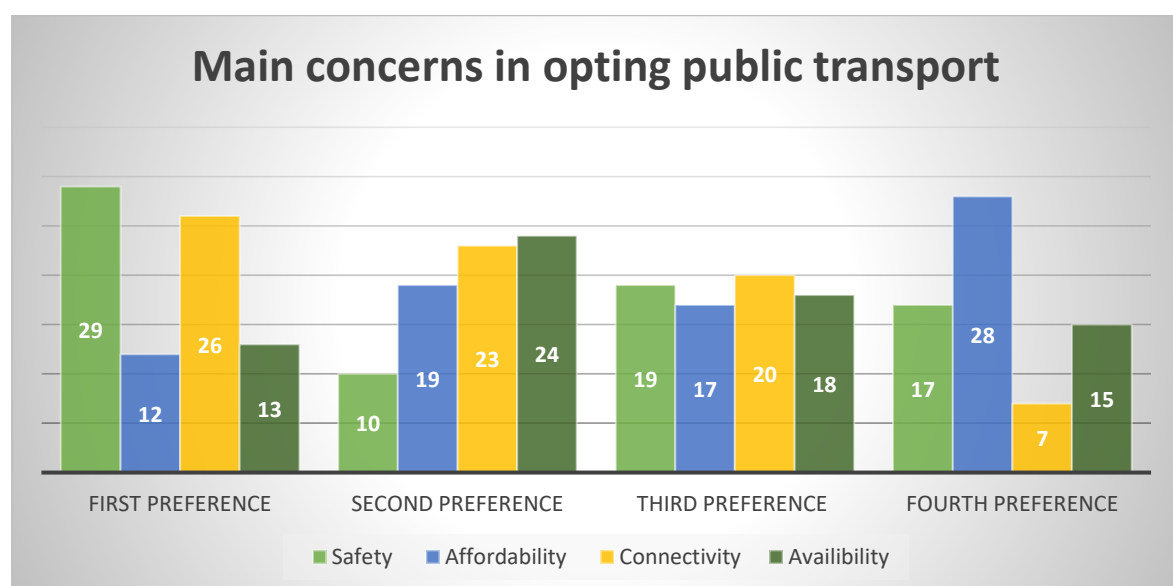
Experiences of sexual harassment in Hyderabad Metro railways

The metro railways are an integral part of the city network, and the rhythms of the city are present in the Metro also (Urry, 2007). To completely grasp the patterns of mobility, interactions and friction of the metro it becomes necessary to understand the coexistence of the multiplicity of the rhythm within the environment. These rhythms have a significant impact on the facilitation, and manifestation of harassment or aggression in the metro and also, the way they are experienced. The fluctuating Cartesian rhythm of the city, along with the movement of individuals inside the station, and carriages add to the mobile patterns of individuals, especially women, creating heterogeneous ambulation of rhythms in the metro.

As Lefebvre states, these polyrhythmic bundles, acting in a hierarchy, affect the way interactions take place in specific spatial-temporal conditions, determining the manifestation and experiences of harassment in a particular time and space (Lefebvre H. , 2004).

This chapter will present the perpetuation, and manifestation of harassment inside metro railways, drawing from the experiences of harassment faced by the commuters based on interviews and survey data for this study. Secondly, it will also highlight the ways in which rhythms of metro railways, facilitate or conceal these incidents, and how the dominant pattern of interaction determined by the space deterministically impact the responses from the victims. In doing so, it will bring into context how the ephemeral and transitory nature of the space, impacts the acts of aggression and its response, differently than in a stationary environment.

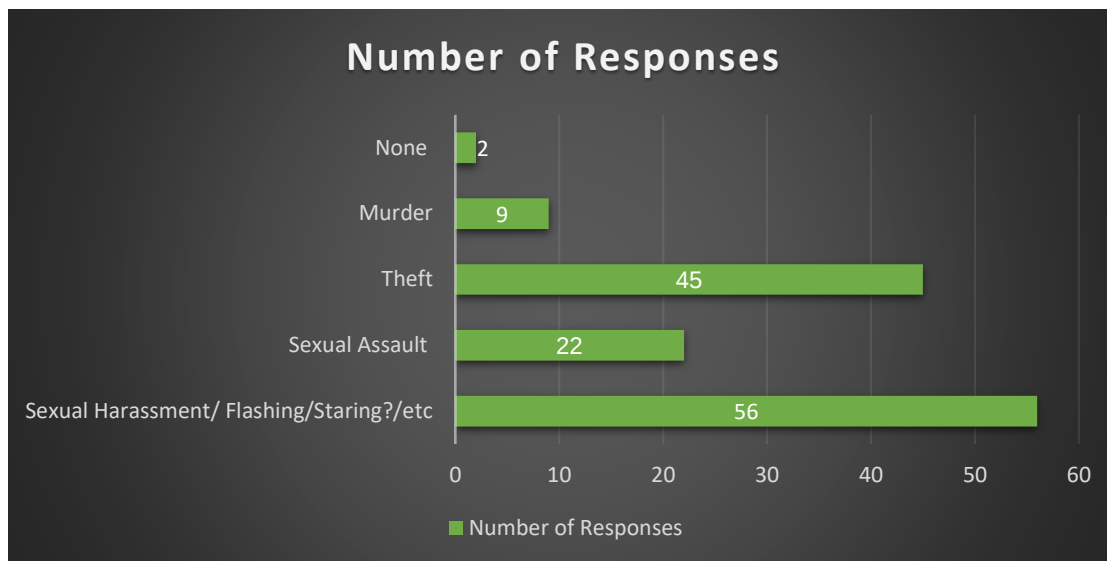
Chart no. 3.1. Travel and sexual victimization patterns



In the survey that was conducted around 35% of the total respondents have placed safety as their primary concern while opting for any mode of transport, followed by connectivity at 32%, availability at 16%, and 12% for affordability, respectively (See Table no. 3.1). In opting for public transport we find that commuters place safety as their priority followed by other concerns. Another important point to be highlighted is that there doesn't exist any significant difference between the choices of men and women in this regard, as out of total

women respondents, 37% have opted for safety, while in the case of men it is at 33%. Therefore, irrespective of gender, commuters place safety as their primary concern, as against several studies which have argued that safety stands as an exclusive women's needs and concern.

Chart no. 3.2. Safety concerns in public transit spaces

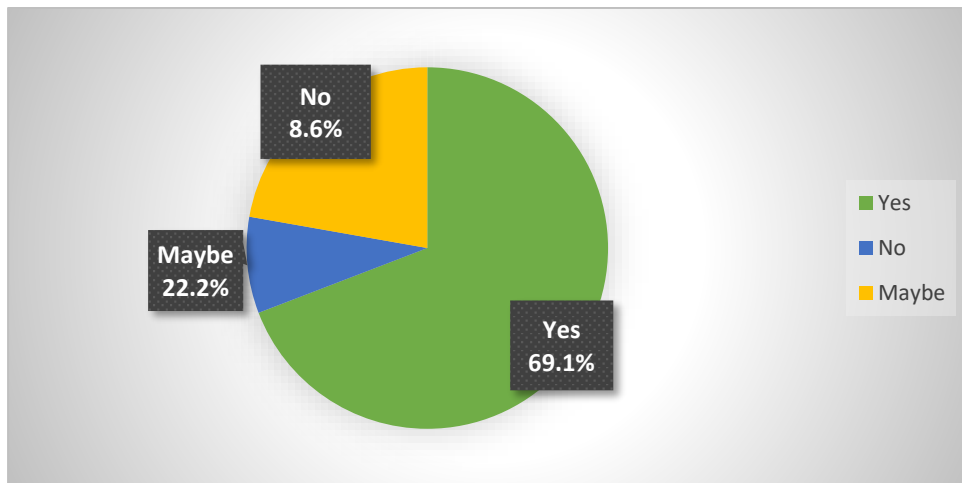


Also, it was found that sexual harassment stands as the primary issue as about 73% of the total respondents have chosen it as the major safety concern in Metro transport (See Chart no. 3.2.). This is followed by fear of theft at about 59%, and sexual assault at around 29% respectively (See Chart no. 3.2.). Though here we find a significant difference between attitudes of men and women, as out of the total responses regarding sexual harassment as their main concern, it constitutes majorly women (83%) as compared to only around 17% men. This has also been established in earlier researches, that sexual harassment is often a women-exclusive experience, of which women are more victimised than men (Hsu, 2011; Gardner, Cui, & Coiacetto, 2017).

Gender is a significant factor related to fear and anxiety of sexual harassment in public transport (Sideris & Fink, 2009). This is also a product of violence experienced by women, often by stranger men, making the contradictory and gendered nature of fear among men. The risk and actuality of sexual violence pose a serious concern towards the free and

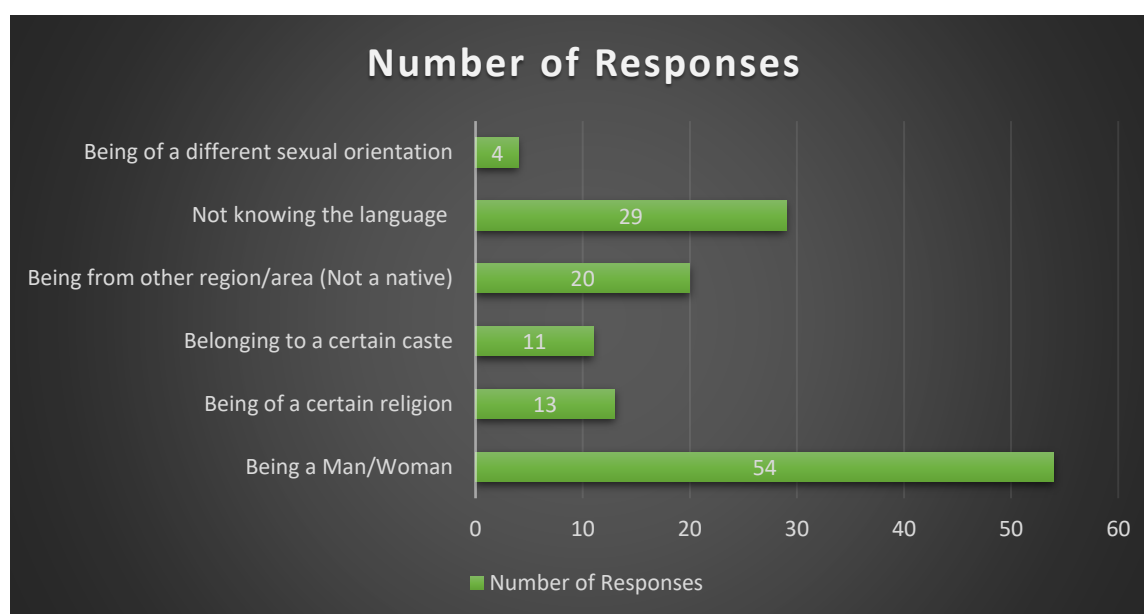
unrestricted movement, particularly of women, often limiting and restricting their mobility (Loukaitou-Sideris A. , 2016).

Chart no. 3.3. Role of gender in creating unpleasantness in Metro Railways



We also found that there is an evident agreement towards the gendered nature of manifestation and experiences of sexual harassment in Metro transport. On the question regarding, factors determining the safety concerns, around 69% of the respondents have affirmatively identified gender as the most important, along with around 22% respondents have identified that gender may have a role to play in it, and only around 9% of respondents denying the role of gender (See Chart no. 3.3.).

Chart no. 3.4. Factors that affect personal safety



Highlighting the role of gender as an important factor throughout the inhabitation of Metro travel, the survey has also highlighted that gender is the most determining attribute of personal safety. In the online survey, the study found that about 54 respondents, i.e., 75% of the respondents have identified that gender along with other factors like religion, caste, language, sexual orientation, or being an outsider in the city affects their personal safety (See Table no. 3.4.). Being a man/woman or gender comes as the most influencing attribute to the perception of personal safety followed by unfamiliarity with native language at 40.3%, at around 27.8% of being an outsider, religion at 18.1%, caste identity 5.3%, and sexual orientation at 5.6% respectively (See Chart no. 3.4.).

Rhythms of the Metro railways: Inhibitor and Facilitator

The polyrhythmic pattern of Metro railways along with that of the city act together to both facilitate and conceal sexual harassment manifested in particular ways, during the specific place and time of the day. The is evident through the drastic difference between the behaviours and interactions that vary during the rush hours of morning and evening, afternoon lull hours, and during the night time. Similarly, this is also true in the case of visible change in the rhythm of the metro on working days/weekdays, and on holidays or weekends. With varying crowd size and spatial temporalities, the rhythm of the victim and the assaulter also varies, often adhering or synchronised with the dominant rhythm,

therefore, being concealer and facilitator at the same time. The nature of the crime of aggression, its manifestation, experience and response are greatly determined with respect to the normative mechanical rhythms of the environment.

In certain central and larger metro stations, often the junctions i.e., the common stations between two different routes like Ameerpet and M G Bus Station in Hyderabad Metro railways witness a relatively more influx of people, and the train and carriages (for route map of HMR see Table no. 1.1). The proximity of bodies, with individuals pressed against each other, facilitates various confrontational sexual harassment commonly, groping, elbowing, frothing, and others under the disguise of anonymity and ambiguity of intention. Priya's daily commute took place in the inner-city Hyderabad, in between Irrum Manzil and Hitech-City station one of the busiest routes of Hyderabad Metro Railways. Here it becomes necessary to understand the interplay of the rhythm of the city and its impact on the Metro railway. Her everyday commute is influenced since she is commuting in one of the busiest metro routes, at the peak rush hour within the heart of the city. It is in these periods, usually between 07:00 to 09:00 in the morning and around the same time in the evening when the metro stations and carriages are overcrowded due to the mass influx of routine commuters. To understand the rhythmic pattern of this particular time and space, Lefebvre argues that we must try to distinguish the 'tangled' mess of polyrhythmic bundles, determining the hierarchy, ultimately observing the dominant and 'determining rhythm' (Lefebvre H. , 2004, p. 43). In this particular spatiotemporal setting, the administrative and corporate rush of the city stands out as the most dominant rhythm of the Metro. Describing her experience of one such incident, in this very environment, Priya notes that:

"I felt someone's palm and fingers, touching my pubic bone. It is always very crowded during office hours, and you might not get a seat also. So, it is common that often people stand very close to each other, and physical contact with other people cannot be avoided. However, I could sense the palm on my back for a long time, where that person has moved his fingers from underneath...I could feel the continuous movement of the fingers on my buttocks. I could understand that the person was doing it intentionally."

Due to the crowd, and stagnation of movements into the trains during peak hours, the rhythm and friction often turn very intimate and individual. As Priya noted that "though physical contact between people often becomes avoidable... that person was doing it intentionally." Here the act of sexual harassment was both facilitated and concealed under the synchrony of

the dominant rhythm without any visible encroachment into other's personal space. In another similar account of sexual harassment in the metro, Meharwas, states that "I could see that man, stalking me from a distance in the carriage, people were getting in and out of the train and in between this man has gradually come very close to me." This again highlights how the act is maintained unsuspecting from others, maintaining under the normative behaviour of the metro in the crowd, aiding in hiding the intentions of the individual. Utilising the rhythm of the environment to his advantage, carrying out the normal movements, the person was able to come in very close proximity to the woman imperceptibly. She adds that:

"Initially, I felt his erection on my sides, and later, on my back and he was continuously poking and rubbing it on me....it was so crowded that I couldn't even...but I was sure that it wasn't anything else, though I couldn't believe that someone would do that in such crowd and early in the morning...He just stood there rubbing the erection on my thighs and buttocks. It was disgusting and frightening...I wanted to turn around and shout at him but it would draw unnecessary attention and might be embarrassing also."

Mariyam, who is a university student, shared her experience of one such incident in the metro, which she only realised when someone pointed about white stain marks on her jeans to her, outside the premises. "I was standing in the metro because there were no seats, and it was jam-packed that day. Everything went normal like every day and I came off the train at Miyapur station and was walking outside on the metro stairs. A woman behind me pointed to the white stains on my jeans, spread across my knees till lower limbs. I was shocked and disgusted as it seemed like semen. I even tried to wash it off with water at a nearby tea shop, but it spread even more. I felt sick, and started panicking...I felt disgusted to the core...how can someone do this in a moving train amidst a crowd." Friction between bodies, which Cresswell (Cresswell, 2010) establishes as an equally important and integral aspect of understanding mobility, is used here to hide the intentions and the incidents. Under the disguise of the normal unavoidable friction, during peak hours, the perpetrator was able to commit the act, without being overtly evident to the crowd, and even to the victims.

However, though the acts were invasive, and hidden under the normal rhythm of the particular place and time, with an unambiguous synchronism, it raised an alarm and made the women aware, at least in the first two cases of Priya and Mariyam. This was because it had deviation, however minute, from the dominant and registered patterns of intimacies and

interactions. This substantiates the Lefebvrian argument that rhythms not only conceal and facilitate actions but also reveal them (Lefebvre H. , 2004). In these cases, though the victims recognised the invasion and aggression towards them, however, without being overtly and visibly overreaching beyond the normal and acceptable rhythm and friction of the space, the perpetrator was able to conceal and perpetuate their actions.

How these incidents of sexual harassment unfold varies according to the different times of the day is a determinant factor of the metro sociabilities. As in cases where during off-hours the perpetrator overtly exerts their sexual behaviour under the guise of rhythms of the city and metro of that particular time. Irfan recalled one experience of such a case when he was travelling during the afternoon in the metro. He recounted that: “It was afternoon, the train was very empty and I got a seat. I have this very bad habit of dozing off in any public transport be it MMTS, bus, or metro. That day also, I had kept my bag on my lap and slept off. After some time, I felt someone’s hand on the front zip of my pant...continuously rubbing there. I immediately realised what was happening, as I had similar experiences in buses. I opened my eyes looked at him and asked him to move a little away from me. I was in no mood to create a scene...I have already experienced these incidents, and know these kinds of men who are old and do these things because no one will usually blame them.” With the lesser crowd and relatively slower movements in the train during a particular time, the social interactions vary facilitating particular types of harassment. In another incident, as told by Shalini, “a man sitting in the next compartment, was continuously staring at me, often using his phone in between. It felt like he was either taking my pictures or video...pretending to be using it...you can sense these things.” Here, by reinstating that people can sense this behaviour, she highlights that in an environment of fleeting and brief interactions, prolonged interactions, even looking at someone for long can make the actions seem “not normal.” This action though not overtly visible and enacted subtly, contradicts the normative behaviour of civil inattention (Goffman, 1963), making her uneasy and uncomfortable. “At the next station he came to my compartment, sitting afar, starting rubbing on his genitals, under his backpack. He even opened his pants, slightly, and pulled out his penis.” These actions might not have played out in different times and contexts, like during rush hours of the morning and evening. Also, in absence of any physical contact between the perpetrator and the women, it became even more imperceptible, as it lacked any verbal or non-verbal direct interaction or confrontation.

Sociabilities that take place in the late hours of night-time in the metro are very different from those of the other times. During this period, there is a lesser crowd, and a relatively little rush among people, with possibilities of elongated interactions, often short, spontaneous, and interpersonal interactions. These kinds of behaviour of late nights, and even on holidays permits even those communications and interactions, that are not appropriate nor encouraged in the earlier settings. As Hubbard and other scholars have pointed out that these interactions can often be comfortable, and welcoming (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001; Urry, 2007), though they can instil fear and anxiety for some. In one such incident, of late evening, when Swaroopa was returning home from meeting her friend at Rajmohalla, in Narayanaguda saw a man sitting next to her, who later started talking to her. “He started to talk to me...he looked decent, and was on the call with his mom, after which he started talking to me. I also started to talk to him, and it was a fine chat...like what we talk to strangers, however, he midway propositioned me for sex, to which I immediately said no. I even moved away from him and sat on the vacant seat opposite to me, to show him my discontent and unwillingness to talk but within some time, he came next to me. I think people also did not notice this because we were already talking sometime back.”

Bhawana described an incident that she went through on a Saturday night when she took the metro after coming out of a bar in the city. She said that on weekends, or late in the evening and nights, people are some social and communicate more freely to each other in the metro. “you see...people are little free at that time, they have a holiday the next day, they talk to each other, there are groups of people travelling together.” She told about the man she met on the train, who was drunk too, and supposedly he also came from the same bar as she was in. “We started talking.... he told me that he saw me in the bar. We talked about office, works and other things. But in the meanwhile, I could feel his fingers moving back and forth on my back and waist. Initially, I thought it was an unintentional mistake, but I could see the acknowledgement in his smile when I looked at him. Immediately, I asked him to move his hands away, but even then he continued doing... Later, I moved to another seat. I couldn’t get out of the train, because it was late, and I was both drunk and tired.” She further adds that “I don’t know if that would be considered serious harassment by police or by any other person, but it surely was overstepping and he did not even listen when I asked him to stop. It made me very uncomfortable...I guess he thought because I talked to him, he could do that.”

The intensity of ‘blasé outlook’ or the ‘metropolitan individuality’ which Simmel (1903) designates as a signature attitude of urban sociability, falls during these spatiotemporal settings. The same individual who carry out their activities in the same space under different conditions, with what Goffman (1963) calls “civil inattention”, are here willing and accepting of interactions. People can deviate from the very functional aspect of the metro, and it often becomes a site of unexpected, and spontaneous exchanges. Under these settings, the rhythm of the space, one can witness relatively prolonged interactions between individuals, people shedding their reserved and introverted attitude.

To Simmel, Sociability “is the art or play form of association, related to the content and purposes of association in the same way as art is related to reality...it can occur only if the more serious purposes of the individuals are kept out, so that it is an interaction not of complete but of symbolic and equal personalities” (Simmel, 1949, p. 254). Sociability, if one defines, is a phenomenon of ideal sociological world, devoid of all personal traits, and values. Social status, riches, fame, merits and demerits of both (or all) the individuals becomes redundant. It has no greater aspirations or desire and the satisfaction of one is dependent on the pleasure of the others, i.e., “no one can have his satisfaction at the cost of contrary experiences on the parts of the other” (Simmel, 1949, p. 257).

Here, the nature of sexual harassment and aggressions were facilitated with the specific rhythm of the outside city, underground and normalisation of more intimate interactions between individuals. The incidents intermixed with the normal acceptable behaviours, such as ones where there is a complete absence of verbal communication, making it even difficult for the victim to recognise the experience initially and concealed from the crowd. Whereas on the other hand, we have incidents that took place under the synchronised choreography of a late-night environment, more informal, interpersonal and intimate. The variation in the rhythm and friction, its acceptance, facilitated, concealed, and revealed these incidents differently. The ambiguity and dubiousness of the intentions of the acts, that too in a transitory and mobile space like the metro, moves from the transfer of threat from individuals to the space itself.

Metropolitan individuals and their civil inattention

The ‘metropolitan individuality’ as explained by Simmel (1903), and their attributes are evidently visible in the sociabilities and behaviours of the city and Hyderabad Metro

Railways. The Blaise outlook of the individuals, shutting down from the excess presence of stimuli all around in the urban metropolitan landscape, leads to what Goffman describes as “civil inattention” (Goffman, 1963). In the metro railways, as a transitory and fast-paced commuting space, civil inattention, becomes the dominant rhythm, without the aim of being disturbed or getting the fellow commuters disturbed. The fear and anxiety of deviating from the preferred and fostered mode of interactions and behaviours often limits the desired response from the victims, often making to go unreacted. Meherwas told that “I just wanted to turn around and shout at him...but it would draw unnecessary attention and might be embarrassing also.” Here, the embarrassment is not only from the judgement against the reaction to the incident itself but of disrupting the social order of the space. Embarrassment, as Goffman argues, does not play at random but is the projection of the incompatibility of the self in front of others (Goffman, 1955). The decision to not react or in determining the response is the effect of the environment including its sociabilities, which forcibly exerts and determines individual actions. Bissell argues that the atmosphere of the rail carriages, often makes people subconsciously admit to the collective behaviours (Bissell, 2010). The pervasiveness of dominant rhythm and behaviours overrides the desired response to the incident. The resultant fear of embarrassment and tension leads to her decision of “not making a scene.” This is not only witnessed in one case but is resonated in several other accounts, that the feeling of being “embarrassed...with people looking at you and judging.” The interviewees who have experienced sexual harassment in the metro carriages have recalled that even in conditions when they were sure of the incident, the ambiguous and covert performance of the act, makes them apprehensive of their responses. Under the cover of the normal and acceptable performances, there is often no observable concrete evidence of the act, and therefore is even harder to establish its validity to others in the train. Instead, of the harassment or aggression being transgressive of the rhythm, there is a fear that the response itself shall be a disturbance and in asynchrony with the spatial-temporal performances. Therefore, it becomes necessary to understand the way social norms impact in responding to the sexual harassment faced in the metro railways without ignoring the role of temporalities of the specific context.

Marc Auge (1995), French anthropologist in his book, “Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity” puts transient spaces under the category of non-places. These transitory sites of human existence, are placeless i.e., places which are marked by an plethora of mobility and overabundance of events, with people carrying out their anonymity

without any wilful intention of meeting others. There is no aim of meeting others or the sense of a group of completely absent with whom social references can be built. As also highlighted above, the main purpose of public transport including metro railways is to get from one place to other, existing only an intermediate space itself (Urry, 2007). Goffman also highlights that the people travelling aim to reach their desired destination without any disturbance or extra time-consumption, calling it “allocation involvement” (Goffman, 1963), and this is done through minimalizing the time spend in the transit. Often, any secondary concern other than the shortest way of transit, without hindering the travel trajectory, takes a backstage thus, also influencing the way commuters experience sexual harassment. Talking about the incident when a man rubbed up against Meharwas, during the rush hour:

“I was very uncomfortable, and might would have gotten down the train. But I cannot because this is my daily routine, and I can’t do it every time something like this happens. I know I cannot stop travelling in the metro or change my train every now and then.”

Similarly, Bhawana, also highlighted the time when a man misbehaved with her on a weekend night when she was returning from a bar “Getting down the train is not an option...this is common transport and everybody needs it. That day I was already late and as also drunk, outside could have been even more dangerous.”

Here two aspects must be given significance and greater focus. When faced with incidents of sexual harassment, the respondents highlighted that an overt and active reaction will have an impact on the normal rhythm and friction, affecting the comfort and convenience of fellow commuters. This apprehension of aggressive reaction is a product of the fear of embarrassment, which might be received ambivalently by others (Neupane & Chesney-Lind, 2014; Horii & Burgess, 2012). Secondly, the response can also have a significant deterring effect, creating further friction and disturbance on their ongoing journey. It has also been evident in several other research done in transport settings, where women do not respond to these situations due to the risk of escalating an already uncomfortable situation and creating embarrassment for themselves. In the case of respondents in this research, the issue of escalating the situation has been highlighted, which also highlights the specificity of Hyderabad Metro railways as distinct from the earlier researches and their spatial-temporal contexts. Though, they are apprehensive of disrupting the normative code of conduct, creating discomfort for other fellow commuters, resulting in annoyance and ambivalence. Gardner has also highlighted that the refusal to respond against sexual harassment, is another

aspect of women managing power (Gardner C. B., 1995). In these cases, it is evident through the way some of the women did not respond to the incident, leaving their remaining journey unaffected.

Non-places and their placelessness: The transitory nature of Metro Railways

Defining, non-places, Marc Augé (1995), argues it as a product of supermodernity and the spatial production of contemporary times, devoid of lasting human interaction and belonging to these places. According to him, we (humans) pass through these spaces only in transition, anonymously, without any wilful desire of an intimate relationship with the space and its environment. Places like hospitals, airports, stations, shopping malls fall under this category, marked with the absence of social actions and a sense of prolonged belonging. In its defining characteristic, Augé identifies that these sites of fast and super modern lifestyles, with impatience and accelerated experience of time (Augé, 1995). He contrasts it with the anthropological definition of ‘place’ i.e., sites of relational and historical belonging and its intimate connection to the self, both socially and individually. Urry also identifies rail stations as “...places of unexpected social interchange...” (Urry, 2007, p. 109), spontaneous in its nature, between individuals from different and distant places, present at the site only for their immediate purpose of travelling. The interaction that takes place in non-places like transport sites Hyderabad Metro Railways are ephemeral, short-lived and usually die within that space itself. The transitory nature of Metro Railways, along with the fleeting interactions between individuals and the dominant rhythm pattern of the city and Metro, provides a disguise to deviant behaviours. Uncertainty of the incident has been highlighted as an important factor that has influenced the way commuters have experienced and responded to sexual harassment. This is even more true in the cases of rush hours, where commuters are both not sure of the surety of the incident, and secondly, doesn’t leave them with enough time and mobility to appropriately respond to the incident. This resonates in the account as told by Priya:

“This is the thing about Metro, you are usually not sure in the beginning. You second-guess yourselves. Maybe it was not deliberate.... Because it’s very crowded, what if it’s not deliberate...You have got very little time to react. By the time you are sure of it and have worked it out, he has moved or gone...Now, if you do anything it will be a meaningless fuss.”

The importance of temporality and the fleeting nature of experiences have been highlighted and that even for a response there is only a small window of time. If missed, the response and its purpose itself turns useless. In a similar account, Meharwas states that: “It took me some time to realise what was happening, you are never completely sure, at least not initially. This man was once rubbing his erection on me, after some time, he very quietly and normally got down at a station, just before my stop.” Swati also narrates a similar incident, where she was assaulted by an old man in the metro:

“I had my earphones on, listening to music, completely lost into it. That’s my usual way of travelling in the metro, unaware of people coming in and out of the train, looking at the map and the current station on it. I didn’t really notice it until it felt too hard. This old man standing ahead of me, while holding the rod was pressing my breasts with his elbow....I was shocked...he is doing it, and that too so openly and causally. While I was thinking about all this, the train pulled into a station and he was gone, I guess he got off. But that’s the thing with trains and buses, you are never sure of it. I have got used to these unintentional contacts and it is unavoidable, especially during peak hours. I was still doubting myself, even after the incident, if it really happened? Was he doing it deliberately?

Though not nullifying the impact of fear in cases of sexual harassment, it highlights that there are factors that determine women’s responses to these incidents. Pain has also argued and challenged the dominant and over-signified usage of fear as the determinant factor for non-reaction by women (Pain R. , 1991). Koskela also has highlighted that in cases of street harassment the feeling of fear and emboldens are often experienced together by women (Koskela H. , 1997). In the works of feminist scholars like Mehta and Bondi (1999), we find the argument that women must not be portrayed as passive recipients, inherently fearful and passive, but instead, other factors must be explored that determine the visible outcomes in cases of sexual harassment and aggressions. The portrayal of women commuters often reduces them as an agency less person, and even in cases of non-responsiveness, it should be held as a rational and processed response, influenced by several spatial temporalities. As it is evident in these incidents, that the dominant rhythm of the metro, facilitates a situation of uncertainty, which is an equally significant factor as fear, that they negotiate. Here, what sociability only becomes a disguise, though its truer nature is already lost. As, she argues in her work that sociability, exists only when there is no deceit in it, “...unless one of the persons involved tries to exploit it” (Simmel, 1949, p. 254).

Also, equally important is the metro environment and its transitory and ephemeral nature that makes the situation seem only temporary, to be getting over very soon. This notion of temporary existence impacts the decision-making by the commuters on their responses to the situation, where the journey is going to get over soon, and along with it the incident. Meherwas, on the time when she felt someone's erection while standing in the carriage, says that: "I just thought of waiting for a little longer and in sometime... At the coming stations either people will come in between or he will either move away or get down but nothing happened... I elbowed him in the stomach and gradually, moved ahead of him, crossing other people." The carriage though moving is temporarily isolated from the outside movement, creating a feeling of entrapment among the commuters (Urry, 2007), and thus the feeling of inability to move away from the situation without disrupting the flow and movement inside the train. Though the rhythmic pauses at the stations, with the influx of people and disturbance to the continuity of movements, gives hope of disassociating with the experience. In a similar incident, as told Mariyam, she described her intention to move away from the situation at the stops when people will be moving to get in or out of the train, "I was continuously thinking of moving a little away from there, when there will be movement at the stops, without disturbing others, but still I didn't. I just kept on counting the number of stations that I have to still pass and then finally, I got down at my place." This highlights the conflict between two rhythms of being physically immobile within the metro, and simultaneously, being mobile throughout the space, which affects the response towards the incidents of sexual harassment in Metro Railways. Recalling her incident of harassment while she was returning from the bar, Bhawana says that "I thought that there are only three more stations to go, how long could it possibly take? Apparently, it was very, very long for me."

Henri Lefebvre (1996, p. 230) argues that "every rhythm implies the relation of a time with space, a localised time, or if one wishes, a temporalised place." Barbara Adam (1998, p. 202) also highlights that "tempo, timing, duration, sequence and rhythm as the mutually implicating structures of time." Dynamic and multiple rhythms of space also produces a dynamic and ever-changing space-time, appearing consistent, disguised under the maintenance through continuous reproduction of consistencies. The previous experiences also explain Urry's argument that time is compressed in rail travels (Urry, 2007), and that "the subjective experience of the rhythmic and temporal... may vary so that time can drag" (Edensor, 2010, p. 190). In the previous account, we can see that the situation affected her

perception of time differently than other times, slowing it down due to the friction generated by the actions of the perpetrator. She experienced both time and space i.e., the distance between the stations very differently, though the notion of temporality was deployed to handle the situation. It is not only the victims who have to use the transitory and fleeting nature of the space but also the perpetrators, using it to their advantage of disappearing from the site of the incident. As Shalini noted that:

“It is a very metro thing...People touch you, or do anything, and taking advantage of the crowd just escape from there. This one time this guy who I can see as taking my picture suddenly got down at a station...everyone, even me continues with their journey. You get used to it, that no one is here for long and you just get through it, as others. It is a very momentary thing, once it has passed, they have gone, there is nothing to do.” In instances of reduced friction and continuous movement between train and individuals inside the metro railways also enables the perpetrator to flee amidst the crowd, unnoticed from the scene. Meharwas discusses how often people just disappear between the crowd, shift the carriage or even get down the train “often someone will touch your body parts, pinch you somewhere, and when you see there is no one anymore.” Aman also refers to an incident, not sexual but of theft that “these incidents are so sudden that, it is usually over till you even realise...once someone stole my wallet from the back pocket of my jeans, though I felt it slightly, I realised it very late... and by then there was no one there.”

The momentary and transient nature of the transport facility actively impacts the responses made or ignored by the commuters who face sexual or even non-sexual violence in the metro. The encounters that take place here, are usually very spontaneously orchestrated, even in cases of interactions between the perpetrator and the victim, denying enough time to comprehend the experience and respond to it. Additionally, the notion that these incidents are a fleeting situation of discomfort, which shall get over soon, acts as a factor that influences the decision of not making any response to it (Bissell, 2007). Apart from the feeling of fear, the momentary nature of the transport space, along with the anticipation of both the journey and experience is short-lived, explains parts of the non-responsiveness in several cases, with the perpetrator disappearing or disembarking unnoticed.

Conclusion

This chapter addressed the research aim “To understand the key features of the experiences of sexual harassment in Hyderabad Metro Railways.” The literature reviewed in Chapter One explained how women experience sexual harassment in public transport, and that is intrinsically linked to its environment (Madan & Nalla, 2016). This chapter further leads to explore and highlight the nature and features of sexual harassment in a public transport setting in Hyderabad. The rhythm of Mobilities are temporal in nature, and “respond to each other” (Lefebvre H. , 2004, p. 39), hence, in this chapter, the interplay of distinct rhythms has been untangled and observable individually. The main conceptual observation, through the analysis of both the qualitative and, quantitated data are: the rhythm of the city and the metro facilitate and conceal sexual harassment, and secondly, the apprehension in disrupting the social order and sociabilities of the space. Lastly, it also highlights that the transitory and temporary nature of space also affects the responses of individuals.

The analysis of the survey data also highlighted that safety exists as the most important and primary concern in opting for any mode of public transport, followed by its connectivity, and there is a very minute difference between this perception between men and women. It also reinstates that fear of sexual harassment, is essentially a women’s fear of victimization from other men, and the same is substantiated by the survey. In this, the role of gender in affecting the safety concerns of the space, especially in the case of public transport has also been established.

The interplay of rhythm and friction of the city and metro, collective code of conduct of the space, and the spatial temporalities collectively impacts and determine the perpetuation and experiences of sexual harassment. Examining these accounts, along with the existing literature, establishes the uniqueness in the way in which sexual harassment is experienced in the Metro Railway settings, which is very distinct from the domestic or organisational spaces. These acts of sexual aggression are spontaneous, solitary, and are not premediated in a non-place geography, thus providing a distinct nature of these incidents and their experiences, under complete unique spatial-temporal, and social settings.

Being a transitory and mobile environment, rhythm analysis and mobility perspective allow a better understanding of the fashion in which sociabilities are forged, disrupted and utilised in the setting. It explains several aspects that otherwise portrays a passive image of the victim, especially women in the cases of sexual harassment. The ephemeral nature of interactions, and uncertainty as to its result, helps us understand the absence of any response,

as a negotiation with the situation as well as with the space and its social settings. It does not nullify the finding that individuals face fear and anxiety, as an immediate reaction, but contradicts it as the only explanation of the phenomenon. Instead, there is a plethora of negotiations made under the feelings and emotional explanations of uncertainty, fear and shock, embarrassment that plays out in these fast-paced and fleeting interactions within the Metro Railways.

These accounts also explain the gendered nature of these incidents and the experiences of sexual harassment and the perpetrators. It explicitly highlights the impact of harassment on the mobility of the commuters in a necessary transport environment. In the next chapter, the negotiations and performance to deal with sexual harassment in Metro Railways has been explored and explained in-depth. It also brings into the context of other social structures and institutions like family, friends, and law enforcement agencies and the role they play in facilitating these negotiations avoiding disruption and discomfort.

Chapter Four

NEGOTIATING METRO SPACES AND EXPERIENCES: MEMORY AND PERFORMANCES AGAINST SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Introduction

In this chapter, I will explore and explain the impact of sexual harassment in Metro Railways on the sense of belonging and mobility across the city. The research aims to be addressed in this chapter is “to understand how incidents of sexual harassment impact their mobility and accessibility over time, and their negotiations with it.” In doing so, the chapter will lay out the literature from feminist, anthropological and criminological perspectives on the impact of sexual harassment in public spaces, including transit spaces. Further, the chapter will give a detailed discussion on the theoretical framework, based on the empirical analysis, using the sociological conceptualisation of memory (Adam, 1991; Misztal, 2003), which establishes a bridge between the embodied experiences of harassment and the spatial-temporalities.

Like any other form of violence and aggression, the impact of sexual violence on an individual is a dynamic experience that adopts new meanings over time and space. Through the use of memory, rhythm and friction, allows us to understand the immediate as well as long term impact of sexual harassment. In this empirical section, the data collected in the survey will be used to explain the way negotiations are made in handling sexual harassment, both during the incident and post-incident. It also explains the gendered nature of these negotiations and the ways it alters or curtails the accessibility of women not only to the Metro but to the city itself. Further, three cases studies have been used in this chapter to understand the negotiations they make to establish and re-establish their presence in the city and claim their presence and space, over changing space-time. This chapter will include women's access, fear and mobility, while also exploring how the memories of the experiences are suppressed and relived, and their role in negotiating and resisting alienation in the city. The concept of memory used here also helps us explain how women through revisiting, recognise and redefine the incidents, their responses, and their meaning over time. Through the use of mobilities and rhythm framework, it explains the multiple trajectories of memory in dealing with the incidents of sexual harassment, living in the city.

Sexual Harassment in Public Spaces and its Impact

Whenever the question of sexual harassment and its impact is raised, the first thing that is highlighted, even in academic research is fear (Warr, 1985; Pain R., 1991; Keane, 1995). There is a very spontaneous, embodied, and corporeal reaction to any experience of sexual harassment. Gardner has highlighted how often the immediate reactions can be physical shock and panic like flinching, numbness, breathing issues etc. (Gardner C. B., 1995, p. 211). Lefebvre has also explained through his concept of Arrhythmia as “in suffering, in confusion, a particular rhythm surges up and imposes itself: palpitation, breathlessness, pains in the place of satiety” (Lefebvre H., 2004, p. 31), linking it as a physical experience in response to the disruption of the rhythm around. Further, while highlighting the embodied experiences of sexual harassment, there is another factor that must be discussed here, the notion of self-blaming. Victim-blaming stands as a strong cultural perception, which assumes, even if only briefly, that the victim also in some ways responsible for the violence committed against them (Koskela H. , 2010). Therefore, even the responses that are made against such incidents, stands for public approval only after it establishes that the victim has no role in instigating, and are themselves within the visible and approved mode of conduct and space. As Shilpa Phadke argues, this burden of one’s own safety and dignity, to be held eligible to help in cases of violence, lies within the hands of women themselves (Phadke, 2012). Through, as a product of this social tendency, to scrutinise the victims' actions, and even blaming them for ‘attracting the violence’, pushes them often to remain silent in incidents of sexual harassment (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010; Solymosi, Cella, & Newton, 2017). Here, it becomes a two-faced negotiation, the act of response to the perpetrator along with establishing one’s respectability. Further in the chapter, we will explore how momentary negotiation with self-blame impacts the women’s response and their lives over a period of time.

Though there have been researches establishing fear as an immediate embodied reaction to the incidents of sexual harassment, there also exists critique of this over simplification, where women had been painted as passive social agents with no individual agency (Pain R. , 1991). To explain the fear of violence among women, especially violence by strangers in public the notions invoked includes their lesser physical ability to defend against (Junger, 1987), societal and parental upbringing of women (Loukaitou-Sideris A. , 2005), and even that women tend to transfer their past experiences and memories to current situations (Warr, 1984). Scholars like Weedon and Mehta have argued in their works that it becomes necessary

to take a different approach, understanding the embodied response of women in cases of violence and aggression through the conceptual lens of power and agency of the individual (Weedon, 1987; Mehta & Bondi, 1999). Thus, providing the scope to understand individual actions of response as a resistance, without necessarily implying the presence of fear as its determinant attribute. Fear and passivity have been so normalised and universalised in the research, that if otherwise, it tends to disfranchise the validity of individual experience (Koskela H. , 2010). This innateness of behaviour established leads to a sociological determinist attitude, where boldness and resistance are considered to be often risky, and deviating from the normative course of submission as a natural response. It is necessary to recognise and reject that it is not an innate nature of women to be fearful and passive (Valentine G., 1992), often not purposefully, though established in the conclusion of research on women safety. In cases of violence, including sexual harassment in public spaces, these responses are more often beyond the binary negotiation between passive submission and confrontation. The aspect of ‘not reacting’ to an incident must be seen as a rationale and conscious decision made by the actor, depending on their understanding of the spatial temporalities. Gardner (1995) in her work has also illustrated how not reacting to the surrounding, and pretence of normalcy is itself an exercise of power. Ambivalence to one’s own emotions and fear, is also an act of exercise of resistance, defying the forceful understanding of passivity (Sandberg & Ronnblom, 2013). This is also evident in subtle adjustments made in response to macroaggression and inconveniences as has been highlighted. Minor adjustments like changing position, use of personal objects as distancing medium like backpacks, umbrella or moving to another carriage, instead of abandoning the journey are also a mode of response to these incidents (Hsu, 2011). The findings in this study also highlight several adjustments such as use of earphone as instruments to distance themselves from the others, retaining a private self in the public space.

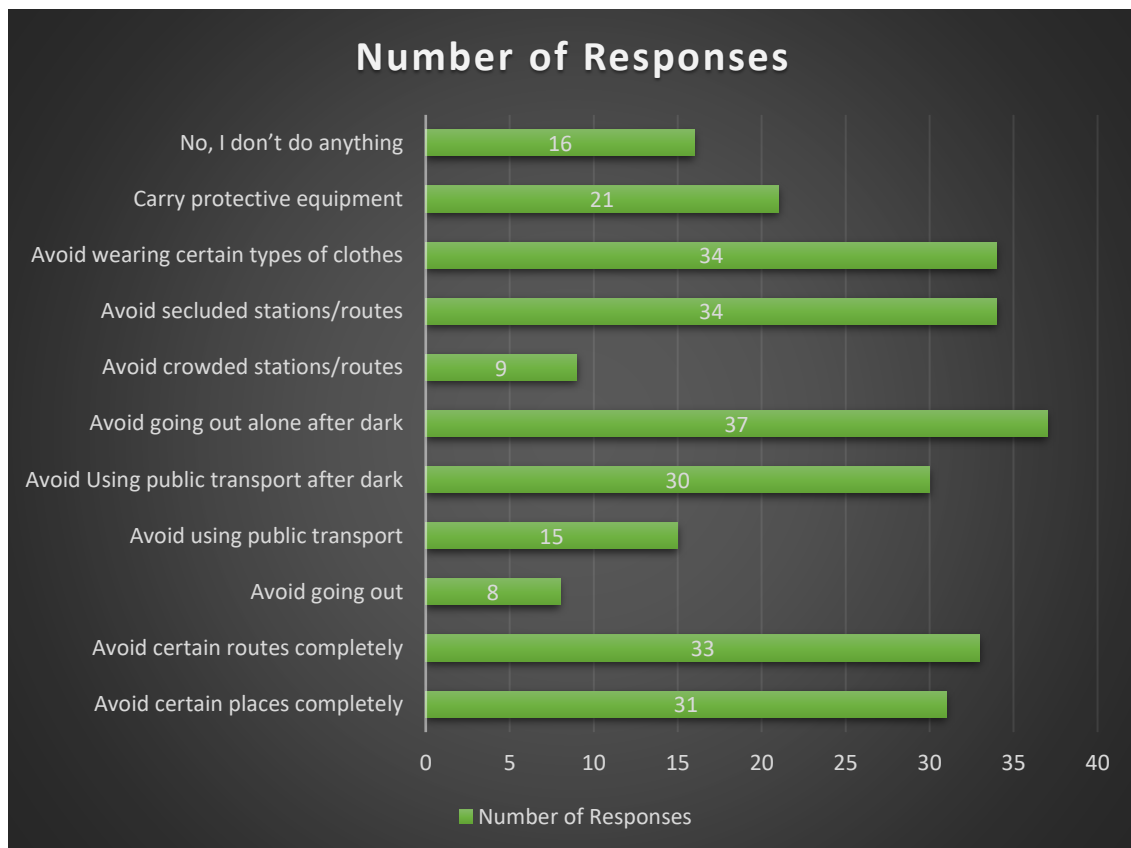
These adjustments and acts of resistance, must not be looked at in isolation but shall be understood along with the long-lasting impacts of sexual harassment. Scholars have highlighted both the behavioural and psychological impact of sexual harassment, which even emboldens the sense of vulnerability, fear and isolation (Pain R. , 1991; Keane, 1998). The traumatic impact of sexual harassment is not limited to the very incident itself, but also affects the overall mobility and accessibility of the individual. The “stranger-danger” (2000) as Macmillan and others argue, leads to “geographies of fear” (Valentine G. , 1989), i.e., a mental map of safe and unsafe spaces through the “transfer of threat appraisal” (Valentine

G. , 1989b). As, it is not possible to be scared of all men around, every time, as coping mechanism women identify safe spaces from the unsafe, that can be avoided. “Geographies of fear”, thus, is a social map imposed on the geographical, that assures the women of places, relatively safer and thus can be used to avoid violence (Valentine G. , 1989). These strategies of coping mechanisms, however, turn into an unbalanced and uncalled transaction, where women give their right of unrestricted accessibility in favour of safety in certain parts of the metropolitan geography. These behavioural adaptations of travelling in the city negatively impact their sense of belonging to the city as equal citizens, even deteriorating their quality of life (Valentine G., 1989; Warr, 1985; Pain R. , 1991). The adjustments adopted to ensure safety and comfort in response to the experiences of sexual harassment result in an “informal ghettoization of women” (Bowman, 1993). These adjustments and adaptations against gendered violence impinge on their freedom and accessibility to the city. Loukaitou identifies this fear as a factor of impairing mobility (Loukaitou-Sideris A. , 2014), where this fear of risk and its actuality, and the adaptation acts as a mobility restrictor (Keane, 1998). These incidents have a greater and long-lasting impact regulating their mode of transport, and time of travel, creating a circumscribed sense of usage of space (Young, 1990). Kearl highlights that sexual harassment and “...its negative impact on women can be as extreme as causing them to move neighbourhoods, change jobs because of harassers along the commute, and stay home more than they would do otherwise” (Kearl, 2010, p. 4). This also makes a determinant impact on their other life decisions of staying close to the place of work or working in places closer to stay, which drastically affects their economic and social prosperity (Gardner C. B., 1995).

Valentine identifies several coping mechanisms, adopted in everyday life to transgress through the public sphere efficiently and comfortably (Valentine G., 1989), normalised and often unrecognised. This is true in the case of both ‘micro-behaviours adjustments, along with extensive strategies adopted to avoid unsafe spaces or to maintain control and security in spaces that they cannot. Hsu has highlighted that even those who reported never being harassed said that they are watchful and make the same minor changes to avoid sexual harassment in transit (Hsu, 2011). Thus, being a victim of sexual harassment is not the only decisive factor, but the perception of the space itself being unsafe, the fear of crime becomes a greater threat than its actuality, creating a sense of vulnerability. These too are negotiated and experienced through the body of the individual. Studies on sexual harassment in public transport places have highlighted it is an exclusion of women in a highly masculinised space

(Koskela & Pain, 2000), where patriarchal values and gender norms are linked to physical places (Graglia, 2016). Gill Valentine has argued that the fear among women in public spaces, is not just the product of infrastructural failures but of gender inequality, where masculinised spaces depict a hostility towards women (Valentine G. , 1989b).

Chart no. 4.1. Precautionary measures undertaken in Hyderabad Metro Railways



The self-imposed constraints to navigate public spaces including transit spaces, as safely and comfortably as possible, also simultaneously limits their access and belonging in the city landscape. In the survey conducted for this study, respondents were asked to identify among the given strategies that they have adopted to avoid the possibility of sexual harassment. These include different adjustments and strategies among which avoiding travelling after dark is the most common adjustment adopted by 47.4% of the commuters (See Chart no.4.1). Scholars like Hsu (2011), Gardner & Coiacetto (2017), Laukaitou & Fink (2009) have also highlighted that dark places creates a sense of fear among commuters and therefore, there is an evident acceptance among commuters, especially women to avoid travelling after dark.

Similarly, 43.6% of the respondents have highlighted that they avoid secluded routes/stations (See Chart no.4.1). Clothing also comes up as an important parameter that determines the safety of commuters. In the survey, around 43% of respondents have agreed that they avoid certain types of clothing to avoid chances of sexual harassment (See Chart no.4.1). Phadke et al (2011) has argued that women maintain their dressing and clothing along with additional performative items like bag, umbrella to perform the purposefulness of their presence in public spaces. To her, the sanction of being present in public space to women is granted on their purposefulness and continuous generation of respectability. There is a continuous negotiation and bargain for stability, disguised under the observable normalcy and routines of everyday activities. It is important to highlight here that, not all the survivors of harassment and gendered violence need to experience a long-lasting sense of victimisation and fear. The act of routinisation, and as its result familiarity with the geographical and social nature of the space creates a sense of comfort. Continuous usage of the space, even where they have experienced can also reduce the perception of the space as dangerous. In the survey study, around 20% of the respondents have identified that they have made no adjustment to avoid chances of sexual harassment. However, an important and peculiar feature of this response is that out of the total respondents who make no adjustments to ensure minimisation of sexual harassment, only 12.5% of them are female (See Chart no.4.1). This resonates with the idea that sexual harassment is gendered violence, and the fear of sexual harassment is exclusively experienced by women (Valentine G., 1989b; MacMillan, A, & Welsh, 2000). The role played by developing a sense of ownership of the space through its routinized utilization, and how both the incidents, its impact and the perception of the space changes over time will be dealt with in this chapter. As a derived demand, public transportation must facilitate everyday activities without any undue expenditure of time, money or effort. However, it is usually the volume of mobility that is measured in the context of understanding passenger transport, and accessibility measures are seldom used in practice. Apart from the understanding of sexual harassment and its impact on mobility and accessibility, the concept of memory will help us situate the everyday active negotiation of the commuters in the Hyderabad Metro space over time.

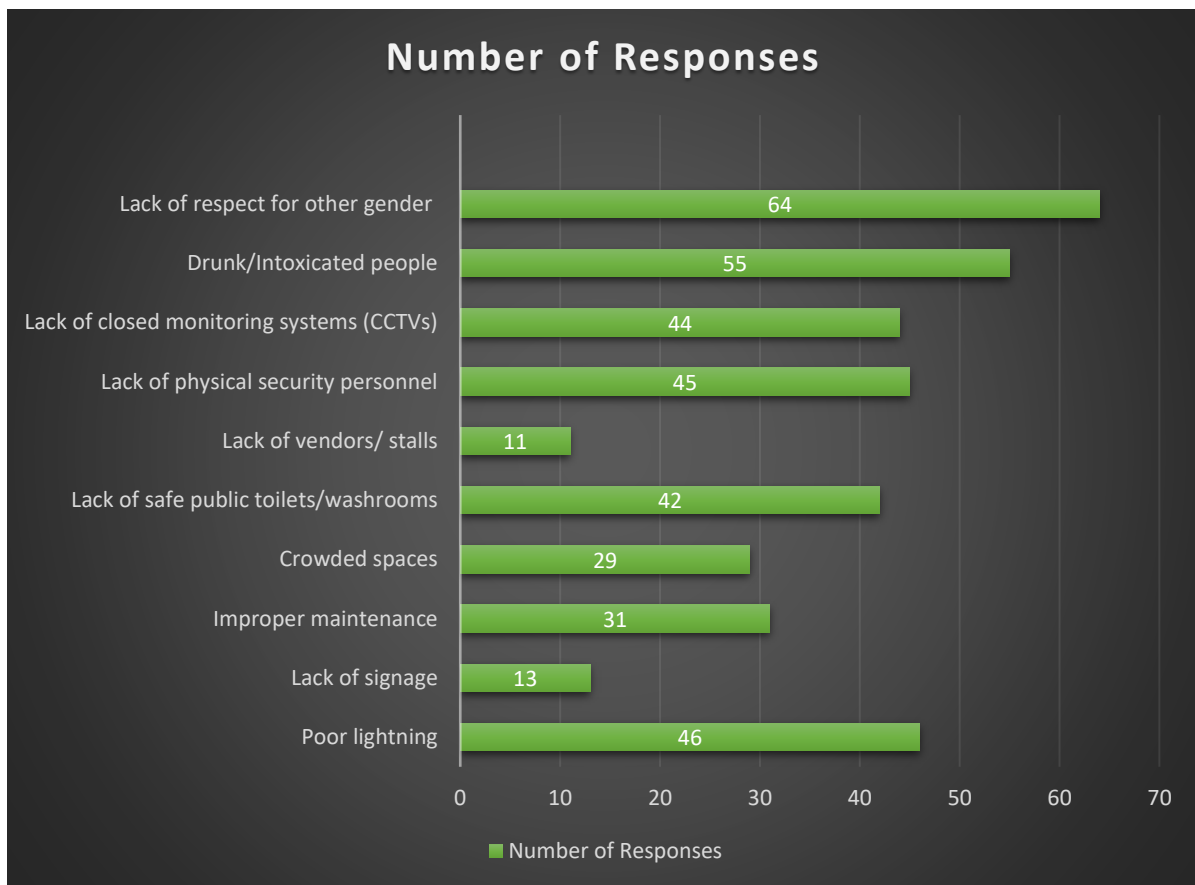
Factors that Determine the Perceived Safety

The appearance of the Trains and Stations

Transit spaces that display visible social and civic incivilities stimulate a sense of fear among the commuters. These spaces also create a perception of being covert and disguised, providing an encouraging environment for the perpetrators to commit crimes. This phenomenon can be better understood through the broken-window theory, a criminological perspective introduced by James Wilson and George L. Kelling (1982). According to the broken-window theory, spaces with visible signs of crime and social incivilities, like improper lights, broken glasses, defaced and damaged infrastructure, further foster and emboldens crime and violence in the space. Based on the assumption that spaces actively communicate to people, the lack of regular monitoring and maintenance signals the negligence of safety of that place. Kelling argues that to maintain the civic atmosphere of any place it becomes necessary to continuously monitor and address minor civic issues and petty crimes taking place (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Here, the message that is projected becomes bigger and important, than the issue of the broken glass itself, i.e., spaces left unattended create a sense of fear and among people, rendering it unsafe to use.

The prospect-refuge theory, originally developed by Jay Appleton (1977), an English geographer, in his work *Experience of Landscape*, argues that spaces which provide greater opportunity for refuge, spaces for perpetrators to hide, with a minimal prospect, disabling a clear vision of the surrounding, creates a perception of fear among individuals. Dosen and Ostwald explain how certain spaces fulfilling our innate psychological need of visibility, determines our understanding of space as safe or not (Dosen & Ostwald, 2016). Donna Haraway has also stated in her work that “Vision is always a question of power to see” (Haraway, 1988). Spaces that facilitate an overview of the surroundings to the commuters emboldens their sense of safety and comfort in the Metro station, and carriages, however, conversely, conceived spaces also provide the perpetrator with an opportunity to commit their crimes, without the fear of being caught, remaining anonymous. This especially plays out in the context of crowded spaces, Hyderabad Metro station and trains, which during the peak rush hours are crowded with bodies in proximity to each other.

Chart no. 4.2. Factors that determines perceived safety

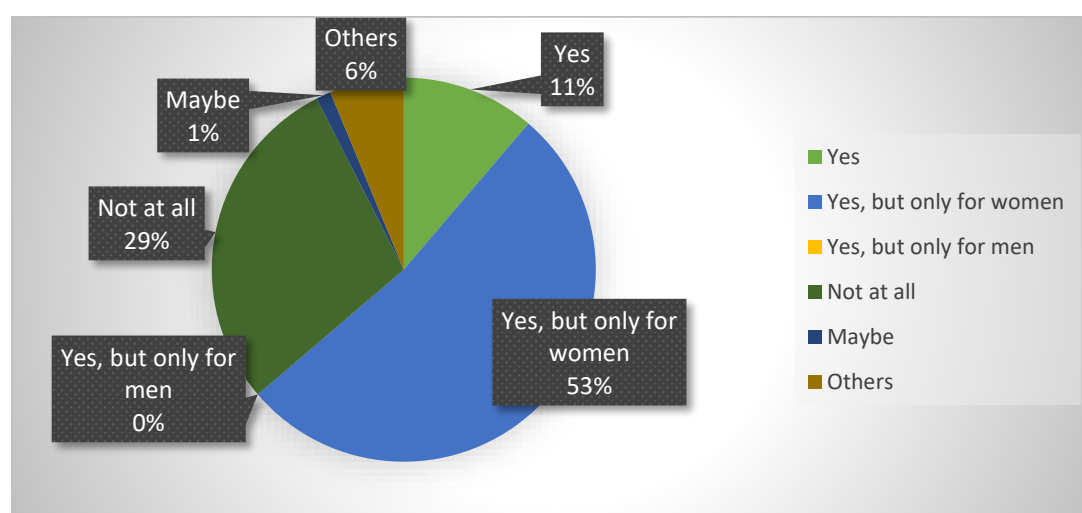


This has also been highlighted by the responses of the survey, where around 37% of the respondents have agreed that crowded spaces create a sense of unsafe environment (See Chart no. 4.2). This is also to be understood along with the people's response in which about more than half, around 59% of the respondents find poor lightning, and 16% of them find lack of signage as a factor contributing to the unsafe perception of a place, respectively (See Chart no. 4.2). Good lighting has been found to have a negative impact on both the risk and actuality of crime for transit passengers at the stations and other transit spaces. Additionally, it has also been found that proper lightning in transit environments affects the sense of security and comfort more among women than in men (See Chart no. 4.2).

Social incivilities including drunk and intoxicated people in and around metro places have also been highlighted as an important factor that creates the perception of any public space as unsafe (Yavuz & Welch, 2010). This is especially true for women who are more apprehensive of social incivilities in public transport spaces than men. In this survey also more than two-thirds of the respondent (70.5%) have identified as a contributing factor (See

Chart no. 4.2). Another peculiar finding of the survey is that around 82% of the respondents have identified that ‘lack of respect for another gender’ is the most important factor that makes public transit spaces unsafe (See Chart no. 4.2). The burden of safety is often being shifted on the individuals, especially in the case of women, i.e., apart from the normalised violence of every day that they face, they also must carry the responsibility to safeguard themselves in any such cases. The privilege to be comfortable, careless, and fearless in public spaces, including transit spaces is absent for women. This has been highlighted by the responses of the questionnaire, where there is only male respondent (4.76%) out of 21 responses who have said that they carry protective equipment with them, and the rest 95.2% are female (See Chart no. 4.2).

Chart no. 4.3. Relation between dressing pattern and safety concerns



Regarding dressing pattern, about 67% of the respondents, including both men and women have said that clothing and dressing pattern is related to the safety of men and women in public spaces (See Chart no. 4.3.). Though out of the total respondents that have identified clothing/dressing as a factor, 42 respondents (53%) have identified that it is only applicable for women. 23 respondents (29%) have argued that dressing pattern has no impact on the safety of individuals (See Chart no. 4.3.). Shreya, a 31-year-old woman from West Bengal, who has been working in Hyderabad in a start-up firm for the past 4 years says that “Dressing skimpily leads to more stares, but physical harassment occurs even if I wear covered clothes.” Similarly, Aprajita, a 24-year-old woman from Kerala, who has completed her

higher education from Hyderabad, and is now working in an MNC noted that: “I have experienced more instances of staring and unsolicited comments from men/women when I wore clothes that stood from what they are used to seeing.” Supriya T., a 19-year-old woman also adds that though “the dress doesn’t matter”, but “people think your risk of being assaulted is higher if you are wearing revealing or short clothes. However, men can even go shirtless and no one will bat an eye.”

Technological Security Measures

Surveillance through visual technology is now an integral aspect of policing and monitoring. Apart from its large-scale usage by the state law enforcement agencies like police, it has also found an important regular usage in the monitoring of both public and private spaces. Metro stations and carriages like other transit spaces are now equipped with CCTV cameras to continuously monitor, catch and trace acts of crime, violence or social incivilities. Hyderabad Metro Railway authorities have univocally emphasized the importance of CCTV cameras to maintain the safety of the metro stations, and it has been regularly made part of the security measure in the stations. CCTV networks have been established as a powerful tool, because of their importance in crime prevention through visual methods of identification, recognition and tracking. In the aftermath of the Nirbhaya case (Roychowdhury, 2013), where a young girl was brutally gang-raped in a moving bus on a chilly night of 16 December 2012, deployment of CCTV cameras in public transports and spaces was envisioned and adopted as a remedial measure by the government and state machinery and was also raised in the popular demand by the people. Following which most of the metropolitan cities, all across the country adopted CCTV surveillance as a necessary element of crime prevention, and has been actively advocated and encouraged, especially in public transit spaces.

CCTV has become a very powerful tool, due to its ability to visually depict and even record everyday actions and deviations in the public domain, and is often referred to as a modern-day expansion of the Foucauldian idea on Panopticon (Foucault, 1977). It provides the ability to observe others, their behaviours, interactions, and performances from a distance, and thus enabling a sense of power to the observer, as Haraway states, “vision is always a question of the power to see” (Haraway, 1988, p. 585). It is a powerful tool for monitoring spaces and those who inhabit, thus is also argued as a deterrent to crime and that its presence in the

environment itself, reduces the chances of crime reducing the sense of fear. Another important and notable aspect is that often, at various sites in the place, there is an obvious presence of messages indicating the presence of CCTV surveillance in the area. A modern tool, established as a popular mechanism as an active deterrent to crime and reducing its fear, CCTV functions on the hypothesis that crimes will not be conducted, if the perpetrator is aware of being constantly observed (Yavuz & Welch, 2010). Also, the ability of CCTV surveillance to not only show but also record the visuals aiding the further identification and tracking of perpetrators encourages the survivors to report the crime (Welsh & Farrington, 2003).

In the survey study that was conducted, slightly more than half of the respondents have highlighted that the lack of CCTV surveillance contributes to the perception of transit spaces as unsafe. CCTV camera and its closed monitoring are based on continuous observation, even before the acts are done, thus reducing the chances for the perpetrator to commit any crime. Though, this identification is based on the understanding of normative human behaviour and activities, which often becomes ineffective in certain situations. As has been discussed in chapter 3, the acts of sexual harassment are often covert, through a synchronised mimic of the public code of conduct, disguised in the dominant rhythm of the space. It has also been similarly highlighted by Irfan who says that, “though I have never personally experienced it myself, CCTV does make the metro station safer and that you police or metro people can check if you complain. I think it is useful in cases of theft or snatching.... where after identification, police can trace them through the devices if stolen. Otherwise, it is very difficult to catch someone who might have already left the train or the station itself.” Pointing to the transitory nature of the space, Bhawna tells that “What will you do if someone touched you in a crowded running train, and got off the train before you did, or many times, I am myself not very sure of who did. I often am not sure myself...you doubt yourself if it even happened...what then? She further distinguishes the nature of the metro and its difference from other spaces with a relatively stationary sense of inhabitation like workplace, that “This is not office or cinema hall, where everyone will get out at the same time and you can catch them.” This creates a differentiates Metro Railways or any public transport space from other public spaces like organisational and workplaces, which have greater familiarity and recognition with each other. In public transport, the presence is temporary, interactions transitory, and only momentary recognitions of each other exists.

Though its practical utility in identification and investigation has its benefits it is also important to understand the workings of power in this flow i.e., who is watching whom, and what are they watching (Walby, 2005). There is elementarily a power dynamic between the observer and those observed, as it allows the watcher a greater control over the environment (Goold, 2004, p. 3), which here, in this case, is the Metro space. Also, an important aspect is the interpretation of the observed phenomenon i.e., how are actions and behaviour interpreted with and how and what meanings are attached to them, and as Dona Haraway argues that we must not leave this perception of an objective, passive vision unquestioned (Haraway, 1988). Several research has also highlighted that CCTV cameras may help identify a criminal or assaulter after the crime has been done, but it has a lesser positive impact on enhancing the sense of perceived safety of the space. Women generally have been more appreciative of the presence of security or staff personnel over technological solutions, including the effectiveness of CCTV cameras (Sideris & Fink, 2009).

Trauma and Emotional Memory

Understanding Memory

Memory is the recollection of the events of the past, their reconceptualization in the present, and the resultant negotiations for the future. It does not exist in an abstract of the temporalities of its past but is always relational to its derived meaning in the present context (Adam, 1991; Keightley, 2010). Therefore, it becomes necessary to understand the temporality of memory through empirical analysis, about the way it is remembered over time, what is remembered, and its gradual impact throughout. It opens a view to understanding how individuals remember their experiences, negotiations made in its response over some time, and the impacts of these negotiations on the behaviour, rhythm, and mobility of those who have been sexual harassment. Durkheim, in a sociological perspective, has highlighted the important relationship between an individual's memory with the collective identity and the interconnectedness between them (Durkheim, 1971; 1973). This has been further explored by Halbwachs (1980; 1992), who argues that memories gain their meaning and are supported by the social frameworks of which they are part of and are embedded into. Along with the social and collective aspects, Jane Adams in her book "The long road of woman's memory" (originally published in 1916) also notes that the acts of remembering by a subjective individual are also a personal, cognitive, emotional, and social

process within the social structure (Adams, 1916). It becomes necessary to pay attention to remembrance as an act from an individual's perspective, recognising that this individual act is being carried out in a social context. The individual exists as an active agent and memories as the accomplished embodiments of the individual.

The act of remembering, then moves beyond a simple unidirectional understanding of the past but also of the present i.e., the contemporary experiences of the individual. Recollection of the lived experiences, as an act done backwards, starting from the present moving backwards, as Adam, considers, "the act is always rationalised from the present in the direction of the past" (Adam, 1991, p. 35). Keightley (2010, p. 56) also states that remembering is "...a process of making sense of experience, of constructing and navigating complex temporal narratives and structures and ascribing meaning not only to the past but to the present and future also." The memories are continuously redefined by the survivor, the negotiations and adjustment of the present being "affected by previous acquisitions" (Jedlowski, 2001, p. 29). The lived experiences of the past and their memory is linked to the temporalities, being constantly reshaped over time. These memories and their meaning do not remain absolute, objective and constant, as the same (Jedlowski, 2001), but it changes as do the interpretation of the incidents.

Memory and Trauma

Medical studies and psychoanalysis have given significant attention to understanding the relationship between emotional memory. Sotgiu and Galanti, have argued that traumatic memories are often more dispersed, disjointed and are less articulate, as they escape complete consciousness (Sotigu & Galati, 2007). Traumatic memories can be understood as "a descriptive term for recall of negative personal experiences" (Tromp, Koss, Figueredo, & Tharan, 1995, p. 608) that are "new, unexpected, and potentially threatening" (Christianson, 1992, p. 284). The lack of control on memory in cases of traumatic experiences often disrupts the processing of memory resulting in stress and anxiety and their fragmented existence. Caruth, argues that traumatic experiences like that of sexual harassment and its impact lies in their belatedness, i.e., not being limited to the instance when the incident was experienced but also its gradual manifestation over time (Caruth, 1995, p. 8). Trauma, therefore, gives birth to a continuous chain of repercussions, defining "a person's perception of the life

afterwards” along with the “interpretations of subsequent events” (Leydesdorff, Dawson, Burchardt, & Ashplant, 2004, p. 15).

Distinguishing traumatic memories from emotional memories, Tromp et al. (1995) describes memories of “emotionally intense event” as more deeply engraved and are thus, more precisely remembered and easily reached than others. The accounts by the individuals throughout this thesis have been very detailed, along with very minute details, as these emotional memories are both a part and embedded in their everyday lives.

The reconceptualization of experiences of sexual harassment and their acknowledgement also forms a significant part of the emotional memories. As it has been stated in Chapter One, there exists an obscure and acute ambiguity over the socio-legal definitions of sexual harassment and sexual violence including rape. Even when the incidents experienced by individuals fall within the legal, normative, and objective definitions, while experiencing, it is often not immediately recognised and labelled under these categories (Bondurant, 2001; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003). Non-acknowledgement becomes an important aspect with relation to the cases of sexual violence, along with the incidents of rape and battery. This non-acknowledgement or the ‘denial’ works both as a coping mechanism or also an avoidance towards the experiences and are a part of the negotiations made by the individual (Roth & Newman, 1991). The reconceptualization or relabelling of the incident over time becomes an important part of the experience as well as of recovery (Botta & Pingree, 1997). The redefinition of the incidents of trauma including sexual harassment is affected by several factors including individuals’ life journey, and also social attitudes and adjustments.

In this, sharing one’s experience also plays a crucial role through which individuals recognise and redefine their experiences of harassment and sexual aggression (Botta & Pingree, 1997). This self-disclosure takes place in different settings including family, friends, and also seeking professional help and through workshops. In the case of professional help and workshops, the communication aids by providing information that empowers the survivors through proper knowledge and bringing out attitude changes and alterations. However, Currie (1990), has argued that this disclosure and sharing among friends, being aware that it may lack accurate information, are sympathetic, understanding and maintain discretion. This is particularly true in cases of adolescents who turn to their friends for support and intimacy, talk about their experiences, facilitating a greater degree of an

acknowledgement as the interaction is with someone, they are familiar with. As Tannen also notes that these conversations by women are negotiations of closeness, confirming themselves and works to gain consensus (Tannen, 1990). These memories of the past lived and shared experiences impact the way individuals negotiate their mobility, while also reconceptualising these memories of sexual harassment.

Understanding the impact of memories of sexual harassment on mobility

Explaining women's greater fear of crime, even when statistically they face relatively lesser cases of violence than men, Warr (1984) identifies their higher tendency to transfer past experiences and memories to present situations. This is evident in the case where women depict high fearfulness of public spaces, after any incident highlighting the impact of trauma in developing a sense of vulnerability and fear. Thus, the way is experienced in everyday life is also dependent on the memory, the everyday consciousness of the incidents experienced in that spatiotemporal setting. Here, as Teridman (1993, p. 9) argues, memory "functions in every act of perception, in every act of intellection, in every act of language." Memories is also closely linked with emotions as they are a part and product of the past, and emotions are nurtured through the memories of the past (Misztal, 2003). The memories of past experiences become a part of everyday consciousness recurring across time and space which impacts the mobility of the individuals. Thus, they not only affect the way individual exercise their presence but also limits access to public spaces along with the experiences of freedom and pleasure. Memories of the traumatic experiences and their impacts that are negotiated by the individuals are intricately interwoven with the urban settings. Valentine (1989), regards them as the "geographies of fear", i.e., "the mental mapping" of the safe and unsafe spaces and negotiating the restrictions in the city spaces. In their everyday interaction with these spaces, it aids in negotiating and avoiding the spaces where they have experienced danger or harassment. The performances of the individual including their rhythms in the public spaces are based on the acquired knowledge and their intuition (Koskela H., 2010). The risk of victimisation, based on past experiences are constantly renegotiated to reduce the disruption and discomfort and to claim their presence. Understanding and incorporating memory, along with the rhythm and friction aids a nuanced and deeper understanding of sexual harassment and its repercussion across spatial temporalities.

Negotiating the memories of sexual harassment and its impacts

This part of the chapter consists of three case studies in which accounts of 3 women who have faced sexual harassment in Hyderabad Metro Railways has discussed. The case studies are analysed to understand the impact of incidents over time. It provides us with a window to understand sexual harassment in public transport through the lenses of temporalities, as has been highlighted by Bhawna, who recalls the incident that she experienced two years ago:

“It is a very long and continuous process, and looking back I can even break the things that I went through in phases, very similar to the way we experience our grief or losses. I cannot say of others, but initially, I felt completely violated, was feeling both shock and angry at the same time, I had become immobile. How dare could someone do such a thing, I was just travelling in the metro like every day and everyone else. You also feel that you should complain to the authorities like police or metro people, but that too will be of no use, it will additionally put an extra burden on me and will be tiring too. To explain to them everything, to make them understand, what I was going through. You move on, share it between friends, find that they too have experienced similar experiences, it gives you support and acknowledgement. That is the most important and primary thing when people acknowledge it. This sharing at times makes the incident a defining experience of your existence in the city or can also reduce it to just a joke. You gradually move on, try to restart, more conscious and taking better care of things.”

Temporality plays a significant role in determining the impact of sexual harassment. Memory can both dig out the past now and often or can prolong the effect of the past in the present. It also establishes that the past is never a static experience, restricted in its time frame, but varies and changes over time, and as is evident through the accounts of the respondents, is continuously renegotiated. As, Bhawna talked about how after sharing the experience with her friends she completely realised the incident, its severity and also enabled her negotiations around it. Cleere and Lynn (2013), argue that memories do not retain an objective meaning and impact throughout, but are continuously reshaped over time. The concept of friction and rhythm and constant changes in it through adaptation depicts the non-linear trajectory of the impact of sexual harassment. It also highlights how individual mobilities are restricted due to sexual harassment and how the negotiations of varying adjustments are made to minimise the disruption. Here, it establishes the survivor as an active

agent, exercising their agency in negotiating the public space after experiencing sexual harassment.

Priya

Priya is a 25 years old woman, who uses the metro as her regular mode of transport for her work. Yet, she describes one particular instance of sexual harassment that she had experienced and how it had changed how she knew of and travelled in the metro and the city. Travelling during late evening hour, on her way back from work, she recalls the incident, and of her thoughts and reaction, when a man standing behind her in a very crowded carriage put his hand between her legs.

“I felt someone’s palm and fingers, touching my pubic bone. It is always very crowded during office hours, and you might not get a seat also. So, it is common that often people stand very close to each other, and physical contact with other people cannot be avoided. However, I could sense the palm on my back for a long time, where that person has moved his fingers from underneath...I could feel the continuous movement of the fingers on my buttocks. I could understand that the person was doing it intentionally. I was confused, after one or two stops later, I was sure that I was assaulted, but I have not done anything about it. I was frozen, I did not even move, he continued doing it for a couple of stations.”

One dominant and repetitive aspect of this account is its uncertainty. As, she has talked about being frozen, or immobile, which is usually considered as a physical and intrinsic reaction, it is also, as Koskela (2010, p. 306) defines is a part of the “reasoning.” Freezing or unresponsiveness as a form of response is often defined and built around the collective social, and spatial intricacies of the environment, revealing the clash between rhythm and friction. Often identified as an embodiment of fear, inaction or unresponsiveness, can be an active decision, a rational and complex behaviour especially in the instances of shock and doubt, as in Priya’s case.

“This is the thing about Metro, you are usually not sure in the beginning. You second-guess yourselves. Maybe it was not deliberate. You don’t want to accuse someone who is busy minding his own business. Because it’s very crowded, what if it’s not deliberate. You need to make an active decision but first, you must be sure, and it has to be done very quickly. If you react too late it becomes very awkward. You have got very little time to react. By the

time you are sure of it and have worked it out, he has moved or gone. You have missed the chance to call it out. Now, if you do anything it will be a meaningless fuss.”

The irregularity and non-coherent rhythms, as Lefebvre (2004, p. 52) identifies it are “symptomatic of disruption” and along with uncertainty and shock prevented her from making any explicit response. Metro railways being a transport and intermediate differs from other public spaces, as the interactions and occupancies of the individuals are also transitory and ephemeral. The same is reflected in Priya’s account when she says that “Now, I feel stupid about it, but then it was continuously going on in my thoughts... okay it's only 4 stations for me to leave, what worse could happen now?

She also notes how her reaction to the incident is incongruent with her idea of self. I don’t know why I thought like then, and I feel embarrassed of myself thinking about it. I am an independent person and manage most of my things on my own. I take no bullshit from no one, I am not a person who gets scared of things, but still, it happened. If this would have happened anywhere else, I would have created a scene, yet, here I did nothing.” A constant revisiting of memories alters the meaning of attitude and behaviours undertaken in the past and reshapes the responses and negotiations of present scenarios. This also creates a sense of dissatisfaction with how the individual dealt with the situations in the past. This resonates in Gardner’s works that “women with highly developed politicized feminist consciousness were not always satisfied with their methods of handling harassment” (Gardner C. B., 1995, p. 12). There is a consistent remodelling and reconstruction of taking place, in everyday routine, through individual lived experiences. The memories create a consciousness of the past experiences, preparedness for the present, and cognisance of the future (Wilson, Gunn, & Ross, 2009). We find all these elements in actions in the future experiences of Priya.

Human beings are not mere agents of sedentary behaviour but being cognitive they are instead constantly practising centres of action (Adam, 1991, p. 17). This is evident in the subsequent experiences faced by Priya and the changes in her behaviour and attitude. She details, how a few weeks later from that incident, she faced a similar experience at the Raidurgam metro station, where a man positioned himself behind her and put his hand around her waist, sliding it down slowly. She says “I thought in my head, that I cannot let this happen again. I must not let this happen or I will always be in constant fear.” Here, this response to the incident is not an immediate stimuli-reaction but a conscious response developed over the past experience.

“Immediately, I told him to get the fuck away from me. I told him that it is deliberate as you have been moving your hand continuously and this is something you cannot get away from it. He also shouted at me, acting all innocent and pretending to be unaware of what I was talking about. I told him if that’s the case, you will have no issues moving a little or shifting yourselves in another direction. It was like I was shouting over this man but for the previous incident also.” We learn through actions and experiences of the past and it shapes the way our actions and responses take place in future (Adam, 1991, p. 147). Her response is derived from her previous experience of sexual harassment in a very similar spatial-temporal setting. It also depicts a change in the way in which she carries out her future interaction with the metro railways and, the city.

Priya also describes the problems, that she experienced, even when taking an action. “I felt a little ashamed, for creating a fuss and disturbing the people around me in the carriage.” In spaces of fleeting and transitory acknowledgements of each other, ‘overt and loud’ reactions also create a feeling of encroaching the personal space of other people, and therefore, is not the most acceptable and preferable way. She further adds that “You will be wrong in every condition if I wouldn’t have shouted then that man, and others like him will keep harassing women, and I if react to it, people might look at me with apprehension and frown, for creating a scene. Either way, there is no set ‘right’ way of doing it. You have to make your own decisions that too in the heat of the moment. Do you want to feel like a failure? If not, then you have to speak. Sometimes, even your friends and colleagues also will not understand it or laugh it off, and it feels like, am I not even eligible to be considered the righteous victim. But then you know that you handled the situation, the best possible way. You weren’t in the way that you were supposed to be, but even the circumstance wasn’t either. This is a constant adjustment to rightfully find your place and respectability and it changes over time, about how ready I am to compromise, how much, and when you are not ready to.”

There is a stark difference between the way she experienced and responded with these two similar experiences in the same kind of environment over a period of time. We can see, how while talking about the first instance, she distances her ‘then’ as a different person with different behaviours and attitudes than now. In the earlier incident, it took her time to comprehend the situation, and was in shock and surprise, while, in the latter incident, she was prepared beforehand, was conscious and therefore, confronted the perpetrator immediately and affirmatively. She also notes the impact of the incident, and how it violated her access and right to be a part of the city. She notes that “I don’t see myself as a scared

person and I take stand against wrong things and here this man was in a way threatening me, my freedom and going around and doing my business...They were basically pushing me away, taking away my space and that makes me uncomfortable.”

Bhawna

Bhawna is 25 years old woman living in Paigah Colony near the Parade Ground Metro Station. She recalls the time when she had gone to a bar and was coming back home, through a Metro train. She was very comfortable that the bar is directly linked to a metro station through skyway, and she doesn't need to get outside on-road or have to take any other commute to reach the station. Over the journey, she recalls a man who chatted up with her, but later started touching her inappropriately and did not stop even when she asked him to.

“We started talking...he told me that he saw me in the bar. We talked about office, works and other things. But in the meanwhile, I could feel his fingers moving back and forth on my back and waist. Initially, I thought it was an unintentional mistake, but I could see the acknowledgement in his smile when I looked at him. Immediately, I asked him to move his hands away, but even then he continued doing. A lot of things came running to my thoughts, about how I felt then, but surely I was scared and was even a little ashamed. I, myself was drunk and so, didn't want to make a scene and, certainly, couldn't get off the train. I am an adult, and I can drink but again, I did not want people to notice, so, I was just trying to act cool.

Historically, women have had to establish respectability through manipulating their appearances, dressing patterns, and even altering their behaviour to be considered worthy for and to achieve a sense of safety (Phadke, 2011; Gardner C. B., 1990). In that instance of shock and fear, her immediate response was of self-blame and guilt, as she focused on herself being drunk “though I was panicking and scared inside, I was ashamed too, of being drunk. I thought that this could have been avoided if I was not drunk. I became very conscious that I shouldn't have been drunk. Even if people will notice that man, they will also get to know that I am also coming from a bar and am drunk too. I felt horrible.” The burden for production of safety and its onus then falls on women, themselves, and as Shilpa Phadke (Phadke, 2012) argues, this accessibility of public space becomes available only conditionally, on their performances of respectable purposefulness. The inclination towards self-blame, finds its root in the dominant patriarchal rules, laying out the acceptable and despicable presentation

of women in public (Pain R. , 1997). Bhawna's conformity to the socially dominant and acceptable behaviour of the space also resonates with the Lefebvrian notion of "dressage", where practices learnt through repeated performances, with willfull or not intention to adjust arrhythmic patterns into eurhythmic fashion. (Lefebvre H. , 2004). This incident changed a lot and has a significant impact on her as she says. "you see...people are little free at that time, they have a holiday the next day, they talk to each other, there are groups of people travelling together. But it was the first time, that someone behaved with me in such a way, he was friendly in the beginning and that's why I indulged with him, but then he started misbehaving." This incident had a long-lasting impact on her subsequent interactions also:

"I guess, it was for the first time that I became so conscious of myself in public and I took the entire blame on myself for the incident. I wasn't blaming him but that, it was my fault for being drunk and dressed inappropriately. So, more than being frightened of men, I just learned that I cannot be like this in public, being drunk and dressed like that again. This thought lasted for a very long time, I felt ashamed, I really felt so, for a very long period that I would never ever do that. Well, now I have come to terms with it, I again started going out late at night, even to bars, I wear what I feel like but for a good amount of time, I didn't go out like that or dress like that, with my legs out..."

The embodied memory of past experiences and trauma can last for a very long time, if not forever, becoming a part of everyday routine. This incident not only questioned her own "presentation" (Goffman, 1959) but also brought doubt onto the "sense" of herself. Her experience also shows how our experiences of pain or discomfort alter the way we recognise our own bodies (Leder, 1990; Cregan, 2006), changing the way we perceive ourselves, creating a sense of Lefebvrian arrhythmia (Lefebvre H. , 2004). The impact of this disturbing incident and being undesirably sexualised affected her consciousness of self, her performance, and even her appearances. Repeated usage of phrases like "for a good amount of time", "for a very long time" in her account also points to the temporal impact of emotionally stressful memories, as she further adds about the time she spoke of this incident to one of her closest friends:

"I never talked to about that incident to anyone, keeping it to myself as I felt very ashamed of the things that happened. Recently, about some 6 or 7 months ago, I opened up about the incident to my friend. I told her everything, how horrible it was, how it had affected me and that how I have lived with these thoughts all alone, every day. Though, I haven't told my

family about it, as they might not understand me, or that they might take it in some other way. I also fear that they also may blame me for it, or find me partially responsible for bringing it onto myself.”

The temporality of the experience is highlighted in this account and how it took her near two years to be able to open about it, to talk about it to someone. Memories laden with the experiences of trauma, and its continuous repression by the survivors make it hard for the survivor to talk openly about it or as Pickering and Keightley (2009) call, to “make storyable.” It becomes a part of their “autobiographical memory” embedded deep within, played out in everyday interactions across different spatial and temporal settings (Misztal, 2003, p. 78). Looking back on that experience, today’s Bhawna reflects that:

“I have changed a lot since the incident, I don’t feel guilty or ashamed of it anymore, I know if anyone should be feeling guilty, it should be men like them. If it happens today, I guess I will not be scared, at least not as I was then. I would shout at him and would ask him to get away from me. I know that things like that wouldn’t frighten me as they did then, but one gets used to it, gradually.”

There is an evident change in the outlook and approach than before. There is an obvious difference in how the memories have constantly reshaped in the intervening time and are also resonated through the everyday experiences in between, and therefore “the relived experiences are different because of it” (Adam, 1991, p. 143). Over a period of time, since the incident, the memories of sexual assault redefine and alter the ways in which the survivor sees the incident, with a gradual shift of blame from self to the perpetrator (Cleere & Lynn, 2013).

She also highlights the spatial attributes related to her experience and the way created a perception of what is safe and what is not. “I found empty stations and carriages a little scary, especially after dark. I was also a little apprehensive of travelling alone in empty carriages. I would try to find seats around people.” The sense of security and comfort is being renegotiated after the incident and it establishes a connection between the past experience and future threats (Volkan, 2002). She also recounts how with time, she is less fearful and scared of the metro railways and the role of familiarity with space (Urry, 2007). “It was definitely scary, and it did affect me severely...and I do think about it sometimes...Well, now I have come to terms with it, I go out to bars, also wear what I feel like.” The intersection

of spatial temporalities of the incident with the memory defines the impact of the incident over individual trajectory in their personal lives and their interactions with the surroundings.

Meharwas

Meharwas is 25 years old woman who has born in Hyderabad and had lived a larger part of her life in the city itself. She was travelling to her work at a private elementary school at Tarnaka from Rasoolpura in Hyderabad, on the Blue line metro at around 9 am. While she was on the train, she felt someone's erection poking on her back. Describing the incident and her initial reaction, she says:

“In my thoughts, I was going like what the fuck! Initially, I felt his erection on my sides, and later, on my back. He was continuously poking and rubbing it on me...he just stood there rubbing his erection on my thighs and buttock. It was both disgusting and frightening...I wanted to turn around and shout at him but it would draw unnecessary attention and might be embarrassing also. I elbowed him in his stomach and gradually moved ahead of him, crossing other people...and this might sound absurd but, I felt like laughing. Actually, I remember, I was probably smiling also, which might be due to the utter disbelief and shock. I must also tell you here, that will make sense, that I had several experiences of sexual assault, even in my house and family. And I guess, smiling/laughing has kind of become my defence mechanism.”

The impact of her past experiences has a visible effect on her reaction that took place. In this case, also, the past is being continuously lived by the individual, as Wilson also argues that ‘we find that the past is not left as ‘past,’ because individuals carry their pasts around with them’ (Wilson E. , 1991, p. 102). Incidents of sexual harassment often create a fear of more severe violence or aggression, and thus, we find that individuals usually seek a de-escalation of the situation as relieving (Pain R. , 1991; Sideris & Fink, 2009). In that case, ‘visibly passive’ acts of smiling or cooperation are a very conscious and active choice made by individuals. She tells how she elbowed the man when he was not stopping, “I wanted to turn around and shout at him but it would draw unnecessary attention and might be embarrassing also. I elbowed him in his stomach, and gradually moved ahead of him, crossing other people.” Further, she talks about her continuing the journey while trying to get rid of those thoughts and carry on her with her everyday routine:

“You know; you are usually so absorbed in your every day that even incidents like these become part of it. It happened, and now, I am telling you that it was bad, but then, on the train, I immediately stopped thinking about it. It’s like trying to rid of something bad, it happened, got over, and now you are back to your routine. I guess, that’s what moving on is...you know it was a horrible experience, but I couldn’t deal with it, at least not then, so you try to make the issue less important, to reduce its impact. That’s what I did. I had other important things to do...This is my daily routine and I can’t do it every time something like this happens. I know I cannot stop travelling in the metro or change my trains every now and then...something happened, let it get really over with...Only funny thing is that I elbowed that person, it was meaningless, still, it felt satisfying.”

Jedlowski (2001) also argues that the response of forgetting, turning disturbing and painful experiences, negligible is a coping mechanism, observed in various cases. Also, as has been noted in previous accounts, the notion of not identifying experiences of sexual harassment as such is another coping mechanism adopted by survivors (Roth & Newman, 1991). Here, it also highlights that often survivors themselves downplay the incident to resist the possible disruption evoked due to the friction created by the actions of the perpetrator. Meharwas’ actions can be interpreted as normalisation of sexual harassment, yet it is a simultaneous and active decision to not let the experience unsettle her other functions and mobilities inside Metro. Scholars have in their works have also highlighted women revisiting these incidents of sexual harassment and aggression under their everyday routine. This is a wilful negotiation allowing the transfer of immediate events into the past, rather than it influencing and determining the present course of actions, explicitly.

She also talks about her disagreement with the advocacy of ‘speaking up’ in cases of sexual harassment and identifies it as a problematic stand, “I know that it is a right thing and I do shout and confront in cases, but it wasn’t just me over there...and I don’t agree to the idea of speaking out being burdened on the woman who is already going through the incident.” This resonates with the notion of women speaking out or reporting these cases to police or authorities. Several scholars have highlighted various institutional, personal, and structural issues that women face in reporting cases of harassment in transit spaces to police or authorities (Sideris & Fink, 2009; Solymosi, Cella, & Newton, 2017). Though a very implicit part, often ignored is that the act of ‘speaking out’ put the entire onus of dealing with the crime on the individual who is undergoing the trauma of the incident.

“Some of my friends told me why did not you speak then and confront the man, but I dint find that response supportive as you are making me feel incapable and inefficient. That I don’t know how to deal with such issues...One of my friends was adamant that I should report such cases, that I shouldn’t live in fear. But I was like, why are you blaming me...you are making me feel guilty here, which is not the case.”

Avoidance of certain spaces has been prominently highlighted as an impact of sexual violence faced in public spaces (Sideris & Fink, 2009; Ceccato, 2017). Memories of the incident, the space where it took place, and individual’s habitual usage of spaces creates what Valentine (1989), calls “geographies of fear”, a “map of everyday experience” (Koskela H. , 2010, p. 309). To Meharwas, she still identifies metro stations and trains as a safe space and thus, is capable of her routine usage of the metro. The experience that she faced, might not have any explicit impact of avoidance or restriction on her mobility, but it did have a spatial impact. Though, familiarity with space creates a sense of security, incidents of sexual harassment can also force the individuals to reassess their perception and negotiation. Meharwas, also highlights how the incident and its memory has a continuous impact intruding its way on her behaviour in Metro.

“I still consider Metro very safe but, now I walk carefully and often any remotely conspicuous experience makes me alert. I will not say that I am uncomfortable travelling in Metro, at least not anymore, but I also don’t make any friends. I talk very less in train and often only to women. I won’t be like before; I think I have given up on that.”

Volkan (Volkan, 2002, p. 45) argues that “the mental images of past spills over the present” and we find that playing out in this context. “Intrusive memory” (Hardy, Young, & Holmes, 2009) of past experiences of sexual harassment or violence becomes a naturalised response to the conditions and perception of the present (Keightley, 2010, p. 57). Meharwas adds that: “I still use Metro, every day, like earlier, but it has a little change in the sense that I am a little more conscious and careful now. I am also prepared not to tolerate any such shit; I will directly tell that person to go fuck themselves.”

Familiarity, due to continuous and habitual usage of transit spaces can result in a pleasurable experience with little or no need to be alert all the time. However, an “assiduous state of vigilance” (Pain R. , 1997, p. 234) as a result of negotiation and adaptation of the incident reduces the aspect of pleasure and comfort. Meharwas, also recollects, as to how she has gone a little alert and vigilant of the surroundings. This incident of sexual harassment

interrupts her sense of comfort and relaxation (Urry, 2007), pushing towards self-monitoring, which women already experience more than men (Young I. M., 1980). The disruption of her urban mobility is a serious outcome of the incident, though not visible performed and thus hard to observe and distinguish.

“I was very uncomfortable and might have got down from the train but I cannot because this is my daily routine and I cannot do it every time something like this happens... These issues affect you, they also change you because it is so personal and stay forever with you. But, I also understand that I cannot allow it to restrict me, to contain me. Now, I have a very straightforward approach towards men, that I do not tolerate any unsolicited advances from men. I don't think about it twice, if it is unasked for I will not allow it, whether it was actually threatening or not.”

Pickering and Keightley (2009, p. 238), argue that renegotiations with traumatic and stressful events can often bring out a change, even developing a strong personality in individuals. It also resonates with the psychological rhythm or ‘secret’ rhythm of Lefebvre (2004). Acknowledgement of these negotiations and fear as a collective causal factor often creates a stronger presence in these spaces, disbursing caution and consciousness of both the self and the space.

Contextualising the Experiences: A comparison of the three case studies

The Incident

All the three case studies that have been discussed in this chapter, highlights the distinctness of the ways in which women face sexual harassment in the Hyderabad Metro Railways (HMR), and its peculiar impact on their everyday commute in the metro railways and the city. The case studies also provide us an insight into the ways in which the survivors negotiate with these experiences, and their traumatic memories over time. Nevertheless, these experiences though being distinct also display many attributes which helps us understand the underlying patterns and circumstances which both facilitates and conceals sexual harassment in public transport. Therefore, it becomes necessary to contextualise these experiences in congruence with each other to understand complexities of these experiences, their impact and the negotiations that are made to ensure the attainable safety and comfort.

In the case of both Meherwas and Priya, the incident happened in the crowded spaces, during the rush hours of early morning and evening respectively, on a weekly working day. As Priya describes. “It is often very crowded during office hours.... So, it is common that often people stand very close to each other, and physical contact with other people cannot be avoided.” The obvious friction, as Cresswell has highlighted, generated due to the unavoidable physical proximity in public transport, especially during peak hours provides a disguise to the harassers to not only commit the act, but to also save their anonymity (Cresswell, 2010). However, this is completely opposite in the case of Bhawna, where the incident took place in the same space, though with very different sociabilities and interaction. In Bhawna’s case, the incident took place on a Saturday evening, an off-day, in a less crowded compartment, and with greater intimacy and contact between the commuters. With relatively lesser crowd, and slowness in people’s pace it is possible that momentary and fleeting conversations take place among the commuters. Though these fleeting, and ambiguous interactions can instil a sense of interconnectedness, they also can lead to what Gardner (1995), identifies as romanticised sexual harassment. The civil inattention, an essential urban attribute, often loses its functionality, as in Bhawna’s case, depending of the rhythm of the city and other spatial-temporal variations.

The Response

There is plethora of differences in the ways all of the survivors have responded at the face of sexual harassment, depending on spatial-temporal context, the degree of ambiguity of the incident, and their own personal trajectories and experiences of the past. Priya in her account narrates the time it took for her to register the incident and to respond to it, “I as confused, after one or two stops later, I was sure that I was assaulted, but I haven’t done anything about it. I was frozen. I didn’t even move....” Meherwas also in her account highlights her initial and immediate response to the harassment as. “...and this might sound absurd but, I felt like laughing. Actually, I remember, I was probably smiling also, which might be due to the utter disbelief and shock... and I guess, smiling/laughing has kind of become my defence mechanism.” In both the cases what might look as a symptom of fear and passivity, however, acts like smiling, freezing or even cooperation should be seen as both active and rational decision, made on the basis of the severity, past experiences, and the current circumstances. This also falls in congruence with the argument that sexual harassment as a violent incident

also invokes a fear of even more severe attack, often on confrontation (Pain R. , 1991; Sideris & Fink, 2009; Gardner, Cui, & Coiacetto, 2017). Freezing, or smiling as a physical response, as Koskela (2010, p. 306) refers it 'reasoning', is directed by the social, spatial, and temporal complexities. Additionally, the fear of disrupting the rhythm of the space, in this case, metro carriage, also acts a factor that inhibits the survivor's overt or loud reaction to the incident. Bhawna's case shows us a different scenario, as opposed to the other two incidents, here, the conversation initially, at least, began mutually, and then aggravated. She recalls that, "Initially, I thought it was an unintentional mistake, but I could see the acknowledgement in his smile when I looked at him. I asked him to move his hands away, but even then he continued doing. A lot of things came running to my thoughts, about how I felt then, but surely I was scared and was even a little ashamed. I myself was drunk and so, didn't want to make a scene and, certainly, couldn't get off the train. I am an adult, and I can drink but again, I did not want people to notice, so, I was trying to act cool." Breaking down her statement, though we see a hint of ambiguity, it is acknowledged immediately by Bhawna and the further confrontation from her side. However, a peculiar observation is the idea of 'self-monitoring' as experienced far more by women than men to ensure their safety. Her description, "...surely I was scared and was even a little ashamed. I myself was drunk and so, didn't want to make a scene and, certainly, couldn't get off the train", also highlight the negotiations and compromises that captive-riders need to make to maintain a balance between their dependency on public transport and their comfort and the same is highlighted in Bhawna's account that, "I was very uncomfortable and might have got down from the train but I cannot because this is my daily routine and I cannot do it every time something like this happens...." Apprehension of disturbing the usual rhythm of the carriage, as in case of both Meherwas and Priya, also impacts her response and its intensity.

The Aftermath

The impact of sexual harassment often lasts much longer than the incident, affecting the mental well-being of the survivor, along with the induced fear, and anxiety as result of the interaction. Incidents of sexual harassment, creates, "geographies of fear", a social and geographical mapping of the everyday surroundings, restricting one's access to only those spaces that are deemed safe. This self-imposed restriction, results in 'informal ghettoization of women' (Bowman, 1993), not only impinging on their accessibility and mobility in the

city, but even adversely affects their quality of life. This is evident in the case studies that have been conducted, in different forms and magnitudes. As Meherwas says, "...now I walk carefully and often any remotely conspicuous experience makes me alert... I still use Metro, every day, like earlier, but it has a little change in the sense that I am a little more conscious and careful now." Similarly, Priya also highlights a similar emotional development, when she talks about her perception of safety as, "I found empty stations and carriages a little scary, especially after dark. I was also a little apprehensive of travelling alone in empty carriages. I would try to find seats around people." The embedded emotional memories of these traumatic experiences play a decisive role shaping the ways in which they are remembered, processed, attributed, and dealt with. Over time, the meaning of the incidents, their impact, and the notion of victimisation might vary since then. These development of different personalities both as a reminder of the possibilities of their vulnerability, while also emboldening them to reclaim the boundaries and spaces withheld.

The constant conceptualisation of the past experiences in emotional memories, transform them into lived experiences, intrinsically attached to temporality, and are ceaselessly renegotiated into day-to-day experience. This change is evident in Priya's response when confronted with a similar incident later, "Immediately, I told him to get the fuck away from me. I told him that it is deliberate... It was like I was shouting over this man but for the previous incident also." The past never remains one and same, instead spills all over the present, through the acts of remembering to construct, contextualise, and navigate, ascribing meaning to the past, along with present and future (Jedlowski, 2001). Similar response and sentiment resonates in Bhawna's case, "I have changed a lot since the incident. I don't feel guilty or ashamed of it anymore... If it happens today, I guess I will not be scared, at least not as I was then. I would shout at him and would ask him to get away from me... It was definitely scary, and it did affect me severely... and I do think about it sometimes... Well, now I have come to terms with it, I go out to bars, also, wear what I feel like." Meherwas's response highlights the changes in her worldview that has been brought upon, after the incident. She acknowledges the change in her personality, "... I am little more conscious and careful now. I am also prepared not to tolerate any such shit; I will directly tell that person to go fuck themselves... Now, I have a very straightforward approach towards men, that I do not tolerate any unsolicited advances from men. I don't think about it twice, if it is unasked for I will not allow it whether it was actually threatening or not."

Conclusion

This chapter discusses how memories of past experiences of harassment affect individuals' mobility and accessibility in the city and city spaces like Metro railways over time. Recognising the importance of temporalities, memory has been used as a theoretical concept to address the research aim: "to understand how incidents of sexual harassment impact the mobility and accessibility, and their negotiations with it over time?." It explains and aids to represent the ways in which the memories of past experiences spill over in the present, continuously regulating and affecting the contemporary negotiations with the city and Metro railways.

The revisiting and recollection of these memories bring out different meanings and definitions of the incident, and there is often very late and gradual recognition of the nature of the incident. These memories of the traumatic experiences of the past, therefore, also enable the survivor to understand the incident as sexual harassment and the things that they went through. The reconceptualization emboldens their presence in public spaces in a much-prepared way, adapted to the spatial-temporal environment of the space. The conceptual framework of memory, rhythm, and friction facilitate a deeper understanding of both the social and individual's bodily reactions. It helps to understand the effect of spatial and temporal attributes behind an individual's response in cases of sexual harassment and its impact over time. In the context of public transportation such as Metro railways, it also highlights the importance of mobilities perspective to understand the negotiations and performances of the individual in a mobile environment.

The immediate responses in case of sexual harassment are often due to the shock and uncertainty of its possibility, which is a product of the spatiotemporal distinctness of the metro and its distinct sociabilities. Gradually, as Misztal (2003) notes, they become a part of their 'autobiographical memory', as, an inseparable part of the self. These memories often act as a constant reminder of the vulnerabilities of the public space and can be a source of discomfort and concern. But they also, depict a positive impact, setting past as a precedent and facilitating preparedness it emboldens individuals to face the present situations. This enables the individual an upper hand and enables them to make active reclamation of their position in the public space and for the negotiations of their pleasure and comfort.

This chapter highlights the constant negotiations that individuals make with the city spaces, and the multifaceted impact of sexual harassment on their mobilities. These impacts of

sexual harassment are both spatially and temporally determined and are beyond the reductionist and binaries of active or passive, empowered or not. The accounts of the experiences of women and their analysis highlight that the subjective trajectory of individuals' growth and their social standpoint sets a diverse relationship of each individual with the spaces they inhabit. Here, identification of only fear of victimisation as the causal factor, determining women's actions and negotiations negates the opportunity to understand the active claim that they make to ensure their personal space in the public urban domain.

Chapter Five

MASCULINITY AT PLAY: MASCULINE PERFORMANCES AND THEIR IMPACT IN METRO RAILWAYS

Introduction

The relationship between masculinity and violence, including gender-based violence, domestic violence, even in wars and crimes has been studied by several scholars (Connell R. , 2005; Srivastava, 2012). Violence in everyday life, and its gendered patterns has also been highlighted by scholars (Srivastava, 2012). Gill Valentine in her work on public harassment of women has highlighted that the fear of harassment among women is essentially a fear of violence by men, existing on a continuum, ranging between every day, often ignored and trivialised acts of stalking, and groping to incidents of severe brutality including rape, battery, and murder (Valentine G. , 1989b). Statistically, women under go this violence far more than men, and also, in most of these cases men are the aggressors or perpetrator of these crimes and violence. Vishwanath and Mehrotra (2007), describing the rampancy of these aggression or violence, have called it “violence of normal times” which may not fall into the legal definitions of crime, but violate the integrity and autonomy of the survivors. Kenig and Ryan have argued that in majority of cases women are the victims and men are the perpetrators which highlight the evident difference between sex-related belief and even behaviours (Kenig & Ryan, 1986). In their conclusion, Malovich and Stake has underlined that relatively men face very less incidents of sexual harassment in comparison to women, and also that the impact of these experiences is much less on men (Malovich & Stake, 1990). These micro-aggressions of every day create inconvenience and disruptions that are faced by women as part and parcel of their daily routine. Understanding them as such, also opens up the scope to understand the violence of large scale like Gulf Wars, where structured institutional and their masculinised apparatus come directly into play (Connell R. , 2005). In a male supremacist patriarchal society with an imbibed sense of superiority and control, culturally socialised in men, women are often restricted in their access to masculine spaces.

In the context of masculinised spaces there is not only an exclusion of women, but also display and facilitation of aggression and violence towards women. Transportation, like

many other institutions of public domain is one such institution which reproduces and maintains hegemonic masculinity through the constant exclusion and aggression towards women. The most drastic effect of this forced exclusion, both systemically and institutionally creates a sense of alienation and un-belongingness among women. These continuous acts of violence are a constant reminder of the absence of any natural claim or right both to the city and metro railways. This reduction of women to an unequal citizen also has severe impact on their social and economic prosperity, apart from the psychological effects. Women both in the global north and south depict a distinct travel pattern and needs than men, which is also influenced by the economic disparity between them, where women fare relatively lower than men (Thynell M. , 2016). This economic disparity and distinct travel needs creates a greater dependency of women on public transport. Women across the globe also have lesser access to private-owned means of transport. According to the UNDP 2013 report, globally women constitute 6 out of 10 poorest people, which affects their accessibility and choices of travel, restricting their mobility (Programme U. N., 2013). As a result of this masculine exclusion, economic disparity, gendered patterns of travel, social and economic security and services are easily available to men than women. Similar has been reflected in the study by on squatter communities' relocation in Delhi, in which the unemployment in women rose to 27%, in comparison to men where it saw a rise of 5% (Moser & Peake, 1987). They also have to either incur heavy price to ensure safety, and comfortable transport or otherwise have to be under the constant fear and apprehension of unwelcomed attention, and even violence. As captive riders i.e., riders who are forced to take public transport due to financial or restraints, they have to experience incidents of aggression and sexual harassment in their daily routine.

R. W. Connell (2005) in her seminal work "Masculinities" has posed the question of relationship between men and violence. It focuses on the role played by dominant forms of masculinity in facilitation of violence, along with the role of gender in establishing and maintaining cultures of violence. The relationship between violence, social conflict and violence has been studied and recognised in psychological, structural, and discursive interpretative discourses. It has been highlighted that masculinities must not be assumed as static and fixed but are relational and are diverse in nature. Each culture has different masculinities, among which there does exist certain kinds which establish themselves as the dominant, and hegemonic, though they too are constantly under flux. Therefore, it is a failure and conceptual mistake if masculinity is understood as a fixed propensity to violence

(Connell R. , 2005, p. 258). Specific kinds and aspects of masculinities have been found to be attached to varying rates of crime and their contexts in different spatiotemporal settings of the culture (Kersten, 1993). Here, it is also important to underline the difference between interpersonal violence of harassments, and violence in public and domestic spaces to large-scale violence of wars and genocides. Wars of nearly all kinds are carried out with the structural involvement of institution and formally organised groups, like armies, and parties (Barrett, 1996). To understand the play of masculinity in this case, it is a prerequisite to also understand the institutionalised forms of masculinity in police, armed forces and other administrative institutions involved. The same is also evident in the cases of peace-keeping process that is conducted by state or inter and intra state institutions.

The discursive construction of male subjects

John Beynon (2002) in his work “Masculinities and Culture” has laid out in detail the discursive development and historical constructions of masculinities. It also must be highlighted here that though a large section of academia has explored, dissected, written, and interpreted masculinities, it has been predominantly carried out by women, and for them. There still exists a significant gap of knowledge amongst men about masculinities, its context, crisis and construction. Masculinity as a topography has been seldom been attempted to understand how men perceive masculinity in their relations with other men and women, but often as women’s understanding of masculinity. The bio-determinist approach towards understanding gender had advocated that the aggressive, wild and dominant nature of masculinity is an innate attribute of men, determined biologically. Determined through different physiological variables like, DNA, hormones and other biological factors, it establishes masculinity as inflexible, dominant, controlling, and laden with the responsibilities of the public domain. This pathological masculinity discourse postulated that men are genetically aggressive, and attempts to validate the argument that violence is an intrinsic and inseparable part of being ‘a real man’. Liberal criminology, and feminist works including the likes of Campbell (1993), in such a construction, violence and crime then becomes a medium to attain manhood, escape for the unemployed, and marginalised youth from the domestic spaces. This argument rests on the idea as propagated by Coward (1999), that unemployment played a significant role in the formation of the macho-masculine culture. Another discourse rests on the idea of the incapability and infantilism of men, built

on hollow masculinity. The notion of male incompetence, along with the biological (sexual) and social incapacity rose as a trope in the initial era of globalisation. Mass media advertisements of male incompetency, sexual impotency and a ridicule of their masculine strength and endurance which until now was highly regarded was rampant. The physicality of men, as a hallmark of their masculinity, had been now portrayed as an extension of their emotional and mental dullness.

Paul Hoch (1979) in describing the history of masculinity laid out two repeating themes

1. The 'Puritan' theme: the notion of traditional masculinity, deriving its essence and purpose through the notions of duty, labour and fulfilment of meaningful and tangible goals.
2. The 'Playboy' theme: where greater emphasis is given to the attributes of enjoyment, leisure, and pleasure as goals, in contrast and opposite to the standards of the puritan notion.

Similarly, R. W. Connell (2005) also presents a history of masculinity, in her book "Masculinities", as a dynamic and non-linear development with subordinate, marginalised, and dominant masculinities in a constant interaction with each other, and in the process also altering each other. To her, three main events are central to the history of masculinities of the current world order.

1. The segregation of public and domestic domains gendered patterns, with women attributed to the domestic, and men responsible for the public sphere.
2. The legal criminalisation, medical outlawing, and social ostracism of homosexuality, along with the acceptance of homosexuality as naturalised and acceptable structure.
3. The rise of industrialisation and parallel development of bureaucratic institutionalism supplementing the masculinity based on physical labour, wage-earning capacity and the responsibility of being the provider, the bread-winner.

In between the Fordism and post-Fordism era in United States, and the subsequent development of global capitalism, there was a global rise of entry of women in the workforce. The same was witnessed in the countries of global south like India, where globalisation and rise of the neoliberal economy has brought more women in workplace, to ensure the needed labour-force. The domains of both work and organisation in the public sphere was now shared by women, which earlier was essentially male occupied. The notion

of being the care-taker, the sole breadwinner of the family was also now shared and was not exclusively available to men. The notion of vulnerability also played a vital role in the creation of the masculinity that is evident in the present world order. Raven argues that social responsibility and its indispensability acts as a major source of deriving masculinity, i.e., the acceptance of purposefulness. However, reduction in jobs especially manual labour, and substitution of women in the market place had threatened their status and purpose in the society. Apart from the threat to one indispensability, it also tarnished the individual's mental self-image and worth. This was now being compensated and covered through the ornamental attributes of masculinity by being part of risky-sports and physical activities, injecting synthetic testosterone. The understanding of self as 'victim', and the resistance against this perceived vulnerability and victimisation through the attempt to revoke the traditional masculinity also added to the formation of certain characteristics of masculinity. The doctrine of men-as-victims, finds its birth in their dispensability at workforce, questioning their productivity and loyalty along with the competition against the commodified and ornamental culture of global consumerism. Faludi, also adds that in the competition with the new feminine, and consumerist culture, masculine strength in the roles of providers and care-givers falls short (Faludi, 1999). The competitive individualism propagated and maintained by the global consumerist culture, has reduced the value of being resourceful and utility beneath the capability to attain the first, biggest, and the best in every aspect of life.

Connell also adds that these events and developments of the Global North-comprising the American/European culture was imposed and propagated through the process of colonisation and also to aid it (Connell R. , 2005). The criminalisation of homosexuality, and biological compartmentalisation of gender-roles along with the establishment of European rationalised institutionalism also developed a similar trope of masculinities in the colonised nations also.

Navigating everyday masculinities

“How many women in your interviews have told you that some women have touched them or men inappropriately, or stalk someone, or harass anyone? It will be zero, or even if there are, it would hardly be one or two incidents. Most of these things are done by men, old and young, all. They think that they can do that, and no one will or can do anything about it. They don't fear it and, if they are in groups then there is no limit to it. You remember, when I said that time, when that man was continuously poking me with his erection. When I

confronted him, he had the guts to shout back at me, even after knowing that he did that shit.”

Here, Meherwas, notes that it has mostly been men who have created inconvenience in metro trains to her and also to other men. This resonates with the argument by Valentine, that sexual harassment plays out totally different than other forms of crime like theft, as they are mostly directed towards women, committed mostly by men (Valentine G. , 1989b). Thus, an important reason that women display overwhelming fear of crime in public, even though they statistically, face lower victimisation than men, is the unique nature of the crime i.e., sexual harassment faced by women. Similar response was evoked by Priya who has been living in Hyderabad city for the past 4 years. She notes that “I will say it’s not only about harassment, but also you can see the ways in which they sit in trains even buses with their legs wide separated, publicly scratching their crotch areas, loudly laughing and talking. As if they own these places, as if it is their home. It is not only limited to metro but in other places also, like tea shops, even in my office. Have you seen some men driving vehicles, they don’t care about other people who are there! I am not saying that all men are bad or behave like this only all the times, but they do. They always want to be the first, getting in metro, going out of the stations, shouting all the times.”

In both the incidents, the construct focuses on the behaviour of men in public domain and their ways of socialisation. Both Meherwas and Priya have highlighted that men depict a dominant behaviour, establishing and performing their claim over the space. Loukaitou-Sideris has argued that public space, in its separation from domestic space into a distinct space has established it as an masculine space, with men having natural claim over it (Loukaitou-Sideris A. , 2016). Presence of women, as has been evident in both in the literature and the study, is transactional, laden with purpose. In chapter Two of this dissertation, while describing flaneur, Simmel (1971), and Wolff (1985) both have argued the development of public space as masculinised domain with the rise of urban centres during industrialisation. On describing flaneur, Wolff also highlights that the characteristics of flaneur including anonymity, safety, comfort, and unrestricted presence in public spaces have been historically only available to men (Wolff, 1985).

The dichotomous distinction of private and public spaces works on the laissez-faire economic model, which advocates separation of social life and individual actions, advocating minimal interference and control, where private lives are provided a greater

immunity from state's scrutiny. This division of spaces, and its immunity from state's regulation had also led to the ignorance and trivialisation of violence within domestic spaces. It is not that women experience lesser violence or harassment in domestic sphere, but on the contrary they are violated mostly in domestic spaces, by the acquaintances, but it has gained greater immunity from state's regulation. Explaining the spatial patterns of women's fear, Pain (1997) describes the social geography and monopolisation of social spaces, which Valentine, also identifies and defines as "spatial expressions of patriarchy" (Valentine G. , 1989). The masculinisation of public space, and the gendered construction of spaces is the resultant of the sexual division of labour and the relatively lesser accessibility to women.

Janet Wolff (1985) argues that one common characteristic feature visible in the nearly all the literature of modernity, is the exclusion of women, i.e., they are made or represented as an invisible occupant. To her "the literature of modernity describes the experiences of men" in nearly all the aspect of public social life including work, politics, and the everyday city life (Wolff, 1985, p. 37). She describes modernity of Weberian sense as a 'male' world, where institutions are operated by men, for men and their hegemonic presence in the organisational and structural setup. Secondly, the evolution of factories, bureaucratisation, accompanied simultaneously by gendered division of labour restricted women within the realm of domestic or private domain. Akhil, a 26 years old male respondent told in the interview that "I have not faced any explicit sexual harassment in the city but I know that women face it every day". Similarly, Aman, also notes that "I have often seen men looking at women, talking about them in their groups and friends, taking pictures, and videos, pretending to be doing something else". These two responses reinstate the notion that free and anonymous access to public spaces is limited to women, which is due to the acts of men. One very peculiar explanation, which Bhawna, noted while talking about discomfort in public transport that "do you know, sometimes back, while going through some news I came to know about this issue of 'upskirting', that it is very common in various countries and there are even laws against it. So, women every day, everywhere are facing these kinds of issue. Do men have to go through any of these? No, they don't". 'Upskirting' is a non-consensual act of abuse comprising of taking and/or dissemination of intimate photo or a video up a women's skirt. (Lewis & Anitha, 2022). Another respondent who hails from Kerala, and has been in Hyderabad, Irfan, explained about a term 'Jacky', a peculiar terms used for acts of sexual harassment while adding about experiences of harassment in Kerala State Road Transportation Corporation (KSRTC) buses that "I think it is a very Kerala thing, which

others might have no idea about, or they might have some other terms for it. In Kerala, the buses are very crowded, and it is very common that men try to poke and rub their penile erection on women standing in the buses. It is so common that there is also a name for this, it's called 'Jacky', and I guess every mallu (colloquial term for a person from Kerala) who has lived in Kerala will know about it". Here women share the not so distinct and overt aspects of sexual harassment that they undergo in public spaces, like 'upskirting', and specifically in public transport, like 'Jacky'. Though these phenomena are from out of the field of this study, nevertheless they establish the pandemic of sexual harassment faced by women in public spaces. These incidents of aggression and violence might not be overtly observable like other crimes of theft, which is easily identified and evidences are available, incidents of sexual harassment in the transitory nature of public transport are "near-fail crimes" where very less can be done in such short intervals. Nonetheless, the culture of violence and harassment against women reflects a deep-seated domination of masculine performances in an already gendered cityscapes including public transport. Under the disguise of normal and acceptable rhythms of the metro transport, men commit these acts, which might not even fall under the legal and socially recognised definitions of crime, but violate the personal space and freedom of the victim. One of the respondent Akhil, talking about it very casually describes the act of 'girl-watching' as an innocent and harmless act "I sometimes look at girls or check them out, but nothing more than that. I think checking-out is a very common thing and is harmless, I am not hurting anyone or disturbing someone. I don't think I offend them, or if I sense something like that, I stop doing it. It's not a crime to look at someone, if you find them beautiful or attractive". Here the respondent, points out that the acts committed by him are not offensive from his perception and understanding, and secondly it also points out the imposition of moral self on others. That the actions and its perception by the other person is being evaluated from the doer's notion, tuning the receiver into an object, disfranchising its own subjectivity and agency. It brings out in focus about how these acts, and their relationship with sexual harassment of women in public transport, along with the gendered mis/perceptions of these acts, their meaning and impact. It becomes necessary to understand the ways in which these acts are ascribed meaning be it harmless, innocent or offensive, derogatory by both the receiver and the perpetrator. It adds to the knowledge on the construction and rationalisation of these acts, and the ways that they are perceived differently by men and women.

Understanding the perceptions of sexual harassment attitudes

In their study, Cleveland and Kerst (1993) have highlighted that in researches done about sexual harassment, one of the most common and recurring finding is the ambiguity in defining sexual harassment and its acts. Researches have also noted gendered difference in the 'subjective perceptions' regarding sexual harassment between men and women (Kenig & Ryan, 1986; Stockdale, 1993). Instances which are perceived as harmless or normal gendered interactions by men, are often identified as harassment or uncomfortable by women. Men on being asked about their actions, claim that women are either too-sensitive or they misread them. Whereas, women have registered their frustration towards men for not their inadequate understanding, and that men 'don't get it'.

Michael Schwalbe (1992) has argued that moral problems, including sexual harassment are social interactions based on the self-construct of the world and individuals belonging in it, and thus, must be understood as such. He also adds that the social inequality leading to the establishment of male supremacy plays a vital role in the social inhibition of men to be the responsible social actors, especially in their interactions with women. Here, male supremacy is the higher social value available to men in comparison to women, greater scope of self-determination and institution power due to both ideological and material superiority of men over women. The reduction of moral self, is a product of the supremacy in males, which Schwalbe defines as "Masculinist Self" (Schwalbe, 1992, p. 30).

The gendered difference in perceptions and understanding of sexual harassment and gendered interactions has also been mirrored in Rachna's account, as she notes that her male friends and colleagues never take these things seriously, even when she shares her own experiences with them. She says that "I often tell them that it's not a joke. They will never understand it because they don't know how it feels when you are being continuously watched and observed all the times". In her statement, she argues that these experiences are mostly women-exclusive, rarely experienced by men. She also highlights that men usually perceive these incidents of abuse and harassment as very trivial, often dismissing it immediately. The lack of understanding for others and an evident unwillingness towards generate empathy plays an important role in enabling of acts of harassment, and failure in its recognition as harassment, instead as something that is being misunderstood by women. Researchers have consistently found that women tend to identify these acts as harassment, and these situations as discomforting vis-à-vis men (Kenig & Ryan, 1986; Stockdale, 1993). Additionally, it has

also been noted that men tend to take lesser blame of it when confronted about it and are even less likely to empathise with the victim (Quinn, 2002). It must also be highlighted that men fail to identify with women's perspective and show a lack of empathy due to their unfamiliarity with conditions and impacts of harassment but instead the masculinist self is constructed on not caring about other, in this case, about women's perspectives and pain. It is not possible for masculinity to survive, while complying with the demand to be caring about others, in resolution of these social conflicts (Schwalbe, 1992).

On the spectrum of continuous harassment that women undergo, lies non-verbal, non-confrontational acts of stalking, taking non-consensual pictures and videos, as has been recalled in the narration of Shalini to more severe, violent, direct, and physical acts like groping, physical harassment and assaults etc. highlighted in the account of Priya and Meherwas. Scholars like Stockdale have argued that "patriarchal norms create a sexually aggressive belief system in some people more than others and this belief system can lead to the propensity to misperceive" (Stockdale, 1993).

The instances of sexual harassment in public transport plays a two-fold role for and among men. As, Vaishnawi has told about the time when an elderly man was elbowing on her breasts, or in case of Meherwas, when the man was continuously rubbing his erection on her, sexualisation of these women. reduces them as an object, stripped of their subjective individuality. The reduction of women as a sexual object, contradicts and reduces her identity as an equal, of their capabilities, and their rightful claim in the space. Here, the deployment of asymmetrical heterosexuality i.e., the double standard treatment of men and women sexuality and its meaning, also questions and destabilises women's competence, claim to power, and their performances of rationality. Susan Estrich in her work "Real Rape" (1987) found that women's gendered sexuality results in the exclusion of her competence, rationality, and even, humanity. Whereas, it is reversed in case of men, where their sexuality not only compliments their identity and compatibilities, but is even called for. This double-standard of sexuality or its asymmetrical acceptance for men and women exists, because of the differential consequences it has for men and women. The difference in the perception and consequence for women, explains the minimal or near absence of women as sexual harassers in public transport as has been also been put forth by Chaitali, where she noted that "How many women in your interviews have told you that some women have touched them or men inappropriately, or stalk someone, or harass anyone? It will be zero, or even if there are, it would hardly be one or two incidents. Most of these things are done by men, old and

young, all. They think that they can do that, and no one will or can do anything about it. They don't fear it and, if they are in groups then there is no limit to it".

Referring back to the accounts of Rachna and Chaitali, these acts devalue the identity and claim of space that women make in public spaces including metro railways in Hyderabad. Additionally, the instances of girl-watching/checking out or taking non-consensual photos etc. inside the metro spaces of carriages, disguised and synchronised under the normal and acceptable rhythms of the metro railways facilitates these actions. This also supplements to the argument that the privilege of 'flaneur' and its anonymity is not readily available to women (Wolff, 1985). These acts also perform the role of a play, performed by men, for men; a play in which the participation of the women or her even her acknowledgment of the act becomes irrelevant. The subjective identity of the women, in this case is reduced to mere an object, with no necessity of their acknowledgement. Thorne (1993), while studying elementary school students and their interactions, underlines the importance of the functionality and meaning of games, warning against reductionist understanding of them as only "a play".

Games, she notes, plays a crucial and powerful role of forging and performance of gendered social interactions. Along with its purpose of entertainment, games act as a means of socialisation, which (re)produces and establishes gender relations, interactions, and power relations. In that case, it is not merely or even essentially an aggressive imposition of power and control over women's bodies, but a disorder that aids men. The spatial geography of Hyderabad Metro Railways aids the performances of masculinities. As, Shalini, has noted in her account "...people touch you, or do anything, and taking advantage of the crowd just escape from there. This one time this one guy who I can see was taking my picture, suddenly got down at a station... everyone, even me continues with their journey.... It is a very momentary thing, once it has passed, they have gone, there is nothing you can do". Meherwas also notes a similar detail, when she says that "...often someone will touch your body parts, pinch you somewhere, and then when you see, no one is there anymore". This indicates not only the ambiguity of the harasser, but also becomes an constant reminder of impending threat, an constant presence of the absent. Aman, a native of Hyderabad city also highlights the transitory nature of these experiences in metro carriages, "these incidents are so sudden that it is usually over till you even realise...". The geography of metro railways, along with its rhythms and friction as a result of the varying density of the crowd offers both as a facilitator of sight while also a cover from being identified. The spatiotemporal settings

of the metro railways and its distinct mobility patterns, both facilitates the acts of harassment, while simultaneously providing scope to maintain the anonymity of the harasser.

The acts of sexual harassment in these forms perform a dual role both as a game and as a site of gendered interaction. It also derives its validity from the identities and relationships that are forged through these acts, especially if they performed in groups or if shared in it. Cockburn (1983, p. 123) has argued that “patriarchy is as much about relationship between men, as it is about relation between man and woman”. Acts of sexual harassment including joking, stalking, taking pictures, etc. are also a means to establish intimacy among heterosexual men. The socialisation and development of ‘boys’ and ‘girls’ through the “selective reinforcement of impulsive behaviour” plays a critical role (Schwalbe, 1992, p. 31). In the process, either consciously or beneath conscious awareness, there is differential treatment and response of male and female behaviours. The gendering of ‘self’ in males, thus, ascribe type of performance called ‘masculinity’ necessary to claim the identity of being a ‘man’. Here, it is necessary to distinguish ‘man’ as a socially constructed being which is being referred, from the biological definition of it. These acts of aggression or violence are not limited only towards women, but instead to those men also, which leads to the creation of a certain masculinity through the display and performance of heterosexuality. Even in interactions with women, men assert their masculine identity in what Butler (1990) identifies as the “homo-sexual” practice of heterosexuality. In these homo-social acts of heterosexuality, there is evident emotional detachment and competitiveness, with sexual objectification of women in their everyday performances. Explaining masculinity, scholars have also noted that, it is a performative identity, and not static, which has to be continuously reclaimed through multiple forms designed by the hegemonic notion of masculinity.

However, it is not to claim that all masculinities are immoral, instead the creation of the masculinist self and its attributes, established on the premises of control, competition, and production makes them incapable of being moral actors especially with respect to women. This notion of masculinity is forged into existence on the grounds of reduction of women as objects, therefor not caring for their discomfort, or pain. Understanding it theoretically, it is not that all men are under a continuous plot to exploit and oppress women, instead due to their power and privilege they are inhibited and turned incompetent to be responsible actors comprising morality. The establishment of this generalised masculinist supremacy are developed through perspectives and group interactions in which masculinist ideals are dominant and idealised. Therefore, as a product of this masculinist generalisation it renders

men incompetent to understand their acts through other's perspective, if it doesn't give importance to male experiences.

Masculine Objectification and Role of Apathy

In acts of harassment as the respondents have shared (refer Chapter Three), men reduce the identity of women as an object, through their performances of heterosexuality. It holds true for all non-consensual social interactions between two individual or parties, where the interactions are forced through the stripping down the subjective participation of one. In these cases of violence also, the targeted women are reduced to mere objects or bodies on which heterosexual behaviours are forced projected. Therefore, the subjective perspective, agreement or participation is neither desired or required. It can be carried out merely by presence of the body in any form- embodied, pictorial or even through their descriptive imagery (Quinn, 2002).

When asked about his acts of 'checking-out' women, Akhil grinned, staying quiet at first. In further discussion, when this question was brought again, where I asked him if he thinks that, women are aware of it. (Do you think women are aware of what you are doing?) He, with a long gasp, responded to it, providing the core of his harmless, innocent act, "I think it depends. [pause] I am not sure if they enjoy it. I don't know if they are aware of it, when I do it, if I am doing it. [laugh] I am not saying that I do it regularly... Sometimes, they seem to but do not say or express it. Sorry, I think it all got messed up, I meant to say that I am not sure, but I don't intend to offend them or even to please them. That's not my purpose, I am just checking out and immediately move on".

Akhil was apprehensive of saying that women might not be enjoying, he doesn't even want to think of it. This mirrors the argument that being reduced to lesser subjects or as an object, women's participation or feelings are rendered negligible. It is through their objectification that their feelings of annoyance or pleasure are both disregarded. Gardner (1995, p. 187), has also noted similar absence of recognition in which "men's interpretations seldom mention a women's reaction, either guessed or observed". This notion of objectification is also reflected through the comment made by Mohith in his account. He initially argued that women might also enjoy compliments, maybe through subtle acknowledgment. However, while talking about the aspect about looking at her, he argues that:

“One might compliment someone, like a woman, by looking at her. You can admire a woman, without words, through a pair of eyes, but you know ‘that look’. Like you are aware that you are admiring her dress, that she looks beautiful, her legs look good, things like that. But on the other hand, there are also men who you will notice just want to undress women with their eyes. These people are also out there, you often see them disgustingly ogling at women, often in groups”.

An important aspect of this narration made by Ravi in his account, is the distinction between the looks, one as admiring women, and the other as disgusting. Also, he switched his position, speaking in second person, describing these acts, separating one from the other establishing that first as a harmless act of admiration and its associated gaze, however, it is the women who is the object of the violent and discomforting gaze. In the both the accounts of Akhil and Mohith they have hinted towards the potential difference in meaning of these acts.

On being asked a question, while reversing the gender, Mohith’s idea of staring or looking as a ‘harmless, innocent’ act is destabilised. He describes it very differently, when asked to imagine himself as a woman who is being watched, rather than as the men who is watching. Rather than seeing it as an experience of pleasure and enjoyment, he details the ways and reasons to avoid it. “With my friend circle and groups, [as a woman] I would be very careful the way I dressed. Because in many cases, I bend down while sitting in trains, or sleep and in those cases your shirt or top, for example would be open and exposed. I think, I would be concerned about it, I wouldn’t want it”.

Similarly, Ravi also shares a similar thought, when describing the ways in which men look at women, and his actions assuming himself to be a woman. He notes that, “I have seen how men scan women in trains, from top to bottom. I think even women see that, but what can you do because they are just looking. If I were a woman, I would be careful all the times. I know men, they don’t miss any such chance. If I were a woman, I would be careful of the way I dressed, and would be very cautious of the people near me. Thus, being aware of men’s perspective and actions, both Mohith and Ravi feel that, if they were a woman, they would regulate their appearance and behaviour, not giving any chance of being used in their acts. Looking from a man’s point of view, these acts were earlier understood as harmless and innocent, or even as acts of appreciation. However, it changes its meaning when roles are reversed, and when the same acts are now being perceived from woman’s side who is being

watched, into something that should be avoided and shielded from. These narrations produced a similar kind of account which resonates with the accounts of many women in the study. They (men) understand that there can be different meanings to these acts which can often be uncomfortable, or threatening for the woman. It becomes something that should be taken care of and should be avoided. Though it also highlights that none of the men could provide a women's perspective of the meaning of these acts and describe its meaning only from a masculine aspect. In their accounts, while taking up the subject position of a woman, they are drawing upon their knowledge about these acts and their meaning. Hereby, the argument that men do not see the harm of these acts falls apart, as they are able to comprehend it, while envisioning themselves in the role of the other gender. The argument that both men and women have noted in the study, on men not being able to understand the meaning and complications of their actions also doesn't hold ground. In fact, men do understand the impact of their actions, however, they tend to ignore it while indulging in these acts. As Schwalbe (1992, p. 40) argues, "because of what the masculinist self needs to survive, it resists the demand of responsible moral actions". In the attempt to comprehend the meaning of world, and one's social position in it, one creates and is attached to the idea of who and what we are. Carrying out our actions in consistence with the self-construction facilitates and inhibits the moral social actions that we perform. Thus, our social self and others is determined on the conceptualisation of the social experiences. The socialisation process that instils male supremacy among 'males' creates a sense of power and privilege amongst them. To preserve this dominance, it becomes essential to perform and present oneself in a way that defines them as 'boys' or 'men', through the display of masculinity which also must be acknowledged by other men. Therefore, maleness, along with masculinity must be performed and established in culturally acceptable fashion.

The notions of control, competition, and production cannot be understood as intrinsically evil, instead these attributes can be favourable and even necessary. Though, the inseparability of these attributes with the masculine identity limits their understanding of others as an equal. The imperative of treating one's subjectivity as paramount, and the negligence to understand and negotiate with others, enable two main attributes of masculinity and masculine self-esteem comprising control and outperforming others. Another issue that 'narrowed self' of understanding raises is the universalisation of phenomenon through the standards of self-evaluation. They i.e., masculine men tend to understand the world and others through the same criteria that they use of themselves. It

nullifies the subjectivities, and feelings of the other person, reducing them as mere objects to be acted upon, understood only in relation to the self. They therefore, find it not necessary to know and acknowledge women's feelings and their perspectives.

The lack of willingness to take other's perspective comes out as a major reason of why the masculine individual is unable to carry out moral social-interactions. The inability and sheer lack of willingness to even consider women's perspective, explains the violence caused by men, and to find it trivial when confronted. Schwalbe (1992) adds that, though men do take women's perspective into consideration, it is only to overcome their resistance, capable only to deal with women as a technical problem rather than a social one. It is not necessarily the male privilege, but the aspects of control that disinclines them from role-taking, as it threatens the survival of the masculinist self and privilege altogether. This creation of masculine identity is itself forged on the dis-identification from women, unacknowledgement of mutual dependence, along with complete separation from the pain and discomfort that women undergo. If this pain is understood and felt, it will also highlight the factors responsible for it, thus, unveiling the masculine creation. The reception of pain thus, results in the pain appraisal by men also, making it their own, and thus, the compelling need to destroy it becomes inevitable.

Conclusion

This chapter addresses the research question "How women commuters of Hyderabad Metro Railways understand, perceive, and define masculinity and its linkage to sexual harassment in the Metro?" Developing on the literature reviewed on "Masculinity and Masculinities" in Chapter One, this chapter explores and underlines the relationship between masculinities and social conflict and violence. The development of distinct and gendered nature of spaces demands not only exclusion of women's rightful claim in public spaces along with the display of continuous aggression towards them. The naturalisation of the gendered claim, along with the unquestioned presence, the behaviour and attitudes that might not be comfortable and welcoming for others are also validated. This chapter details the creation of masculinities and the attributes of masculine performances in public spaces, many of which consists behaviours of sexual harassment towards women. An important aspect that comes out of this chapter is the imposition of the Western/European standards of masculinity and

heterosexuality in the colonised countries, and further the same was strengthened with its Americanisation in the contemporary neo-liberal globalised era (Connell R. , 2005).

In this chapter, distinct cultural developments have been noted, along with its role in the construction of dominant masculinity patterns. One of the most significant observation is the vast difference in which men and women perceive and understand the meanings of the acts of sexual harassment and its further implications. The chapter also dealt in the ways in which women experience masculinity in their everyday routine, particularly metro railways, and their negotiations with it to carry out their day-to-day activities with minimal disruption. Lastly, it highlights that the inability of men to understand the impact and interpretation of sexual harassment is due to the masculine moral narrowing and their unwillingness to understand the perspectives of other.

The survey study of this dissertation had highlighted that lack of respect of gender is one of the most important and dominant safety concerns in Hyderabad Metro Railways. Developing on the argument made by Michael Schwalbe (1992) that the absence of acknowledgment of discomfort and pain of others (in this case women), is a prerequisite for masculinity to survive. The chapter explores the reasons for the failure of men to understand the impact of their acts of sexual harassment and aggression, from the perspectives of the targeted individual. The gendered socialisation of male and female since their childhood, establishes the notion of superiority and dominance, which along with the institutional, socio-economic, and ideological privilege reinforces male supremacy of men in the society.

Also, the acts of sexual harassment have been explored as a game, as a social interaction between men that produces and establishes the hegemonic notion of their masculinity, through these 'hommo-sexual' practices of heterosexuality. Games, even those that are part of elementary socialisation of children, are not meaningless play, but have a deeper role to play in form of gendered social interaction. They play a dual role of being as source of entertainment & pleasure, while also acting as a social tool that forges group identities, its boundaries, and power relations. Therefore, every act of sexual harassment is not voluntarily aimed at oppression of women, but instead, they become the receiving bodies of the acts, while the aim is to reaffirm the masculine identities and its recognition. Being a performative identity, it becomes a necessity that men must continuously perform masculinities for its acknowledgement and to gain its social advantages.

The chapter also, refutes the argument that men fail to comprehend the impact of their actions on women. Through the responses gathered from the male respondents, on questions with reversed gender role, it was found that they do understand the potential difference in meaning and impacts for both men and women. Instead, it is due to their socially trained incapacities that men are unwilling to acknowledge the pain and discomfort that their actions might cause to others, at the cost of losing the benefits of their masculine privilege in a patriarchal society. It can be argued that rather being incapable, it is the masculine moral narrowing that leads to ignorance.

Lastly, the chapter argues that for the survival of masculinity it demands both apathy and objectification of the others. In this process, the women who experience these acts are reduced as objects, making their participation or even their acknowledgement redundant. The masculinised universalisation of the standards of self-evaluation leaves no scope for understanding moral social actions, through any other point of view which doesn't allow paramount importance to the masculine world-view. The narrowing of self makes men incapable towards role taking, as recognition of other's subjective identities, also validates them, threatening their own viewpoint, and thus, becomes a threat to the construct of masculinity itself.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study explored the fear and harassment on Hyderabad Metro Railways. The overarching aim of the study was to explore the ways in which masculinities manifest and impact the accessibility of public transport, i.e., Hyderabad Metro Railways. It aimed to understand the impact of sexual violence including aggression and harassment occurring within a specific context of transitory and mobile public space, and also on individual mobilities in the city over time. The study was done under the context of global epidemic of sexual harassment which as a form of gendered violence has a significant delimiting affect. The global crisis of the issue has also been highlighted, including the instances of 2017 U.S. Presidential elections and the following women's marches, the #MeToo Movement, which even though started in the Global North, had also made significant impact in the Global South also, including India. The 2012, Nirbhaya rape case, where a woman was gang-raped in a moving bus in the capital city of India, New Delhi, also brought the issue of sexual violence in transport to the mainstream media, and also in public and academic discourses. In India alone, 1029 cases of sexual harassment were registered in 2020, which itself is 13% more than the previous year (India, 2021). Though we are witnessing a continuous surge in the global menace of sexual harassment in public spaces, the highest number of cases against women are still in the domestic sphere (cruelty by husband or relatives under 498A of IPC) which is around 38% of the total violence (India, 2021).

It has only been recently, that there has been an evident shift in the public discourse towards sexual harassment in public spaces. However, in academia, this issue has been dealt extensively both theoretically and empirically since around 1970s. Feminist scholars have worked to outline, define, and characterise sexual harassment in public domain, the initial setup was organisational or workplace environments. In recent past, there has been shift in attention towards sexual harassment in other public spaces, and the distinct ways in which it is both manifested and experienced by individuals. On the aspect of mobility, feminist urban geographers have prioritised gender and its role in the instances of sexual harassment and, and the ways in which the gendered nature of the violence limits the access of public

transport to woman. Women as a social class are relatively poorer than man, and thus, have far-more dependence on public transport for their mobilities. There have been numeral studies in both Global North and South, though concentrated mostly in the Global South than Global North. Through the review of the literature it had been made clear that there has been a lack in the gendered accessibility in the Hyderabad Metro Railways. Secondly, several studies on public transportation and sexual violence have generally adopted a survey or rapid assessment methods than through in-depth interviews (Natarajan, Schmuhl, Sudula, & Mandala, 2017; Krista & Wesson, 2017). Furthermore, based on the research that has been taken, sexual harassment in public transportation under its transient and ephemeral context shows a lack of focus towards the understanding of masculinity as a causal factor. These studies often have had opted a remedial approach, exploring the infrastructural aspects, even at the cost of neglecting the social context of patriarchal power relations and its play in public spaces including transport services.

Finally, it becomes clear that many studies have portrayed the survivors as passive agents, at the receiving end, often reducing or negating their responses and active negotiations to claim their space, comfort, and safety in the city.

The thesis has a two-fold contribution here by bringing together masculinity along with mobilities and gender studies, firstly, it fills up the gap in the knowledge on sexual harassment on public transport, especially metro railways in an urban metropolis. Though there are some specific and unique attributes of these experiences that are only specific to Metro Railways, a larger part of it is also transferrable to other forms of public transportation, even to other cities.

The process to understand Masculinities and its performances, has helped me develop the conceptual framework of rhythms, mobilities, and memory. Using this framework, enabled me novel insights into understanding the manifestation of sexual harassment, how it is experienced, and negotiated differently across contexts over time. This study contributes significantly to the existing literatures of masculinity studies, and sexual harassment in public transportation. Most importantly, it demonstrates that the urban landscape including transportation is still experienced in a gendered manner.

It highlights the intertwining relationship between mobilities and rhythm with space and the ways in which sexual harassment takes and is experienced. It also highlights that memory plays a significant role in determining the interaction and negotiations of individuals with

space, which includes public transport in specific and the city as a whole. Movement, here plays a significant role in these experiences of everyday and every place, while at stations, inside trains, impacting the mobility in the city and individual's overall inhabitation and claim over the city as its citizen.

This chapter, which is the concluding part of the thesis addresses the overarching research aim of “what role does performances of masculinity play in limiting the accessibility of public transport to women?” and the secondary research question “how women commuters of Metro Railways understand, perceive, and define masculinity and its linkage to harassment in public transport” and the research aims that have been sequentially introduced and addressed throughout the thesis. Furthermore, I will underline the contributions of this research thesis, of the empirical analysis that is done along with the existing literatures to develop a better and informed understanding of sexual harassment in public transportation. It will also add to the understanding of masculinity in the everyday activities in an urban landscape through both feminist perspective and crime reduction approach. After this, I will present recommendations for future research including a holistic and stand-point narration analysis with survey and R.A.T methods, understanding public transportation in rural settings, multifaceted approach including institutions and agencies along with the commuters to understand and tackle sexual harassment in public transport, evaluation of anti-harassment measures including, and beyond the institutional remedial measures, study into by-standers affect, collective actions and individuals agency, research into offenders behaviours and perspectives, research into understanding mobility and its restrictions beyond transportation, but throughout the city.

Finally, through the needs and concerns raised by the respondents I provide practical recommendations for policing the cases of sexual harassment in public transport and to delimit the gendered nature of public transport including campaigns and awareness mechanism to make people more comfortable and aware of the law and institutional mechanism, to enable co-inhabitants i.e., street vendors and shopkeepers as ear and eye of the space, awareness to shift the blame survivors, and reducing the hostility posed through the over-structured institutional mechanism of the state machineries.

Revisiting the Research Aim and Research Questions

Both, the primary and secondary overarching questions i.e., “what role does performances of masculinity play in limiting the accessibility of public transport to women?” and “how women commuters of Metro Railways understand, perceive, and define masculinity and its linkage to harassment in public transport” have been constantly dealt with through out the research. The research aims guided the research process including the methodology, the literature reviewed and the collection & analysis of the data. As has been laid out in Chapter One, the four research questions are:

- 1) To explore the everyday experiences and negotiations of individuals with the city, Hyderabad, and the Hyderabad Metro Railways.
- 2) To understand the ways in which sexual harassment manifests in Hyderabad Metro Railways and its key features?
- 3) To understand how incidents of sexual harassment impact mobility, accessibility, and the negotiations over time?
- 4) How women commuters of Hyderabad Metro Railways understand, perceive, and define masculinity and its linkage to sexual harassment in Metro Railways

These research aims were particularly addressed in a chronological order following the Chapter One, i.e., in Chapter Two, Three, Four, and Five respectively. Throughout these chapters, the methodological approaches adopted and the specific literature has been reviewed in each chapter, addressing the particular research aim, this research has made various significant contributions to the knowledge. Firstly, though dealing with the everyday life of the people inhabiting the city, it specifically highlights the interaction and experiences of women in Hyderabad city and the Metro Railways. Secondly, it adds to our knowledge about the ways in which sexual harassment takes place inside Metro railways, how it is experienced, and negotiated with. Thirdly, it underlines the role played by traumatic memories in everyday interactions over time and space. Lastly, it contributes to the understanding of how violent and inconsiderate masculine performances transform and manifest into acts of sexual harassment and aggression in metro railways network of

Hyderabad. The upcoming section of the chapter will underline the contributions made by situating the empirical findings with the congruent review of literature.

Key Contributions

The core research aim “what role does performances of masculinity play in limiting the accessibility of public transport to women?” and the secondary research aim “how women commuters of Metro Railways understand, perceive, and define masculinity and its linkage to harassment in public transport” comes out through the exploration of the aforementioned four research aims that have been listed, and also in Chapter One. Each research aims along with the relevant literature that have been reviewed synchronously, adds an important contribution to the knowledge. Finally, these contributions and significance of the Lefebvrian rhythm analysis as a conceptual framework shall be discussed in a gendered approach.

On Everyday Experiences in Public Urban Spaces

There has been plethora of research on the everyday experiences of women in urban public geography, especially in urban studies and feminist geography. Most of these researches have prioritised and focussed on understanding the phenomenon of fear and victimisation that women undergo in urban public domain. However, women everyday experiences in city are not only limited to the attributes of fear and victimisation, but instead city spaces also exist as sites of pleasure, and comfort to them, as Elizabeth Wilson (1991) has noted in her work “Sphinx in the City”, that cities are often synonyms of choice for women, including the public spaces. In this research, I intended to explore the city and metro railways as a site of multiple experiences, and multiple meanings to individual; both as sites of freedom and mobility, while also highlighting the negotiations with the everyday vulnerability of gendered violence in these spaces.

Through the concept of Flaneur, which might not necessarily be the objective of those who are commuting in the city, its attributes are still an integral part of their everyday life. I wanted to analyse their everyday experiences with the city and in using metro railways. Under the conceptual framework used in the research, the respondents account revealed the ways in which the particular sociabilities and rhythms of the city and metro enables pleasure,

anonymity, and mobility; whilst also creating conditions that facilitates sexual harassment towards them. These acts of sexual harassments constantly remind their vulnerability and makes them apprehensive towards the ever lurking threats, affecting their negotiations to ensure their presence and claim in the city spaces. Using the lens of flaneur, helps to avoid this reductionist viewpoint limiting women experiences only through threat, fear and victimisation. Though these attributes are real, the oversimplification and reductionism negates existence of the dense and multitudinous aspects and negotiations that women actively make in their everyday life to claim their freedom, mobility, and if desired, anonymity. In Chapter Two, it is highlighted that the rhythm of the city both permits a scope for anonymous mobility, while also facilitating a sense of isolation and alienation. It also explains that their experiences and interactions with the city is disrupted and challenged by both the perceived and actual fear of victimisation in public spaces, which they understand as gendered experience. The research further adds to the knowledge on gendered patterns of mobility in the city and metro railways. Chapter Two, also underlines that women's usage and access to public domain has increased over time and as a result so do their usage of public transportation. Feminist scholars and urban geographers have given substantial importance to this development in the usage and travel patterns. Owing to their gendered domestic roles and relatively lower economic status, women are more dependent on public transport than men, with their distinct travel patterns and needs. The thesis also adds to the intertwined relationship between the dynamic structure of space with individual interactions and social practices. Metro railways exist as a distinct space, then other public spaces with its unique social traits, due to the transitory and ephemeral nature of the space.

The accounts of experiences in the city, especially in the metro railways portrays city spaces and metro railways as a site of perpetual conflict between autonomy and apprehension, mostly imposed by the male travellers and due to the gendered nature of the space. This creates a sense of doubt and anxiety among the women, while also reaffirming the cultural angst and apprehension towards the risks that women face in public spaces.

The specific and unique nature in which sexual harassment manifests, and is experienced in transit spaces is another significant contribution of this thesis. A substantial amount of literature exists on the peculiar nature of sexual harassment across different spaces and contexts like institutional and organisational settings, educational institutions, streets, etc. However, bringing together the behavioural specificity in transport environment along with

the spatiotemporality using the Lefebvrian Rhythmanalysis (2004), and Cresswell's Friction (2010), this research contributes to the knowledge about the ways in which sexual harassment manifests, and the way in which it is experienced in public transport settings. The rhythm of the metro railways shapes the facilitation and also concealing the ways in which sexual harassment takes place in the space, along with the superimposed rhythm of the city that precipitates inside metro railways. These rhythms often forge the distinct sociability of the Metro railways, which becomes a major factor that determines women's unresponsiveness in cases of harassment and discomfort. The unwillingness to respond, in events of harassment is not only determined by fear and anxiety, but is a conscious and rational decision made to reduce the deviation from the acceptable sociabilities of the space. It is also a wilful negotiation made to avoid any disruption to their own rhythm and neither the collective rhythm of the environment. Thirdly, the metro exists as a transitory space, with temporary inhabitation, and therefore, the experiences are also often understood and acted upon as temporary and situational. In case of metro, the same attributes of temporality, and ephemerality also provides anonymity to the perpetrators. The acts of sexual harassment are thus shaped, facilitated and concealed under the peculiar space-time setting of the metro railways. The intertwining of different rhythms acting together creates a favourable situation which facilitates the ways in which sexual harassment takes place. The findings of the research also resonate with the argument that environment has an affective role to play, where they are both social and interactional in nature shaping social and gender relations. This not only expands the knowledge on the manifestation of sexual harassment and the ways in which it is experienced but also reduces the gap in knowledge in the context of metro railways. It underlines the significant differences in manifestation of sexual harassment across different spaces and contexts, with certain aspects which are specific to metro railways. This framework broadens our knowledge on how sexual harassment is manifested and experienced, its varying impact, and survivors' response to it. What makes the experiences of sexual harassment in metro railways different from other public spaces is that these incidents are taking place in a moving and enclosed transitory space, with far greater anonymity of individuals, and the ephemeral presence of both the survivor and the perpetrator.

On the Impact of Sexual Harassment on Women's Mobilities and the Role played by Memory

This research also explores and contributes to our understanding on the impact of the experiences of sexual harassment, and the negotiations that are made with the traumatic memories of them. One of the most studied and focused upon aspect of the impact of the experiences of sexual harassment is the relatively higher level of fear of crime among women. This is not restricted to any specific context or space, but it has been found evident in nearly all the experiences of sexual harassment in public spaces. This study, though not undermining the aspect of fear and anxiety, moves towards the active negotiations and resistance made by women to reduce the disruption of their mobility to a minimum. Memory plays an integral role here, and the way they are negotiated over time shapes the future performances and presence in public spaces. In several accounts, it is found that women make active negotiations both at the time of the incident, and also over time to prevent any possible interruption to their mobility and accessibility. There can include a plethora of negotiations and responses, including: the acts of blocking or forgetting the incidents, confrontation with the perpetrator, performative reclamation of space, opening about the incident to people, among others. The thesis, therefore, expands the understanding of these situations through the lenses of fear and passivity, towards the exercise of individual agency. Fear and anxiety are thus an aspect of these experiences, and are not instead the defining attributes. This research highlights the individual's agency and conscious negotiations of resistance against acts of sexual harassment and its impact on their mobility, while also illustrating the disruptive and gendered nature of these experiences.

The research also illustrates the change in the impact of sexual harassment experiences and the negotiations with the memories of these experiences over time. The conceptual framework deployed in the study highlights the temporal nature of these experiences and their memories. The thesis explains the multifaceted impact of these experiences in their mobility, shaped by space and time, constantly changing the course of negotiations that women undergo in their interaction with the city. These interactions and negotiations exist beyond the simplistic binary of being passive and active agents or if it enables or disempowers them. The analysis of the women account's sheds light on the multi-layered and multitudinous aspects that defines and shapes the negotiations that women make to ceaselessly reclaim their presence. This enables us to understand that over a course of time, these incidents, affect the way women interact and inhabit the city spaces in a gendered

manner. The meaning of the incident along with its impact are under constant change, defined and shaped also by individual's trajectory of life and the development in social contexts. The concept of memory highlights the evident change even in the acts of remembering the incident. Here, memory and its temporality as a concept illustrates the fluid nature of the impact of sexual harassment, and also that both memory and acts of remembering are themselves under continuous change.

Limitations and Policy Implications

Though this research has explored masculinities, sexual harassment, and their role in shaping the accessibility of Hyderabad metro railways, which is an under-researched topic, there are several other avenues and attributes that this field of inquiry could expand into. Future research could therefore explore into other important aspects which would enhance our knowledge on the topics of masculinities, and sexual harassment across different public transport systems and other public spaces.

One significant limitation of this research was that it could only accommodate one mode of public transportation i.e., metro railways. To completely understand the city's public transport system, it is necessary to explore other modes also like buses, MMTS (Multi-Modal Transport System), etc. Such holistic expansion across different avenues will illustrate the variances between different transport modes, highlighting the peculiarities of local or specific transport setting. This is not restricted to transit modes but also, to their geographical and infrastructural settings. In Chapter Four, it has been highlighted that the spatiotemporal setting of any space defines and shapes the individual rhythms and sociabilities of that environment. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that performances, experiences, impacts, and negotiations shall all show variance across different contexts. A multi-mode and multi-sited study will enable us to understand a complete picture of urban public transport systems.

Secondly, the research for its data focussed entirely on the accounts of the experiences of the commuters i.e., those who are receiving the service. Though it has in no way compromised the result of the study, a multi-agency approach will add to the knowledge on accessibility of public and the affecting factors. Including the perspective of service providers i.e., Metro Railways Authority, Police, Activist groups, and even identified offenders shall provide a scope for more broadened understanding of the issue. This will aid to understand the complex nature of the issue, incidents, and experiences through analogous or dissimilar

perspectives. Taking perspectives from different actors and agencies will increase our knowledge over the issue, benefitting the redressal and management of the issues.

Another important aspect that should be included in future explorations and researches should be to purposively include intersectional outlooks. Due to the unforeseen and unavoidable circumstances raised by the global COVID-19 pandemic, the physical exploration and interaction with the respondents was restricted to a large amount. In the wake of the situations, the questionnaire was only circulated through online medium. Online mode of survey is beneficial in research, as it digresses geographical limitations relatively more easily than physical mode. However, its reach in the research was limited as online mode of survey is accessible to only those populations who are technologically competent and literate. Another issue which was evident in the research though it has representation across age, ethnicity, caste, and gender it lacked representation of several perspectives including transgender people, differently abled individuals and illiterate population. Inclusion of a diverse intersectional representation will prevent homogenisation of data, providing a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon. Gender is one of the most important aspect to understand oppression and privilege, however, it could not be understood in isolation, without considering its interplay with other identities like caste, class, physical disability. Purposive intersectional approach of data collection will provide a deeper insight into the understanding of multi-faceted gender violence in public spaces. Encompassing the perspectives of different genders, religious minorities, differently abled individuals in the research will assist in exploring the issue and its impact holistically.

Understanding the phenomenon of Bystanders effect is also an important aspect that should be considered while taking up any future research on the issue. Explaining bystanders effect Laura Hengehold (2011) argues that “whereby the greater the number of witness to a conflict, the less likelihood of any single witness intervening” (Hengehold L. , 2011, p. 57). The impact of bystander effect or bystander apathy in cases of sexual harassment and violence has been noted by several scholar across different contexts like in educational campuses (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2007), and in organisational settings (McDonald & Flood, 2012). These researches has also argued that bystander apathy is an important issue that must be acknowledged and studied to address and combat the issue of sexual harassment in public domain.

Policy Implications

Though there are several limitations to the study which has been already highlighted in the earlier section, the study also provides useful insights derived from the research that can be implemented as policy guidelines or as a toolkit to address the issue of fear and accessibility in public transport systems. Recommendations are highlighted in the following section:

The study is an exploration into the everyday fear and accessibility with regard to the Hyderabad metro railways, and its relation with masculinity. By focussing attention to the experiences and understanding of the commuters in metro railways it unravels the nuances and aspects that are often ignored or misunderstood. Consequently, the outcomes of this research has the possibility to be a practical guide into those aspects which are necessary to be dealt with in order to address the issue.

As has been highlighted in the previous section (See Limitations), it is of immense necessity that multi-agency approach is adopted to reduce and prevent sexual harassment in metro railways. It is needless to say that police and metro authorities already play a vital role in managing safety, and security of the commuters. However, it should be made a regular and compulsory practice that along with the aforesaid agencies, representations from activist groups, as well as specific voices from different sections and communities should also be included. A continuous and coordinated working of these agencies and agents will not only develop a holistic overview but shall also be useful in eliminating or minimalizing the disjuncture and structural limitation of any particular agency.

Another important aspect to be highlighted here, on the basis of the survey data that was collected for this study, it was found that around 33 respondents i.e., around 40% of total respondents have ‘rarely’ seen campaigns (videos/photo/audio) regarding safety of women in transit spaces. In this case 27 respondents i.e., 33% have said that they have ‘often’ seen these campaigns, and around 12.3% of the respondents come across these campaigns at ‘most of the places’. From these findings it is evident that wide and explicit campaigns targeting sexual harassment in public transport spaces should be carried out both in the premises of Metro stations and within the metro coaches. Under-reporting of these issues should be the major focus of these campaigns, with awareness of the reporting process, means of reporting, victims anonymity, etc. should be made known to people. Regular awareness campaigns should be made a compulsory part of the functioning of L&TMRHL, HRL, along with the participation of other organisations such as SHE team, and Hyderabad

police. A similar event was organised in December 2019, in form of flash mobs across the Blue line, and Red line, covering around 20 high ridership stations (Department, 2019). These campaigns covered awareness on carrying pepper spray for safety, avoiding secluded spaces, SOS tab and emergency, eve teasing, etc., for safety inside metro railways. However, it is very important to note that these awareness campaigns either shift the responsibility of safety on women, restricting their sense of freedom and accessibility or burden women for reporting these incidents. It is needed to break the silence on the gendered violence within metro premises as with other transit spaces, however asking women to carry pepper spray, avoiding certain spaces, and on reporting to stop sexual harassment, again makes women who have gone through such violence responsible to stop such incidents. It would be both beneficial and progressive if instead of victim's responsibility, it focuses on bystander intervention and campaigns targeting the potential harassers. It could include campaigns highlighting the behaviours and activities that are illegal, the punishment that these actions attract, and also awareness on the police actions that are taken in such actions, and proactive policing being carried in metro premises. These campaigns have the possibility of creating a hostile environment for the offenders and thus can add in reducing the occurrence of such incidents.

Thirdly, in the survey study of this research, around 68 respondents out of the total 81 responses i.e., around 84% respondents have noted that they have never visited police regarding incidents of sexual harassment in metro railways. Among the major determinants, they have highlighted that victim-blaming, trivialisation, tediousness of the process, ineffective nature, and lack of anonymity which determines their actions. This indicates both the structural and functional lapses in the working of police agency in Hyderabad, even when they have a dedicated SHE team which aims to provide a safe and secure environment for women. It is needful in such circumstances, that mechanism including campaigns, flash mobs, along with other activists' groups should be done to bring police closer to the people to increase their approachability.

Concluding Thoughts

Academic interest in the gendered lives in urban spaces, and the concern and knowledge foundation in this issue in everyday life drove my interest in this research process. An aspiration to understand the experiences and negotiations made by women and the role

played by masculinity fuelled this research since its initiation. The research into exploring the fear and accessibility in Hyderabad Metro Railways is justified on the lack of empirical studies into this matter in the specific context, and also through the distinct conceptual framework of rhythms, mobilities, and temporalities that have been used in this research. This research in its entirety contributes to our knowledge towards a specific aspect of gendered violence in the transitional space such as Metro Railways, while also highlighting the unexplored aspects of it. The study lays down the ways in which sexual harassment is distinctly perpetrated, experienced, dealt and negotiated with, along with the role of masculinity in its perpetration.

The title of the thesis is “Understanding Masculinities: A study of fear and harassment in public transport system”. Transport exists as an integral part of the everyday life, and also as a link between the domestic and public sphere, having its structure and functions, with distinct rhythms and sociabilities. The conceptual framework of rhythm and friction along with the concept of flaneur enables us to understand the everyday experiences and negotiations made in the city. It destabilises the perception of mundane everyday routine into a form of gendered violence due to the masculine performances. At the same time, it moves ahead of the reductive understanding of these experiences through the lenses of fear and vulnerabilities, towards the negotiations made by the survivors to minimise the impact of such incidents.

One of the most surprising and elemental finding of the research is the extent of sexual harassment prevalent in public transport and how the transitory nature of the Metro railways both facilitates and conceals sexual harassment distinctly than in other public domain. The rhythms and friction of Metro Railways creates its unique sociabilities under which the social interaction are played out. The understanding of these sociabilities aids better grasp and de-normalises the sexual harassment in Metro transport, its working, and its deteriorating on day to day life in the city as a whole. Conditional and regulated access to the city is not enough. The metro railway though an integral part of the urban life, remains contested and regulated space in which women are forced to negotiate between their accessibility and risk of sexual harassment as they make their choice to travel, either for work or leisure. Masculinity becomes a restraining and limiting factor making women a captive citizen in the city, which is disruptive, intrusive, and inescapably gendered. The risks are neither trivial nor ignorable, but are detrimental and regulatory. There is constraints of time and space, on behaviours and presentations of self in metro railways, a constant check on identifying and

avoiding perpetrators, dilemma on whether to react, how to, and its escalation. To report or not to. The working of police, if it will add to the disturbance? The need to be fearful or vigilante, to regulate oneself keeping others in mind. To deal with the aftermath, the act of remembering or forgetting. It is necessary that the anonymity, pleasure, and comfort is available to women as part of their right to the city. The right to exist and live in public as a private individual, to exist as a flaneur, without any fear of male violence being an inseparable attribute of their citizenship to the city.

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APPENDIX 1: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Understanding Masculinity: A Study of Fear & Harassment in Public Transport System

Interviewer: Ayushya Singh

Affiliation: Department of Anthropology, University of Hyderabad

Contact: 8948468068, 7093674708

Email id: ayushya_singh@uohyd.ac.in

Aim of the research: The study aims to study the less explored behavioral aspects of the transit riders and how they perceive the public transport system. The study will attempt to explore how sexual harassment in public transport settings instates a sense of fear of crime among the riders, affecting their travel pattern and behavior.

If you accept to be part of the study, I, Ayushya Singh (Name of the Researcher) promise to respect the sensitivity of your response and experiences and the terms of this consent form.

I, Ayushya Singh (Name of the Researcher) promise to keep the Name and information provided here anonymous and it shall not be shared with another party. This information is gathered only for research purpose.

Respondent:

I, the respondent consents to be part of this study conducted by Ayushya Singh (Name of the researcher) in context of this research project. My participation in this study is completely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any point in time or not to respond to certain questions on my wish.

I grant permission to use all or part of my response in the form of a transcript or in digital format for the thesis work or in its publications or to authorize such publication without seeking further consent.

The researcher has informed and assured to respect the sensitivity of your response and experiences and the terms of this consent form.

Informed Consent

Kindly choose **Yes** if you wish to participate in the study, or otherwise choose **No**.

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ **Yes**
- ☐ **No, Skip to section 4 (Participation Declined)**

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Understanding Masculinities: A Study of Fear and Harassment in Public Transport System

Interview Schedule

[Started by introducing the researcher and the project. Go over the Informed Consent Form and Participant Information Sheet, highlighting the right to withdraw consent, anonymity, and confidentiality. Also, highlight those issues where researcher would be obliged to report to the authorities. Inform and take consent about the use of recording device/online meeting recording and inform the participant of the storage of data]

Section: 01

Introduction

1. Could you start by telling me how you use the Hyderabad Metro?
2. Do you prefer it to other transport options?
3. How do you typically see people interacting on the Hyderabad Metro?
4. Are the things that you like about how people typically act on the Hyderabad Metro?
5. Are there things that you dislike?
6. Think of your last journey on the Hyderabad Metro. Can you describe how you feel about the physical space of the Hyderabad Metro (the carriages, and stations)?
7. Do you think the Hyderabad Metro is a 'safe' space? How does it compare safety-wise with other modes of transport e.g. walking, buses, and taxis?

Section: 02

About the incident

8. In your own words, how would you define sexual harassment?
9. Can you tell me your story about your experience(s) of sexual harassment on the Hyderabad Metro?
10. How did the incident make you feel at the time?
11. Could you tell me what you remember about the physical space where the incident happened?
12. What did you do when the incident happened?
13. and looking back, do you think you would respond differently now?
14. If yes, how do you think you would respond now?
15. Were there any bystanders when the incident occurred? If so, what was their reaction?

16. Did you talk to the police/authorities?
17. If yes, how did the police/authorities respond?
18. Did you talk to friends and family about the incident?
19. How did they respond?
20. Why do you think the person harassed you?

Section: 03

Looking back at the incident

21. How do you think this experience has affected you?
22. Have you changed the way you travel?
23. Have you changed anything about your behaviour?
24. Do you think you would have acted differently elsewhere had the same thing happened (on the street, at work, in a pub)?
25. Finally, if you haven't already mentioned, can you tell me a few details about yourself:
 - a) age
 - b) ethnicity
 - c) occupation
 - d) Where do you live in Hyderabad?
26. Do you have anything you want to add that hasn't been covered or any questions you want to ask me?

Understanding Masculinity: A Study of Fear & Harassment in Public Transport System

CONSENT FORM

INTERVIEWER: AYUSHYA SINGH

AFFILIATION: DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD

CONTACT: 8948468068, 7093674708

EMAIL ID: ayushya_singh@uohyd.ac.in

The aim of the research: The study aims to study the less explored behavioral aspects of the transit riders and how they perceive the public transport system. The study will attempt to explore how sexual harassment in public transport settings instates a sense of fear of crime among the riders, affecting their travel pattern and behavior.

If you accept to be part of the study, I, Ayushya Singh (Name of the Researcher) promise to respect the sensitivity of your response and experiences and the terms of this consent form. I, Ayushya Singh (Name of the Researcher) promise to keep the Name and information provided here anonymous and it shall not be shared with another party. This information is gathered only for research purpose.

RESPONDENT:

I, the respondent consents to be part of this study conducted by Ayushya Singh (Name of the researcher) in context of this research project. My participation in this study is completely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any point of time or not to respond to certain questions on my wish.

I grant permission to use all or part of my response in the form of transcript or in digital format for the thesis work or in its publications or to authorize such publication without seeking further consent.

The researcher has informed and assured to respect the sensitivity of your response and experiences and the terms of this consent form.

*Required

1. Informed Consent *

Kindly choose *Yes* if you wish to participate in the study, or otherwise choose *No*

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No *Skip to section 4 (Participation Declined)*

Personal Information

2. Name

3. Age

4. Gender

Mark only one oval.

☐ Female

☐ Male

☐ Other

☐ Prefer not to say

5. Religion

6. Caste

7. Level of Education

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ Not completed Primary Education
- ☐ Primary Education
- ☐ Secondary Education
- ☐ Higher Education (College/University)

8. Income

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Below Rs. 10,000/- per month
- ☐ Between Rs. 10,000/- to Rs. 25,000/- per month
- ☐ Above Rs. 25,000/- per month

9. Do you live in Hyderabad ?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Other: _____

10. Language Known

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Telugu
- ☐ Urdu
- ☐ English
- ☐ Hindi
- ☐ Other: _____

11. How long have you lived in the city ?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Less than 1 year
- ☐ 1 years to 5 years
- ☐ 5 years to 10 years
- ☐ More than 10 years

Travel Experiences in Metro Railways

12. Most preferred mode of public transport?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ MMTS
- ☐ METRO RAILWAYS
- ☐ CITY BUS
- ☐ Other: _____

13. What are your main concerns in opting for your public transport?

Mark only one oval per row.

	Safety	Affordability	Connectivity	Availability
First	☐	☐	☐	☐
Second	☐	☐	☐	☐
Third	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fourth	☐	☐	☐	☐

14. Have you ever faced any unpleasant experience while travelling in a public transport?

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No

15. If the nature of experience is abusive which among the following would describe it (tick the relevant ones).

Tick all that apply.

☐ Verbal

☐ Visual

☐ Physical

☐ Flashing

☐ Stalking

☐ Violent Physical Assault

☐ None

☐ Other: _____

16. How often have you encountered such experiences in the past 1 year?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Just Once
- ☐ Occasionally (2-5 times)
- ☐ Frequently (More than 5 times)
- ☐ None

17. What time of the day do you fear using public transportation the most?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Day time
- ☐ After Dark
- ☐ Both
- ☐ None

18. If you have been a victim of sexual harassment, which place you have faced it?

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Roadside
- ☐ While waiting for the Transport
- ☐ In the Public Transport
- ☐ Washroom areas
- ☐ Other: _____

19. What safety risks concerns you the most in public transit spaces?

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ None
- ☐ Sexual Harassment/Flashing/Staring/etc.
- ☐ Sexual Assault/Rape
- ☐ Theft
- ☐ Murder
- ☐ Other: _____

20. Does gender have anything to do with it?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

21. Does being male have a role in creating the unpleasantness in public transport?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

22. Does any of the following affect your personal Safety?

*(Tick all those that apply)

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Being a Man/Woman
- ☐ Being of a certain religion
- ☐ Belonging to a certain caste
- ☐ Being from other region/area (Not a native)
- ☐ Not knowing the language
- ☐ Being of a different sexual orientation
- ☐ Other: _____

23. Do you avoid any of the following to reduce the chances of Sexual harassment/assault?

*(Tick all those that apply)

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Avoid certain places completely
- ☐ Avoid certain routes completely
- ☐ Avoid going out
- ☐ Avoid using public transport
- ☐ Using public transport after dark
- ☐ Avoid going out alone after dark
- ☐ Avoid crowded stations/routes
- ☐ Avoid secluded stations/routes
- ☐ Avoid wearing certain types of clothes
- ☐ Carry protective equipment
- ☐ No, I don't do anything
- ☐ Other: _____

24. Do you Share the experiences of sexual harassment/ assault at home?

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No

25. Any discussion/dialogue with family members to deal with cases of Sexual harassment/ assault in public spaces?

Mark only one oval.

☐ Not at all

☐ Encourage to deal with it

☐ Motivated/ Equipped to deal it independently

26. If yes, how often do you share your experiences/ viewed experiences?

Mark only one oval.

☐ Often

☐ Regularly

☐ Discuss it regularly

27. If not shared, why not?

Mark only one oval.

☐ Strong reaction of the family members

☐ Might restrict mobility (Completely/Partially)

☐ They cannot help

28. Have you ever come across (videos/photos/audio) advertisement/ campaigns within transit spaces related to safety of women?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Haven't seen at all
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Most of the places

29. Does the presence of female police/ Security personnel provide any added sense of security?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Not at all

30. Have you witnessed any random checking within transit spaces by security personnel?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Very Regularly
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not At All

31. Does a certain dressing pattern, in any ways related to the safety of men and women in public spaces?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Yes, but only for women
- ☐ Yes, but only for men
- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ Other: _____

32. Does marital status of a person help in any way to avoid assault in public transport/ spaces?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe, Sometimes

33. Is there any difference in the impact of sexual harassment/ assault, then other crimes like theft/violent attack/ fight/ etc.?

34. Have you ever approached the police regarding incident of sexual assault/ harassment?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Very Often
☐ Often
☐ Never

35. What are the problems in approaching police in cases of sexual assault/ harassment?

* (Tick all those that apply)

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Victim-blaming
☐ Trivialization
☐ Afraid of the police
☐ Very tedious process
☐ Not-effective
☐ No action is taken
☐ Comes to family' s notice
☐ Other: _____

36. What is your response, where you have witnessed sexual harassment/ assault?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Have supported the survivors
☐ Try to get public support
☐ Have called the police/ security personnel
☐ Prefer not to get involved

37. What are the factors that contribute to unsafe conditions at public transit spaces?

*(Tick all those that apply)

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Poor lightning
- ☐ Lack of Signage
- ☐ Improper Maintenance
- ☐ Crowded Spaces
- ☐ Lack of safe public toilets/ washrooms
- ☐ Lack of Vendors/ Stalls
- ☐ Lack of Physical Security personnel
- ☐ Lack of Closed monitoring systems (CCTVs)
- ☐ Drunk/Intoxicated People
- ☐ Lack of respect for other Gender

38. If you are willing to participate in a personal interview, either direct face-to-face or through online mode, please give your email id:

Participation
Declined

You have elected not to participate in the study. You can either click submit or close the browser.
Thanks

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UNIVERSITY OF DELHI



&

INDIAN NATIONAL CONFEDERATION AND ACADEMY OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS (INCAA)

Certificate of Appreciation

This is to certify that

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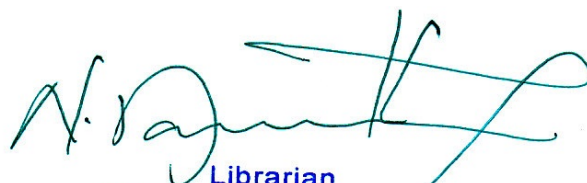
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