Women's strategies addressing sexual harassment and assault on public buses: an analysis of crowdsourced data

Suzanne Goodney Lea, Ph.D.[1]
Elsa D'Silva
Abhijith Asok

Abstract

This paper uses crowdsourced data on women's self-reports of harassment and assault on public buses in India. The data provide a basis to identify the strategies that women use to respond to and manage this everyday threat. The study examines 137 accounts of assault collected by a crowdsourced platform in which women detail keeping silent ($n = 27$), fleeing ($n = 38$), or resisting ($n = 72$) such an assault. Findings show that confronting incidents in the moment by "making a scene" and "engaging the crowd" works well in the closed, shared-space setting of a crowded public bus. The study concludes by asserting crowdmapping as a multi-faceted tool: it can allow women to be aware of potentially dangerous locales, empowers them to report incidents to help keep others safe, and provides a source of data to advise on best practices for navigating street harassment and assault in public buses.

Keywords

Women's safety
Public transportation
Groping
Assault
Crowdsourced data

Introduction

According to UK government advice "India Travel Advice," women are advised to "use caution when traveling in India" as there are increased reports of sexual assault against women and girls (Gov.UK 2015). This set of behaviors includes verbal and physical harassment by both individual and groups of men and numerous "serious" assaults over the last few years against women, both Indian and foreign. Women are encouraged to exercise

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[1] Adjunct Professor, University of Maryland – Baltimore County, and CEO, Red Dot Foundation Global - 5217 Lightning View Rd., Columbia, MD 21045 - suzanne.g.lea@gmail.com - (571) 263-1161

caution when traveling alone "*at any time of day*" and even when traveling in a group. Visitors are especially discouraged to take taxis or rickshaws at night.

A 2013 survey of 2000 women and 1000 men in New Delhi by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) underscores the validity of Gov.UK's advice, finding that 95% of women and girls living in the city do not feel safe from sexual violations in public spaces (Gaynair 2013). In 2012, there was a brutal gang rape and murder of a physiotherapist student on a bus. Another young woman was brutally gang-raped in 2013; she also died. Of the 2000 women surveyed by ICRW, 90% of women and girls reported experiencing sexual violations in public spaces over the course of their lifetimes—everything from groping, stalking and sexual assault to comments and catcalls (ibid). Over 60% of the women and girls surveyed said that they had experienced such violations *in the last 6 months* and 65% reported being very fearful to go out at night; findings were echoed by a 2016 survey of 1387 women and men in New Delhi which found that the fears and perceived threats articulated by women correlated very strongly to actual reports of harassment and abuse (Madan and Nalla 2016).

This paper aims to use crowdsourced data on women's experiences with and responses to harassment and assault in Indian public transportation venues. Using a sample of 137 accounts of assault collected by a crowdsourced platform, the study also identifies and assesses the current strategies used by women to manage these encounters and finally, considering their effectiveness in transit settings. The article begins by providing theoretical background to frame the study. This is then followed by a characterization of the study and a description of the data and methods used. Finally, results, conclusions, and recommendations are proposed. By taking the opportunity to engage different stakeholders, the article ends by discussing possible ways to improve women's safety in public transportation settings. This is done by using women's accounts of violent encounters to provide guidance as to how to best respond when faced with sexual harassment or assault in a public bus.

Literature review

Sexual assault in public transportation venues is hardly a phenomenon exclusive to India. Women in the developing world face particular challenges as a study in Bhopal nicely illustrated (Bhatt et al. 2015). There, 87% of the women surveyed reported using public transportation daily, with 90% of trips involving "chaining," which is when one must take multiple buses or other forms of public transport in order to arrive at one's destination. Many women (30%) travel with dependents and most travel for work (33%) or education (35%). Nearly all women (88%) reported having been harassed on public transportation venues, and 40% of women said this is a regular occurrence. This echoes the ICRW survey's finding that 90% of Indian women report having been harassed or assaulted at some point in their lives, with 60% saying they had had this experience in the last 6 months (Madan and Nalla 2016). The vast majority of the world's women must take public transportation to get to school or work, and many are especially concerned about the disrepair of infrastructure (bus stops/shelters, lighting on paths, and the functionality of

closed-circuit TV's [in Bhopal, 75% did not actually function Bhatt et al. 2015]). Crowding of buses and traveling alone/isolation seem to contribute to the chances that women will experience harassment or assault (Gekoski et al. 2015). Passengers who are rude or unruly—even elbowing, pushing, and shoving the weakest passengers (women, children, and the elderly)—typically go unchallenged (Natarajan et al. 2015).

Such experiences have prompted nearly 40% of women surveyed worldwide to alter their use of public transportation (Allen and Vanderschuren 2016). Smart phone reporting apps such as those used by Safecity.in, HarassMap in Cairo, and Hollaback in New York and London have engaged the power of the crowd to better guide police engagement in places where women face the most abuse (Gekoski et al. 2015). These platforms also potentially provide access to accounts of these encounters directly from victims themselves, which is quite unusual for street assaults that are not typically reported to police.

In most survey data examining sexual assault in India, there is a significant gap between the genders in terms of how serious respondents rated various behaviors, and this gap can have a significant impact on bystander's engagement when witnessing an attack (Himabindu et al. 2014). According to the ICRW survey, 50% of men reported being sexually harassing or violent toward a woman (Gaynair 2013). A full 75% of the men surveyed agreed that "women provoke men by the way they dress," and 40% asserted that women who were out at night "deserved to be sexually harassed" (ibid.). Indeed, even assaults in public directed against women by strangers can be minimized if, somehow, the woman can be presented as out of place—dressing the wrong way or outside at an "inappropriate" time or place. She could then be defined as bringing the assault upon herself, which is a sentiment far too many men surveyed report holding (Bhatt et al. 2015; Himabindu et al. 2014; Gaynair 2013).

This tacit shaming of women also promotes an environment of self-blame, which makes it than much less likely that women will feel empowered to speak up (i.e., to call for help in the moment or loudly demand that the man stop his assaultive behavior) or to report such violations to authorities after the fact. Not telling then further fuels the victim's sense of shame (Owens and Goodney 2000), as she fears that she will either not be believed or will be viewed as somehow encouraging the assault by being out after dark or dressing in a "provocative" way.

Taken together, these two trends—men discounting sexual harassment and assault of women as a problem and women buying into such cultural norms so as to feel compelled to keep quiet or even blame themselves for such attacks—theoretically minimizes the chance that bystanders might intervene in an assault on a woman in a public transportation venue. According to Latane and Darley's (1970) situation model of bystander intervention, a bystander must first notice the event, then identify it as a situation in which intervention is needed, next assert a sense of responsibility to intervene, then decide how to help, and, finally, actually intervene. In a study examining what precludes bystanders from intervening to stop acquaintance rape at college parties, Burn (2009) observed several conditions that impede a bystander from noticing or taking responsibility for intervening to stop a sexual assault, including sensory deprivation, diffusion of responsibility, and attribution of

worthiness—the last two of which, in particular, are significantly impacted by a culture that considers women to be culpable—due to their clothing or to being out in the evening—if they are assaulted.

The present study

Data and methods

Indeed, the Safecity.in platform used to collect the data used in this study was launched in 2012 in response to a brutal attack on a woman in India who was out with her boyfriend at 8.30 p.m. They were returning from a movie and encountered a group of men on a public bus on their way home. The men beat the woman's boyfriend, gang-raped her, and then brutalized her and discarded her body from the bus; she died soon thereafter. The answer to this problem is not that women should not be able to go out in the evening but that women should have a means of reporting the places in which they face harassment or abuse so that others can view "hot spots" of such incidents on a map.

The data collected on the Safecity.in platform consist of individual reports explaining what happened, the location where the incident took place, and the date and time when it happened. Anonymous reporting is encouraged, but it is exceedingly rare that an incident that is reported raises validity concerns—which is a validity consideration for crowdsourced data (Barbier et al. 2012). Validity is checked using the reliability of patterns. The platform is designed to identify locations in which reported events cluster. As such, accounts in certain quadrants tend to echo one another. If one is quite different than the locational pattern, it raises a validity concern, but in now over 10,000 cases, only a small handful of cases have ever raised such a concern.

For this project, we examined a subset of 1589 of the 10,000+ cases to take a closer look at incidents of sexual harassment and abuse that occur within public transportation venues. We started with a word map of the accounts reported in these nearly 1600 cases. The most common type of harassment in these venues was groping, which was more common even than catcalls and comments. The most frequent venue in which women were assaulted was the public bus, with 554 of the nearly 1600 cases reported as having occurred on a public bus. All accounts collected on the Safecity.in platform are categorized by venue and type of incident, allowing us to triangulate and confirm these patterns, giving us confidence that the patterns are valid and reliable indicators of key trends within the data set (Barbier et al. 2012).

The accounts specifically examined in this analysis represent one quarter ($N = 137$) of all accounts reporting upon assaults within public buses within the Safecity.in database—i.e., those in which there is sufficient detail reported as to what women reported feeling and doing at the moment they encountered the harassment or abuse in the bus (abuses include everything from groping to exposure to stalking and attempted kidnapping/rape), as well as what strategies they used in response to that abuse. These cases divide into three subsets: those in which women report, essentially, keeping silent about the abuse ($n = 27$), fleeing from it ($n = 38$), or actively resisting it ($n = 72$) such an assault. We would add the caveat that, in 417 of the 554 cases that we examined, there was insufficient detail as to categorize

the incident into one of these groupings, a significant potential limitation, which we discuss in detail in the "Conclusion" (see "Limitations" section).

Grounded theory was used to identify patterns in the data, with incidents initially categorized by location of the assault and type(s) of harassment/assault that took place. Reading carefully through those occurring in public buses, we extracted a subset that provided sufficient detail as to ascertain how the woman responded and if bystanders intervened. We were particularly interested in the strategies women reported using *during an incident* to manage groping encounters on buses. Was it most effective to keep quiet and walk away or to make a scene—and what was the social impact of each approach, in terms of bystander engagement?

Results

Within the 137 cases that included sufficient detail as to what happened, how the victim responded, as well as—in some cases—whether bystanders assisted, and how the assailant reacted as to apply further analysis, we noticed three distinct response: keeping silent, fleeing, and making a scene. We explore each of these, below.

Reactions during an experience

Strategy number 1: silence = shame (*n* = 27)

Several women recounted a strategy that was characterized by keeping quiet, generally out of a sense of shame—shame that was further enhanced as the woman later reflected on the assault. It seems that the women who kept quiet felt some sense, later on, of being complicit in the abuse. Indeed, one woman even reports using her bag to hide what the man was doing to her because she was so embarrassed:

- He started to touch my right breast, and I was too naive and ignored it. But later he pinched it and I felt really bad. *I didn't have the guts to speak out.*

- The uncle [older man] sitting next to me started touching me. I got embarrassed and *[I] kept my bag on my [lap] so that no one can notice [what he was doing]* and I thought he was doing it unintentionally as *it was very embarrassing*.

Despite being very traumatized by their experiences, a sizeable number of women do not take action in response to harassment in public venues due to social mores and fear. Figure 1a, b illustrates an example of a bus stop environment in India. Additionally, except with a few very close friends, they typically do not even talk with others about what happened. Women—especially in more traditional cultures—worry that publicly disclosing harassment will lead to stigma for them and their families.

Fig. 1

a, **b** Example of a bus stop environment in off-peak hours India. Photo: Devina Buckshee, Red Dot Foundation

Strategy number 2: getting away from the perpetrator (*n* = 38)

Another commonly reported strategy was fleeing the perpetrator. This approach gives the woman a bit more agency in that she is able to curtail the attack, but it still relegates the woman to a "keep quiet" stance, which is hardly fair to her and which arguably perpetrates an atmosphere that tacitly condones the men's predatory behavior.

- I didn't realize that anything was wrong, but then he started sticking to me and even put his hand on my thigh. That was when *I got up and took another seat*.

- I was so uncomfortable that *I dropped off from the bus*. This man seated next to me started touching my breasts. It felt indecent and *there and then I alighted from the bus*.

The most unfortunate dimension within these accounts is that it is the woman who feels compelled to "get out" or go away from the public space, taking shame with her rather than putting it where it should go: onto the perpetrator.

Strategy number 3: "Making a Scene" (*n* = 72)

Frequently, when women did speak up and even made a scene within a larger public transport venue such as a bus, they turned the tables on the man, *shaming him* and *compelling him to leave* the public space. When a woman publicly rebukes and/or shouts at a man, he is going to feel ashamed and want to escape that situation. Numerous accounts detail exactly this response by the men:

- I began to feel uncomfortable so I scolded him. *The man felt ashamed and got out of the bus.*

- She started shouting. *The man got scared and left the bus.*

- A man in the bus sat behind me and inappropriately tried touching me. However, *my friend and I did raise our voice and he was thrown out of the bus.*

- A friend of mine was groped. She got off the metro and the guy followed. And then *she slapped the guy in front of everyone. He started crying and begging for forgiveness.*

While it can be very hard to break with a cultural custom that trains women to be "polite" and quiet and to not make a scene or "draw attention" to themselves, the results tend to be quite positive for the women—both in terms of their immediate safety and in terms of the longer-term impact of the assault psychologically. This approach can curtail an assault, and it also eradicates the sense of shame a woman may feel if she keeps quiet or quietly leaves the bus.

Many women are reticent to make a scene: what if no one helps them? Looking carefully at the cases we analyzed ("Appendix") there are cases in which no help may be forthcoming from others on the bus, but it seems much more common that others *will help* (in numerous cases, there was insufficient data as to ascertain whether bystanders did or did not help).

We found that, with regard to the pattern of bystander behavior reported within the accounts, bystanders were more much likely to help than to not help—*when they were on a bus* in particular. We find that, in those cases where a woman rebuked the offender by making a scene (*n* = 72), bystanders were more likely to help than not (*n* = 25 vs. *n* = 7, with bystander reaction unknown in the majority of cases) ("Appendix"). Where bystanders did help, victims report:

- [The] conductor supported me.

- She couldn't keep silent and everyone in the bus started shouting at him and thrown [sic] him out of the bus.

In cases where bystanders did not help, there were conditions noted that could explain the lack of helping:

- The girl tried to push the guy away but she was struggling and *two other men standing there did not even intervene.*

- His penis was out of his pants. I started hitting him and he fell down. I hit him so much. I didn't let him sit next to me or any other girl in the bus. *People kept sleeping. There was no one helping.*

- Started shouting so that people can wake up and see what that creep just did with me but, sadly, *no one even moved a bit; they opened their eyes but did nothing.*

- A pair of men were unwilling to intervene on a woman harassing a woman and, in the two other cases, it was late at night and people on the bus were sleeping.

Discussion

A deep anxiety for many women in India is that great shame will befall them if they resist the sort of harassment and assault they encounter in public transportation venues on a daily basis. Given a culture that imbues upon women the sense that they are culpable—by what they wear or by simply being out in public in the evening, many women are reticent to "make a scene" in a public setting by rebuking these assaults. And while bystanders may not intervene in many settings, the public bus appears to serve as a sort of stage, perhaps because everyone is sharing the common social setting during the time they are on the bus. The situational components of bystander intervention that Latane and Darley (1970) describe works to the victim's favor within the confines of the bus in that it is easier for bystanders to construct an incident as problematic and a victim as needing assistance. It is harder to assume that "someone else will intervene" and perhaps easier to challenge behavior that many others also saw—or to resonate with the panic and terror that a young girl or woman who "makes a scene" evinces by loudly reacting to the man who has assaulted (or attempted to assault) her.

In many cases, the bus is quite crowded, giving "cover" to men that would grope or otherwise harass a woman or girl. And, indeed, in accounts where help from bystanders was not forthcoming, women report that a small group of men did not intervene to stop a man that was attacking her, which echoes Burn's (2009) finding that men are unlikely to stop other men from assaulting a woman as they may view that as his business and not their purview, echoing Latane and Darley's (1970) requirement that a victim be deemed worthy of intervention. In fact, though, if a woman speaks up and just one other person supports her, the dynamic becomes one of a closed system in which bystanders seem more likely to help. This suggests that a good strategy for girls and young women when facing the

immediate urgency of a sexual assault on a crowded bus, in particular, is to make a lot of noise and draw attention to the man and what he is doing. This serves potentially to shame the man and alert others of the situation, though it is important to note the pattern within those cases where help was not forthcoming: in several cases, passengers were asleep as it was late at night. This lessens the odds that they will notice or feel obliged to notice an assault, a key requirement for intervention according to Latane and Darley (1970).

Conclusion

Proper public labeling and sociological examination of the sexual assault that is happening within our public transportation venues is important, and international organizations and women's movements are pushing to encourage this. Along with other kinds of violence directed against women, harassment that is routinely experienced on public transport is now properly understood to be violations of international law. The *United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women* (1993) defines such violence as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life." Documenting and analyzing the lived realities so that social patterns of behavior can be identified and addressed is essential to changing these patterns and the tolerance for them by giving women strategies with which to defend their bodies and minds and by challenging men to challenge their own attitudes and to behave respectfully toward all they encounter in public spaces—men and women alike. Analyses like this can also empower women to ask from help from bystanders when they experience harassment within public bus venues.

Limitations

This study is not without limitations. The analysis focuses on data that were collected directly from citizens using a web reporting application. The reporting prompt was intentionally open-ended as this was the first project of its kind. We now know more about the characteristics of responses and are working to add more specific inquiries to the reporting platform prompts. More than 75.3% of the incidents reported on buses did not include sufficient detail to allow them to be included in this study. However, given that many of these more limited responses engaged a passive tense and omitted a subject, for instance, "it happened on a bus," this likely reflects shame the victim felt about the incident and indirectly suggests that the vast majority of women responded to these assaults by either keeping silent or fleeing. It is impossible to know, given the limited accounts, how many of those might have actively resisted the assault and made a scene. Crowdsourced data with an open-ended prompt leave open the possibility for incomplete response and thus engender a significant learning curve (Haklay 2013). Asking people to detail things we do not know a great deal about opens the door to new insights (Solymosi and Bowers 2017), but the data that one initially collects are unlikely to be as robust as one hopes—such is the process of "learning how to ask" (Briggs 1986).

Despite these limitations, this is work worth doing as it gives us so much more detail as to the how encounters that rarely get officially reported begin, escalate, and end. We can learn

a great deal by finding ways to utilize new data sources. To the extent that we can collaborate with NGOs to help them understand the patterns in their data and perform their task more effectively; thus, we can connect social analysis to the improvement of people's daily lives.

Suggestions for interventions

This study suggests a number of practical implications. First and foremost, it should provide some assurance to women and girls who are faced with sexual harassment or assault while riding a public bus that it is "acceptable to make a scene," draw attention to what is happening. Safecity.in and other similar campaigns in other countries should point out to women and girls that a bus is a unique, closed setting in which bystanders are more likely to intervene to stop an assault, in particular. In India as most certainly elsewhere, women are taught "not to make a scene in public" and are even encouraged to be quiet about sexual assault lest it seems they were "asking for it." Public busses present a unique circumstance, however. In effect, bystanders on a bus represent a "captured" audience. They cannot help but notice what is happening when a woman or girl is screaming for help. An exception is at night, when the cover of sleep can allow passengers a way not to become involved. At other times, however, our research suggests that it would be prudent for women to speak up and ask for help. Drivers and other passengers should be encouraged to intervene when a woman or girl seeks help—just as girls and women should be encouraged to speak up and ask for help. The most likely one to be shamed in that circumstance is the male predator.

The Safecity.in platform represents the sort of innovative technology that researchers should seek out as collaborative partners. Most NGOs are unfamiliar with how to collect and use data to improve their own work. Researchers could help them do this while analyzing unique data that can provide new perspectives on the nature of crime and violent interactions. Based upon this analysis, this platform will be revising its reporting document so as to collect more detailed data, but that was only possible after this study provided insight into what details can guide better practice. Sometimes, the conventional wisdom—in this case, that bystanders will not help a woman who is being sexually assaulted—proves to be wrong. And that is critical for women and girls to know as reaching out to bystanders could save very well a life, or at least save a woman or girl from a life of shame.

Appendix

Table 1

Bystander and offender actions in incidents in which the victim resisted and/or made a scene

Year	Incident	Victim's response	Bystander response	Offender response
2014	Groping	Attempt to rebuke	No help	Pretend normal behavior
2014	Intentional physical contact, forced kissing	Shouted, tried to gain attention	No help	Unknown
2014	Touching, harassment	Tried to gain attention	No help	Unknown
2015	Groping	Pushed, rebuked	No help	Unknown
2008	Forcing, tried to get girl to masturbate	Hit him & kept him from other girls	No help	Unknown
2013	Touching	Shouted, tried to gain attention	No help	Unknown
2015	Touching	Rebuked	Help	Ashamed
2015	Touching	Informed to conductor	Help	Ran away
2015	Harassment, stealing	Cried	Help	Ran away
2015	Stalking	Screamed	Help	Ran away
2015	Threatening	Screamed	Help	Ran away
2015	Touching	Rebuked, ignored at first	Help	Ran away
2015	Touching	Shouted	Help	Ran away
2015	Stealing	Shouted	Help	Ran away

Table 1

Bystander and offender actions in incidents in which the victim resisted and/or made a scene

Year	Incident	Victim's response	Bystander response	Offender response
2009	Indecent exposure	Shocked, shouted, tried to gain attention	Help	Moved away
2015	Harassment	Rebuked	Help	Continued the behavior
2011	Stalking, attempted sexual assault	Shocked, confused	Help	Unknown
2015	Touching	Informed to bystanders	Help	Unknown
2015	Touching	Tried to gain attention	Help	Unknown
2015	Touching	Rebuked	Help	Unknown
2015	Taking pictures	Rebuked	Help	Unknown
2015	Touching	Shouted	Help	Unknown
2015	Abusing, threatening	Rebuked	Help	Unknown
2015	Touching	Froze, pushed off the seat	Help	Unknown
2015	Harassment	Scolded	Help	Unknown
2016	Taking pictures	Shouted	Help	Unknown
2014	Stalking, groping	Informed to parents	Help	Punished
2015	Touching	Slapped, screamed	Help	Punished
2014	Touching	Rebuked	Help	Punished

Table 1

Bystander and offender actions in incidents in which the victim resisted and/or made a scene

Year	Incident	Victim's response	Bystander response	Offender response
2014	Indecent exposure, intentional physical contact	Shouted, slapped	Help	Moved away, ran away
2013	Inappropriate behavior	Scared	Help	Unknown
2015	Touching	Scolded	Unknown	Ashamed, move away
2015	Touching	Shouted	Unknown	Ran away
2015	Touching	Rebuked, Poked	Unknown	Ran away
2015	Touching	Shouted	Unknown	Ran away
2015	Touching	Scolded	Unknown	Ran away
2014	Intentional physical contact, indecent exposure	Rebuked, victim hit the prep in stomach	Unknown	Moved away, ran away
2014	Touching	Rebuked	Unknown	Moved away
2013	Making facial expressions, commenting	Requested prep to leave seats	Unknown	Continued the behavior
2013	Touching	Rebuked	Unknown	Continued the behavior
2013	Touching	Rebuked, threw his hand away	Unknown	Continued the behavior
2014	Groping	Rebuked, tried to stop	Unknown	Continued the behavior
2013	Touching, intentional physical contact	Furious	Unknown	Followed the victim

Table 1

Bystander and offender actions in incidents in which the victim resisted and/or made a scene

Year	Incident	Victim's response	Bystander response	Offender response
2013	Intentional physical contact, touching, stalking	Asked the prep to move away	Unknown	Followed the victim
2015	Touching	Rebuked, pinched	Unknown	Apologized
2015	Touching, intentional physical contact	Rebuked, argued	Unknown	Argued saying it was unintentional
2013	Touching, intentional physical contact	Did not report to police, Shouted	Unknown	Embarrassed, move away, got of the bus
2015	Intentional physical contact	Rebuked	Unknown	Move away
2015	Commenting	Rebuked, denied requests	Unknown	Move away
2016	Harassment	Shouted	Unknown	Stopped the behavior
2013	Touching, threatening	Revolted, opposed	Unknown	Threatened the victim with assault
2013	Attempt physical assault	Almost broke the prep's finger	Unknown	Unknown
2013	Touching	Irritated, shouted	Unknown	Unknown
2013	Commenting, gripping victim's arm	Rebuked, shouted	Unknown	Unknown
2014	Touching	Shouted	Unknown	Unknown
2014	Groping	Shocked, scolded	Unknown	Unknown
2014	Touching	Hit him	Unknown	Unknown

Table 1

Bystander and offender actions in incidents in which the victim resisted and/or made a scene

Year	Incident	Victim's response	Bystander response	Offender response
2014	Touching	Rebuked, ignored at first	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Staring	Rebuked	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Touching	Rebuked, scolded	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Touching	Uncomfortable, informed it to mother	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Touching	Rebuked, asked to stop	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Touching	Slapped	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Intentional physical contact	Pushed	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Harassment	Scolded	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Touching	Shouted	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Touching, indecent exposure	Rebuked	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Indecent exposure	Shouted, threatened	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Indecent exposure	Informed it to mother	Unknown	Unknown
2013	Intentional physical contact, touching	Reported to conductor	Unknown	Unknown
2015	Staring, commenting	Pretended to complain to police	Unknown	Unknown

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