

## Understanding Adolescents' Perspectives on Street Harassment in Kathmandu, Nepal: Mixed Methods Results using Video Vignettes

Deborah Levison, Anna Bolgrien, and Binu Sharma

For IUSSP – November 22, 2021

It is undeniable that girls and women experience unwelcome attention from boys and men in public spaces; this is problematic in South Asia as well as elsewhere in the world (e.g., as reviewed in Madan and Nalla 2016). Catcalls are “verbal expressions that degrade, objectify, and subordinate women” (Chhun 2011, 274). Whistles, winks, and catcalls asking for the attention of the target, making comments about her person and clothing, unwelcome touching (fondling, groping), men exposing genitalia, men following women – these are all forms of gendered violence directed at women in public places. These behaviors are called “street harassment” as they typically occur when girls and women are walking or using public transportation in city streets or on village paths. There is evidence that even the possibility of such harassment has an inhibiting effect on the behavior of women and girls (Gautam et al. 2019).

Although people of other genders also face street harassment, those who identify as female are its usual targets. Feminist scholars argue, with Turkheimer (1997), that “as a practice, street harassment embodies and perpetuates women’s... subordination” (p. 167). In addition to supporting patriarchal norms and structures, it reinforces caste, class, and racial/ethnic hierarchies. It is because women lack power, Turkheimer states, that “gender-specific harms result, that these harms are not experienced by men, and that these harms are socially and legally overlooked. The immensity of this cultural blind-spot is testimony to the power of sexual [we would say gendered] domination” (p. 172). It is more than 20 years since this was written, but the cultural blind-spot remains. Societies continue to trivialize the degree to which street harassment harms women and are almost completely silent on the ways in which harassment affects girls from young ages.

This study focuses on perceptions of girls and boys ages 12-17 about street harassment in response to a short video story, followed by survey questions, and sometimes interviews and focus groups. Gita Neupane’s (2017) dissertation examines street harassment in Kathmandu, Nepal, the site of our study. She writes,

As Nepali women continue to pursue the promises of advancement and modernization brought about by global economic changes and local politics, they are both “allowed” and required to step into the traditionally male-dominated public sphere. This access, however, creates tensions between traditional patriarchal norms and the notion of a free individual who pursues education and paid employment. ...as modern Nepali women use historically male dominated public space as transit and paths to their work and education without an escort of a male member of the family, they experience sexual harassment and violence in such spaces. That is, as new possibilities for mobility emerge, new spaces are created where women continue to experience vulnerability and subordination by men, which **profoundly** affects women’s lives. (p.10)

As Neupane describes, public and media attention in Nepal focuses on extreme cases of gendered violence, such as gang rapes or murders, but are only a small representation of the less violent but daily abuse of girls and women in public places. They do not feel they can turn to police for support. Even if perpetrators of street harassment can be found, police may blame girls and women for being in public “alone,” without a male escort. Gautam et al. (2019) document substantial sexual harassment of female medical students on public transportation in and around Kathmandu.

While most studies focus on adult women, street harassment is first experienced by girls at young ages. A nonrandom sample of Nepali females under age 40 found that more than half were first harassed under the age of 15 (Livingston 2015). Livingston’s global survey documented – both in Nepal and around the world – women’s feelings of anger, distraction, anxiety, fear, and depression due to street harassment. In addition, many changed their behavior by, for example, limiting their social lives, missing classes, and even leaving jobs.

How are girls – who experience harassment not only on public streets and in public transportation but also in and around their schools – understanding this kind of attention from boys and men? We used the Animating Children’s Views methodology to survey 12-17-year-old girls in peri-urban Kathmandu, Nepal, about street harassment, then followed the survey with some individual interviews and focus groups. Our interest was in the extent to which girls felt limited and silenced by harassment, and the extent to which they exhibited resistance and expressed a readiness for social change. Similarly, we document the extent to which boys supported or condemned street harassment.

The experience of street harassment overlaps with students’ experience of bullying in school environments and traveling between school and home. Bullying is a common experience worldwide and has serious negative effects on victims, both girls and boys. Findings from the 2015 Global School-Based Student Health Survey in Nepal concludes that school bullying is significantly associated with mental health factors like loneliness, anxiety, suicide attempt, school absenteeism and risky behavioral factors like smokeless tobacco use and involvement in physical fight (Neupane et al. 2020; Bergenfeld et al. 2021). While bullies may employ similar tactics as street harassers, there are some important distinctions. First, girls may be targeted by any boys or men while outside their homes, not only by boys or girls who know them. Second, bullying does not necessarily serve to reinforce patriarchal norms, unlike street harassment.

Our motivation is mainly methodological. Results come from a 2019 pilot study of the Animating Children’s View (ACV) project, in which we aim to add to the repertoire of methods that help convey young people’s perspectives to adults, with the ultimate goal of making child-friendlier policies. The United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child, Article 12, states that children have the right to be listened to on matters that concern them, yet young people – especially in the Global South – are often expected to simply accept adult decisions affecting their lives. Finding a way to better understand the perspectives of large numbers of older children and adolescents, using surveys, could produce the kind of population-level information that attracts the interest of policy-makers.

## **Methodology and Data.**

The ACV 2019 pilot study in Nepal was conducted as a household survey in peri-urban areas of Kathmandu. Bolgrien and Levison (2021) describe the randomized sampling procedure followed in two purposively-selected municipalities outside central Kathmandu. We collected survey data from 191 young people ages 12-17 (101 girls and 90 boys) living in 155 households. Data was

also collected about the household from the mother or guardian of the children. In addition, we conducted nine focus groups and 66 qualitative follow-up interviews with child respondents.

Respondents were shown a cartoon vignette about a girl character experiencing street harassment by young men on her way to school. Respondents watched the cartoon video (in Nepali) on tablets wearing headphones, then answered questions about the cartoon girl. Use of words for “harassment” and “violence” was avoided both in the vignette and by the interviewers. Cartoons are central to the ACV methodology as they allow respondents to answer survey questions about the experiences of the cartoon characters instead of about their own lives. This reduces the risk to the respondent, as discussed in Bolgrien and Levison (2021). The script is simple:

*This girl has a long walk between home and school, each school day. The worst part is when she has to pass a place where young men gather. They say things to her that make her uncomfortable and embarrassed. Sometimes they try to grab her. She is worried that someday they may really do more than that. She wishes her friend had not left school, so she had someone to walk with. She needs to do something. But what?*

Additional scenes show options the girl is considering, based on qualitative literature and pretesting. After respondents finished watching, they were asked questions regarding what the girl in that situation might have felt, what she should do, who could help her, and whose fault it was. Some questions asked respondents to select one of five emojis ranging from very sad/angry to very happy (a “Smiley Scale”). For those boys and girls interested in discussing the video, short follow-up conversations probed their answers. Focus groups allowed for longer, more wide-ranging discussions. Recordings were transcribed in Nepali, then translated into English. All three authors were involved in the iterative qualitative coding process.

## **Findings.**

Through the survey data and qualitative responses, adolescent respondents presented their perspectives on the ACV vignette on street harassment. In addressing our main research question – how are girls and boys understanding the street harassment commonly experienced by girls – respondents provided insight on four major themes addressed here: awareness, confrontation, adult/police intervention, and social change. These themes were coded iteratively in the qualitative process and analyzed in conjunction with the quantitative survey data. This mixed methods analysis shows how the ACV methodology can be used to learn more about adolescents’ awareness of harassment and their perceptions of confrontation and adult help as possible solutions. Finally, many of our respondents spoke of a need for social change to bring an end to street harassment.

All names used below are pseudonyms.

**Awareness of harassment.** Over 91% of the respondents reported that they knew someone (including themselves) or had heard about someone who had been in a situation similar to the video. Respondents speaking in focus groups and post-survey interviews mentioned a variety of different actions that they considered to be problematic. These ranged from winking to being addressed in the street to physical touching.

Some of these actions seemed similar to friendly flirting between adolescents. Some girls pointed out that attention from the opposite sex – particularly those in a similar age range – can be normal and harmless and can even be reciprocated.

*Kalpana: It could be fun if we also tease [flirt with] them a few times. [D228, focus group of girls 15-16]*

But girls differentiated between welcome and unwelcome attention; in two different focus groups, girls noted that friends may tease them a little, and a one-time situation is not problematic, but attention from “outsiders” – especially repeated “teasing,” makes girls feel bad:

*Kalpana: It will be okay, if somebody teases once or twice, this could be one thing. But if they tease someone continually, it will become mental torture, and after that the girls will start to think about that thing all the time, they cannot give their attention to anything else. And that's it.*

*Anita: ...If someone will tease little bit [flirt] for fun, becoming friendly, it is okay but if someone teases [harasses] by using vulgar words or making someone feel very bad, I think that would be bad.*

*Sunita: It depends on how much they do. Now, if the friends are very close, they will not feel bad, but they became angry if some outsider does the same thing. But we can forgive them for one to two times. However, if they do same thing repeatedly, that would be a bad thing. [Focus group of girls 15-16]*

In another focus group, a similar discussion took place:

*Avigya: It's normal if teased by friends. ...but if they always tease, then it is not okay.*

*Aastha: Friends may tease. It does not matter if it's a close friend. Because you know how your friends are, so you don't take it bad.*

*Avigya: And it's bad if some unknown teases, even they are neighbors. [Focus group of girls 15-17]*

Quantitative evidence showing that many respondents (49%) thought the cartoon girl should shout at harassing males also suggests that many did not fear serious violence. Still, adolescents can be seriously affected by other youth saying negative things about them, calling them names, winking, whistling, and generally participating in non-violent forms of harassment.

*Anita: No, sometimes I feel quite embarrassed actually. Some people whistle at us, someone whistles when we are walking with our parents too. We become irritated and feel shy, if we are with our family. That is not harassment, but I will not pay attention to it if I am alone. Whatever they tell me. [Focus group of girls 15-16]*

Even teasing or non-violent forms of harassment cause embarrassment and mental stress for girls. Some respondents did mention serious forms of harm – molestation and assault – when talking about why girls might fear to confront street harassers, discussed below.

Just as the interpretation of “teasing” or harassment depended on the situation, there was also variation in how respondents allocated blame for the uncomfortable or unsafe situation. Many blamed harassers for their behavior: in response to a survey question asking “Whose fault is the

street harassment?" 83 percent of respondents blamed the "boys on the street," including similar percentages of girls (80%) and boys (85%). Still, harassment seemed quite normalized, and there was an underlying discourse that blamed the victims. Both female and male respondents blamed girls for attracting attention by wearing provocative clothing or make-up. Girls blamed girls:

Girl: *Girls walk immodestly that's why boys tease. If girls are traditional and walk properly, then boys will not tease.*

Interviewer: *Are innocent girls not teased?*

Girl: *I have not seen innocent girls being teased. They tease [those] who are immodest.*  
[Interview of girl, 14]

And boys also blamed girls:

Boy: *When a girl wears revealing type of clothes, it grabs the attention of boys, and that might get the urge to harass them. That way it is the fault of the girl.* [Focus group of boys 15-17]

But male respondents went further than female respondents, blaming girls who walked "alone," without an escort.

Raju: *If the girl is walking on the street alone, it is her fault too. She should not continue to walk alone after being harassed for a day or two; because of this, they could even molest/assault her.* [Focus group of boys 17]

Themes of traditional patriarchal norms are found throughout the above quotes. Girls are expected to dress modestly and are responsible for avoiding any situation that would put them in the path of men. These quotes contradict the survey data mentioned above that indicate that the almost all respondents blame the street boys in this situation. A focus group of 17-year-old boys provided deeper insight on the complexity of the situation, with blame allocated to both boys and girls:

Moderator: *Can you tell me, if a boy wishes to whistle at a girl, is it a fault of a girl for being beautiful or it is a fault of boys?*

Dinesh: *It could be a fault of both girls and boys.*

Raju: *Some girls wander around proudly putting on too much makeup.*

Avash: *They waste all their money on doing too much make-up.*

Moderator: *How is it the fault of boys?*

Raju: *They [boys] should not be teasing them [girls] just because they look beautiful.*

[Focus group of boys 17]

Such reflective interpretation of the situation clearly shows the normalization of harassment and sexualization of girls while also placing the burden of acting in a socially acceptable way on victims. Some girls resentfully recognized that "society" blames girls for street harassment:

Anita: *Even if girls smile, society thinks that the girl is flirting* [says with a mocking sound]. *That is not right, is it?*

Kalpna: *Yes, that is true. They are saying such things, while we are walking on the street. They say that type of thing all the time, like “What a sweet smile,” “Give us a smile as well.”*

Anita: *Then, society will certainly say, “they [boys] will obviously tease when they [girls] walk by smiling,” isn’t it?* [Focus group of girls 15-16]

In focus groups, respondents had engaging conversations. When some blamed the victims of street harassment, others argued in support of female agency:

Pratima: *There is a right to wear. There should at least be freedom to chose the type of clothing. We always blame everything on women. But, when the boys are teasing, it is their fault. When a girl wears a short dress or is attractive, how can it be the girl’s fault? Can’t we enjoy our rights to wear what we prefer?* [Focus group of girls 15-17]

The various levels of severity and nuance of street harassment complicate how young people are navigating the transition to adulthood. The participants in the ACV survey and focus groups were keenly aware of the danger of harassment to women and girls while also recognizing that flirting, wearing mature clothing, and seeking the independence to walk along a street undisturbed were desires and expectations of young girls. Boys too recognized two roles for males: not only expressing flirtatious interest in inappropriate ways but also (sometimes) being supportive of girls’ freedom of expression.

**Confrontation.** One of the cartoon video options asked, “Could the girl shout at the men, and tell them to stop bothering her?” This was followed up by a survey question, “What should the cartoon girl do?” Almost half (49%) of the sample felt that she should confront the harassers, but that included 57 percent of girls and only 40 percent of boys. Follow-up questions asked how the cartoon girl felt about confronting the men, choosing among five emojis on our Smiley Scale; 31 percent chose “happy” or “very happy” emojis. Those respondents who chose a happy emoji were asked a follow-up question: “Will this make the men stop?” Half of female respondents said yes, but three-quarters of male respondents said no. This pattern was statistically significant at the 6% level of confidence.

Some girls felt strongly about facing harassers, but most were skeptical that girls could do this or ambivalent because they were scared about potential consequences:

Basuda: *If by any chance she would stand up to those boys, those boys could do anything, more than just the teasing.* [Focus group of girls 15-17]

For example, this girl wanted social change, but was concerned about taking on the problem without social support. In fact, girls may well have heard recent news stories about young girls being victims of acid attacks, rape, and murder (e.g. Paudel 2019; Sharma 2020).

Girls appear to *want* to confront street harassers, and thus many feel that confrontation is the best next step for the cartoon girl. Many boys also supported this option. Girls talked about

facing harassers verbally, by shouting at them and attracting the support of passers-by. Only one girl mentioned using any form of violence: throwing stones at harassers. Boys, however, suggested that girls should hit harassers with their sandals, or “build their capacity to fight,” as in this focus group:

Raju: *The girls need to go to gym, to learn karate. That way, they could build their own capacity to fight. What else could be needed?*

Dinesh: *The girls.... could hit them in the right place. If the girl hits the boy in his sensitive area [testicles], he cannot do anything to harm the girl [because he will be incapacitated].* [Focus group of boys 17]

However, any resistance could be punished with boys’ violence, as girls feared:

Aastha: *The boys might feel that their ego is attacked. Most of the boys take it as ego. Arrogant boys.*

Avigya: *They may think to take revenge if we scolded them. They might do bad to girls.* [Focus group of girls 15-17]

For this reason, girls said that one girl alone should not attempt to confront street harassers; it was necessary to have a group of girls that outnumbered any group of boys to even attempt to say anything:

Avigya: *She cannot tackle [him] if she is alone, but she can if she is in a group. If the [harassing] person is alone then they can face him.* [Focus group of girls 15-17]

Girl: *The thing is, even if we want to face them, sometimes we can’t. Even if we go in a group, it is not certain that they will be in small number.* [Interview with girl 17]

In the survey, one question asked how the cartoon girl felt about ignoring the men. Only 21 percent disliked this option, and over half (52%) thought the cartoon girl felt happy or very happy about it. Interestingly, boys were twice as likely as girls to indicate “very happy.” Over 70 percent of girls fell in the middle (neither happy nor unhappy) or “happy” categories – suggesting this solution was acceptable but not something to celebrate.

An analysis by ethnicity/caste suggests that the most privileged group of girls, from Brahmin castes, were more likely to choose confrontation for the cartoon girl and less likely to suggest she should ignore harassment (chi-square significant at the 1% level).

Girls did talk about attracting support from passers-by, but this could backfire if people blamed girls for causing the problem. Boys noted that being scolded in public could be effective, or it could make boys to feel ashamed or insulted, and thus more likely to “take revenge” [Focus group of boys 15-17]. As a last resort, girls hoped that parents or police would protect the cartoon girl.

**Police and Adults.** The police were typically not viewed as the best immediate response to street harassment. In an unprompted survey question asking about the best person to help the cartoon girl (if any), over half of respondents mentioned her parents, while 14 percent specified

police. Another unprompted survey question asked “If the cartoon kid lived around here, what is the most likely outcome of this situation?”; 18 percent of respondents identified some kind of interaction with police. Turning to the police was viewed as a final resort, after facing harassers and/or about turning to parents.

However, interviewees and focus group participants indicated a substantial amount of confidence in police as a solution to street harassment. As one boy (age 15) pointed out,

*The street is government property. In such places, the government should provide protection.*

The main ways that police were expected to provide assistance ranged from speaking to the harassing males to arresting them. All of these actions were said to provoke fear of a confrontation with the police. In this interview with a 17-year-old girl, she explained her reasoning for turning to police:

*...if we complain to the police, they take action. That changes their [harassers'] mentality: that if we tease girls, we can go to jail. So they may be afraid and they don't tease others. That's why, this will be a learning [experience] for them. ....even if [only] one is punished, others are also alerted. So, I feel the police alternative is the right one.  
[Interview with girl, 17]*

The police were seen as protective authority figures who could counsel transgressors (harassing males) into changing their behavior. However, this type of police response may be seen as the solution in the moment, but not a long-term solution, as in this focus group discussion:

*Aastha: If the person is not from around, I will ignore the person. But if it is someone who does that (harass) daily, I will scold that man. If not, I will ask help of a person who is nearby, telling what the man is doing. If that man does not stop harassing even after that, I will call the police*

*Moderator: Okay. Then? What can police do, after saying it to them?*

*Aastha: The police can scold that person saying not to do that. And they can jail him too.*

*Moderator: ...will talking to police help to solve the problem?*

*Sushmita: It will be. If a policeman comes and says, “Are you boys here to harass girls, don't you have work?” (girls laugh)*

*Aastha: It might not solve the problem. Police can scold one, but there will be another on the road another day to harass the girls. There is someone new always.  
[Focus group of girls 15-17]*

**Social change.** Girls, and some boys, spoke forcefully about the need for social change.

Some participants in Nepal expressed great optimism for societal change and future equality across genders. In the words of one 15-year-old girl, “*The voices of today's women are bigger.*”



They also suggested that the way to preventing street harassment to continue was to teach young boys and men not to engage in such behaviors or face punishment. This finding in Nepal was in marked contrast to a previous ACV study we had done in rural Tanzania, where we did only focus groups. Nepali girls felt more confident about their rights and sought legal solutions. In a focus group, one girl stated,

*Women are still backwards in this 21<sup>st</sup> century. Families and police need to be informed, and this problem cannot be fought alone as the boys attack her. ...proper rules and laws should be made to not let this happen. [Focus group of girls ages 15-17]*

And, talking about how to help reduce street harassment, a boy remarked:

*For that, every citizen needs to fight in unison. [Focus group of boys 15-17]*

There was an optimism about social change towards gender equality. A 16-year-old boy said,

*...by standing up, that girl shows that like she has something in a society. It shows that she can also do something. Like, Nepal is a male dominated society. Females are just coming up, right? And so, if the girls also start to stand up, maybe some boys... when many start standing up, like, they come into one understanding, that, maybe some boys will stop doing that. And, slowly, that sort of cat-calling will also stop. And, if the girls stay quiet, the boys may think that they can still do those things, they will say nothing. So, they continue. So, if someone says something, that might do something. And, the boys may slowly stop doing that. [Interview with boy, 16]*

Such discussions echoed comments expressed in the literature on harassment. For example, Larkin (2006) writing about harassment in Canadian schools, stated, "If unchecked, misogynist attitudes of devaluing, reviling, and mistreating women seep into our schools as a logical product of a society and breed a new generation of male abusers. Young men soon learn that acting out their contempt for women is a way of confirming their own manhood" (p.264).

Other respondents, however, were more restrained, indicating that adults should take the lead in making social change. In order to get society to change, elders have to participate in making the change. In a focus group, one girl said:

*First we have to tell our family, the family can bring many kinds of solutions after we tell them. They can talk about it to the neighbors. It will spread in the society at least, they can say that the boys did this to my daughter, let's go now. The people gather and go together. Now, their parents will feel the problem, they can go to the boys' parents and talk about it. [Focus group of girls 15-17]*

Author Binu Sharma finds it notable that girls in a focus group would even be willing to talk to their parents about harassment; her experience (in Nepal) is that adolescents would not share such experiences with parents or other adults, finding that too embarrassing.

## **Conclusion**

Using pilot data from greater Kathmandu, this study has focused on how girls understand harassment on public streets and in public transportation as well as in and around their schools. Using the Animating Children's Views methodology involving cartoon videos, as well as

individual interviews and focus groups, we capture a variety of perspectives of boys as well as girls.

Our results are not as gendered as those of Neupane's (2017) study, based on adults. Neupane finds both adult men and women feel that sexual comments are a normal part of women's life which women must learn to accept. These findings both contradict and compliment the findings of the ACV study. Girls and boys in our study reported high levels of awareness of harassment and sexual comments. As these young girls transition to adulthood, it is up to them to navigate such situations, including differentiating between welcome and unwelcome flirting and teasing, as well as handling unwanted sexual harassment. Some female respondents complained that they should have the right to dress nicely without being blamed or having their safety jeopardized. Girls and boys described an idealized reality where girls could confront their harassers and seek help from trusted adults, leading to social change. Although we do not know what kind of adults these young people are becoming, we see a disconnect between how adolescents and adults view gender relations and street harassment.

Street harassment is not a problem of girls and women; it is – or should be – everyone's problem. Girls can be taught about empowerment and boys can be told not to harass, but meaningful social change will require a revised social contract among all genders and generations.

### References cited

- Bergenfeld, I., Clark, C. J., Khan, Z., Jackson, E. C., & Yount, K. M. (2021). Gender-sensitive school environment and bullying victimization among adolescent girls: A multilevel study in Nepal. *PLOS ONE*, 16(7), e0253128. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0253128>
- Bolgrien, Anna and Deborah Levison (2021) "Challenges of Designing and Implementing Three Sampling Frames Targeting Children in Tanzania and Nepal: Proportional Stratified, Multi-Stage, and Geographically Dispersed Sampling Techniques" MPC Working Paper Series 2021-02. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18128/MPC2021-02>
- Bolgrien, Anna, Deborah Levison and Frances Vavrus (2021) "Generational Power in Research with Children: Reflections on Risk and 'Voice'," in Levison, Deborah, Mary Jo Maynes and Frances Vavrus, eds., *Children and Youth as Subjects, Objects, Agents: Innovative Approaches to Research across Space and Time*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 227-243.
- Chhun, Bunkosal (2011) "Catcalls: Protected Speech or Fighting Words," *Thomas Jefferson Law Review* 33(2): 273-296, Spring.
- Gautam, Nirmal, Nirmal Sapakota, Sarala Shrestha, and Dipika Regmi (2019) "Sexual Harassment in Public Transportation among Female Student in Kathmandu Valley," *Risk Management and Healthcare Policy* 12: 105-113.
- Larkin, June (1994) "Walking through Walls: The Sexual Harassment of High School Girls," *Gender and Education* 6(3): 263-280.

- Livingston, Beth (2015) Cornell International Survey on Street Harassment, <https://www.ihollaback.org/cornell-international-survey-on-street-harassment/#ba>, accessed on May 14, 2021.
- Neupane, Gita (2017) *Sexual Harassment and Reproduction of Patriarchy in Public Space in Nepal*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii at Manoa. Downloaded at <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/211329279.pdf>
- Neupane, T., Pandey, A. R., Bista, B., & Chalise, B. (2020). Correlates of bullying victimization among school adolescents in Nepal: Findings from 2015 Global School-Based Student Health Survey Nepal. PLOS ONE, 15(8), e0237406. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0237406> P
- Paudel, Nayak (2019). "Everything You Should Know about the Nirmala Pant Rape and Murder case." *The Kathmandu Post*, July 25. <https://kathmandupost.com/national/2019/07/25/everything-you-should-know-about-the-rape-and-murder-of-nirmala-pant>
- Sharma, Bhadra (2020) "The Bajhang Rape and Murder Case," *The Record*, Kathmandu, September 27. <https://www.recordnepal.com/the-bajhang-rape-and-murder-case>
- Tuerkheimer, Deborah (1997) "Street Harassment as Sexual Subordination: The Phenomenology of Gender-Specific Harm," *Wisconsin Women's Law Journal* 12(2): 167-206.