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UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S SAFETY

Towards a Gender Inclusive City

RESEARCH FINDINGS, DELHI

2009-10

Understanding Women's Safety: Towards a Gender Inclusive City Research Findings, Delhi 2009-10

Published in October 2010

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ABBREVIATIONS

CAWC	CRIME AGAINST WOMEN CELL
СВО	COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATION
DDA	DELHI DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY
FGD	FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION
GIC	GENDER INCLUSIVE CITIES
GRC	GENDER RESOURCE CENTRE
HDR	HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT
JNNURM	JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU NATIONAL URBAN RENEWAL MISSION
METRAC	METROPOLITAN ACTION COMMITTEE ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN
NCT	NATIONAL CAPITAL TERRITORY
UNTF	UNITED NATIONS TRUST FUND TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
VAW	VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
WICI	WOMEN IN CITIES INTERNATIONAL
WSA	WOMEN'S SAFETY AUDITS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

With the ushering in of economic liberalization Indian cities have witnessed a continual recasting of spaces to keep pace with the burgeoning urbanization. The present scenario is such that while on the one hand the cities provide ample opportunities for both women and men, on the other the nature of urban development has resulted in increased exclusion of women, particularly from the marginalized sections; it has reinforced the existing structure of gender-based violence. The emergence and growth of the 'modern city', essentially exclusive in character, has generated new research that draws linkages between urban development, governance and the ever increasing violence and marginalization. Gender-based violence and safety are now being analyzed within a framework that extends beyond the immediate and the most discernible forms of violence, taking into its fold issues related to infrastructure, city planning, and governance.

This report documents the findings from the research conducted in Delhi as part of the multi-city Gender Inclusive Cities (GIC) project, administered by Women in Cities International (WICI), supported by the UN Trust Fund in Support of Actions to Eliminate Violence against Women.¹ The GIC project aims to understand the dimensions of gender inequality and exclusion in cities and implement interventions based on

1 The study is being implemented in four cities- Delhi (India), Rosario (Argentina), Dar es Salaam(Tanzania), Petrozavodsk (Russia) the knowledge generated. These interventions to reduce vulnerabilities and exclusion faced by women and girls and to promote their access to spaces and rights will be carried out in partnership with the government, police, civil society organizations, communities and other stakeholders. This study builds upon the Safe Delhi Campaign of JAGORI started in 2004.

The research illustrates that gender-based urban violence can be attributed to factors such as poverty, discrimination, exclusion, and lack of gendered indicators in urban development and planning, leading to spaces and structures that exclude women and other vulnerable groups. It also reaffirms the male-dominated nature of public spaces and how women often have to 'manufacture' 'legitimate reasons to 'hang around' in spaces like parks, bus stops, etc². Their movements in these spaces are controlled by perceptions of safety and societal norms. The findings corroborate that violence has been normalized in a manner that now requires large sections of working and middle class women to contend with some form of harassment/violence as they navigate different kinds of city spaces through the day. Delhi's dearth of basic infrastructure – such as clean and safe public toilets for women, well-lit streets, proper pavements –that becomes acute in the areas inhabited by the poor, is an

1

² Shilpa Phadke, 'Dangerous Liaisons. Women and Men: Risk and Reputation in Mumbai', Economic and Political Weekly 42(17), 28 April-4 May 2007.

important factor contributing to the lack of safety and exclusion of the vulnerable groups.

The research demonstrates that women and girls face different forms of harassment – from staring and leering to stalking and sexual assault. Staring and other forms of visual harassment are most common, followed by passing comments, flashing and stalking. Men dominate most public spaces during the day, and particularly after dark. Using Public transport, is found to expose women to high risk of harassment and violence. The

research also points to women's increasing awareness of their rights, with a large number reporting that they had tried to confront the harassers or perpetrators of violence. The level of trust in the police is low and very few women reported any incident of sexual harassment, though the majority agreed that the police had an important role to play in creating a safer city. The GIC findings stress the need to recast the city and its different spaces in order to make Delhi truly inclusive and violence-free for all its citizens.

INTRODUCTION

The rapid urbanization taking place the world over has opened up a whole new chapter of research, drawing linkages between political economy, social relations, safety and communities. Alongside this wave of modernization that is sweeping the cities, there is an undercurrent of a deepening sense of isolation and increasing vulnerability of sections of society that have traditionally been at a disadvantage because of their gender, class, migrant status, age or sexual orientation. This vulnerability is manifest, most importantly, in the manner in which these groups are denied or are unable to access what the city has to offer, thereby affecting their guality of life in ways that compel them to negotiate their movements across the city even as they face pressures of all kinds. Among the many axes of discrimination and exclusion, gender occupies a central position. There are many factors that play a role in determining women's access to the city. The safety of women and gender inclusive cities are broad concepts, but for this study the focus will be on the ability of women to participate in the life in the city, to study, to work and move around, and more specifically to address the violence that women and girls face in the process of carrying out their daily activities. (See Box 1)

The broad approach of the present research is to locate issues of safety and inclusion in a wider context of urban growth and governance and a broad understanding of violence against women. This approach allows us to analyze and understand comprehensively the multiple dimensions of safety and to engage with them. While gender is the entry point to understanding exclusion in the city, the research builds on the intersection of gender with other vulnerabilities based on class, migration, age, disability, ethnicity, etc.

Gender-based violence is present at various levels, beginning with discrimination at birth, further perpetuated through discrimination in education, nutrition, employment, wages and direct/indirect acts of sexual aggression.³ There have been several approaches to countering gender-based violence including campaigns, legislation and institutional mechanisms. In the 70s and 80s, women's movements were at the forefront of a vibrant 'second wave of feminism', unleashing strident women's agitations against issues such as dowry related violence and death, rape and sexual assault.⁴ This phase was significant as it signaled breaking the silence around violence against women (VAW) which led to several legal reforms including a comprehensive Prevention of Domestic Violence Act and one on Sexual Assault. A Bill on the Prevention of Sexual Harassment at the Workplace is also pending, though there is a Supreme Court judgment on the issue since 1992. There are also several sections of the Indian Penal Code that deal with sexual harassment. (See Box 2)

³ UNDP, 'Voices and Rights', March 2010

⁴ JAGORI, 'Marching together, Revisiting dowry in India,' 2009

Box 1: Defining women's safety

Women's safety involves strategies, practices and policies which aim to reduce gender-based violence (or violence against women), including women's fear of crime.

Women's safety involves safe spaces. Space is not neutral. Space which causes fear restricts movement and thus the community's use of the space. Lack of movement and comfort is a form of social exclusion. Conversely, space can also create a sensation of safety and comfort, and can serve to discourage violence. Therefore planning and policy around safety should always involve and consider women¹.

Women's safety involves freedom from poverty. This includes safe access to water, the existence and security of communal toilet facilities in informal settlements, slum upgrades, gender-sensitive street and city design, safe car parks, shopping centers and public transportation².

Women's safety involves financial security and autonomy. Family income plays a powerful role in the cessation of battering. Resource accumulation and mobilization is a core strategy for coping with abusive relationships. Similarly, women's economic empowerment reduces their vulnerability to situations of violence as they become less dependent on men and better able to make their own decisions.

Women's safety involves self-worth. In safe homes and communities, women have the right to value themselves, to be empowered, to be respected, to be independent, to have their rights valued, to be loved, to have solidarity with other family and community members, and to be recognized as equal members in society³.

Women's safety involves strategies and policies that take place before violence has occurred to prevent perpetration or victimization. This can happen by improving knowledge and attitudes that correspond to the origins of domestic or sexual violence, such as adherence to societal norms supportive of violence,

(Source: UN-HABITAT, WICI et al. 2008: 10)

male superiority and male sexual entitlement. Furthermore, women's and girls' full participation in community life must be promoted, partnerships between local community organizations and local governments must be pursued, and including a full diversity of women and girls in local decision-making processes must be promoted. Prevention efforts involve strategic, long-term, comprehensive initiatives that address the risk and protective factors related to perpetration, victimization and bystander behavior⁴.

Women's safety means a safer, healthier community for everyone. This is a participatory process focused on changing community norms, patterns of social interaction, values, customs and institutions in ways that will significantly improve the quality of life in a community for all of its members⁵. This is a natural by-product of efforts that attempt to address issues such as family dynamics, relationships, poverty, racism and/or ending sexual violence. Building a healthy, safe community is everyone's job⁶.

Notes:

- 1 Anna Bofill Levi, Rosa Maria Dumenjo Marti & Isabel Segura Soriano, "Women and the City," Manual of Recommendations for a Conception of Inhabited Environment from the Point of View of Gender. Fundacion Mari Aurelia Company.
- 2 Alicia Yon "Safer Cities for Women are Safer for Everyone," Habitat Debate, UN-Habitat (Sept. 2007, Vol. 13, #3), 9.
- 3 Mary Ellsberg & Lori Heise. "Researching Violence against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists," World Health Organization & Program for Appropriate Technology in Health, 2005.
- 4 Morgan J. Curtis. "Engaging Communities in Sexual Violence Prevention; A Guidebook for Individuals and Organizations Engaging in Collaborative Prevention Work," Texas Association Against Sexual Assault.
- 5 David S. Lee, Lydia Guy, Brad Perry, Chad Keoni Sniffen & Stacy Alamo Mixson. "Sexual Violence Prevention," The Prevention Researcher, Vol 14 (2), April 2007.
- 6 Morgan J. Curtis. "Engaging Communities in Sexual Violence Prevention; A Guidebook for Individuals and Organizations Engaging in Collaborative Prevention Work," Texas Association Against Sexual Assault.

Delhi has often been described as an unsafe city, hostile to women, the poor and the disadvantaged. Over the last two decades or so, the Capital has emerged as a city of burgeoning middleclasses, whose rise has been particularly noticeable in the wake of economic liberalization and globalization. At the same time a large number of people in Delhi still continue to live and die in the shadows of this modern Capital.

Box 2: Laws on sexual harassment: Indian Penal Code

Sexual harassment of women in public places is not defined precisely under Indian law. Several sections of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) deal with it in different ways, and in many cases, with significant overlaps.

Section 294 of the IPC sentences a man found guilty of making a girl or woman the target of obscene gestures, remarks, songs or recitation for a maximum tenure of three months.

Section 354 deals with the use of criminal force against a woman with intent to outrage her modesty, and prescribes imprisonment of upto two years, or a fine, or both.

Under Section 509, obscene gestures, indecent body language and comments intended to 'insult the modesty of a woman' carry a penalty of rigorous imprisonment for one year, or a fine, or both.

WOMEN'S SAFETY IN DELHI

Like many other modern cities, Delhi, over the decades has witnessed phenomenal expansion as tens of thousands of people regularly arrive at its doorstep in search of livelihoods. The population of Delhi, according to the 2001 census was 13.8 million, making it the third largest city in India after Mumbai and Kolkata. It is estimated that the population in the Capital will grow to19 million by the next census, reaching 22 million by 2021.⁵

Today Delhi is a prime example of rapid, messy urbanization, leaving in its trail an alarming rise in urban poverty; increasing the exclusion of the poor and the vulnerable and creating a sense of deep insecurity among an increasing number of women. The city has been the site of hectic developmental activity with the rapid construction of flyovers and malls, commercial and shopping complexes; trying to live up to its image of a 'global city'. This trajectory of development, however, has led to mass displacement of the poor.⁶ In this context of exclusion it may be worthwhile to mention the preparations currently underway for the forthcoming Commonwealth Games and the drive to beautify the Capital, which has led to the poor and the marginal being driven still further into the peripheries of the city.⁷ Large sections of the population,

6 Aditya Nigam, 'Dislocating Delhi, A city in the 1990s,' Sarai Reader: The Public Domain, 2000



Streets of Delhi (Near India Gate)

like rickshaw pullers, vendors, and street-food sellers are being removed from the streets; needless to say, they are losing their livelihoods as a result.⁸

"Since the adoption of policies of economic liberalization in the 1990s, successive governments have instituted spatial and social changes that converge around a common vision: making Delhi a 'world-class' city. This ambiguous yet evocative term has become a potent rallying point for state agencies, corporate capital and bourgeois citizens, who use it to

⁵ The Master Plan of Delhi 2021 is the main document that is currently the blueprint for development in Delhi. The Plan was passed in 2007 by the Delhi Cabinet and the Delhi Development Authority (DDA).

⁷ Human Rights Law Network, 'The 2010 Commonwealth Games: Whose Wealth? Whose Commons?', 2010

⁸ Madhu Kishwar, Challenges of Democracy, OUP, 2006

authorize and endorse political action across a variety of scales. From clearing an ecologically-sensitive green area in south Delhi to build luxury hotels and malls, to demolishing the homes and workplaces of hundreds of thousands of urban squatters and migrants to curb air and water pollution, the project of making Delhi 'world-class' is radically restructuring the city's landscapes, livelihoods and lifestyles."⁹

Box 3: Delhi tops crime against women list, Capital reported 33% cases

Delhi continued to maintain its dubious distinction of being unsafe for women recording highest rate of crime against the fair sex at 27.6 per cent as against the national average of 14.1 per cent.

The alarming data, part of a report by National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), include crimes such as rape, dowry deaths, molestation and incest. Delhi is followed by Andhra Pradesh which reported 26.1 per cent of such crimes.

Among the 35 mega cities in the country, those having more than 10 lakh of population and above, Delhi alone reported 33.2 per cent (562) of the total 1,693 rape cases.

The report further added that out of total number of 2,409 cases of kidnapping and abduction of women, Delhi recorded 37.4 per cent or 900 cases.

Delhi has also topped the list of crime against children with 6.5 per cent as compared to national average of 1.4 per cent, NCRB said PTI.

Source: Hindu, September 4, 2006

Within this discourse, the issue of women's safety takes on greater significance, for even among the poor, women and children are often the most vulnerable. Also, the criticality of the issue of women's safety can be gauged from the fact that Delhi rates high among all mega cities in the country on the incidences of violence against women, in many categories (See Table 1 and Box 3). Delhi has, over the past years gained a reputation of being unsafe for women – a feature that is often highlighted by the media as well (See Boxes 3, 4 and 5).

Table 1: Percentage of crimes in Delhi of total crimes against women in 35 mega cities (1 million pop)

Crime	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Rape	30.5%	30.3%	33.2%	31.2%	29.5%
Kidnapping/ Abduction	35	33.3	37.4	34.7	31.8
Dowry Death	18.8	19.8	19	18.7	15.6
Molestation	15	18.3	23.1	20.1	21.5
Cruelty by husband and	14.8	14.8	15	17.1	14.2
family					

Source: National Crime Records Bureau

2.1 Policies and Programmes of Delhi Government on VAW and Women's Empowerment

Women's safety emerged as a key concern in the public perception survey of 13,000 people, conducted for the first Delhi Human Development Report in 2004. Only 19 percent of those surveyed felt that the city is safe for women. Almost 90 percent reported that public transport is unsafe for women. The HDR noted that while the traditional approach

⁹ Amita Baviskar, ' Spectacular events, city spaces and citizenship: The Commonwealth Games in Delhi,' Routledge, in press

Box 4: Vulnerable groups

Women in small towns feel much less insecure than big cities or villages. The survey enables us to pinpoint some of the most vulnerable groups of women that require special policy attention:

- Young women below 25 years feel particularly unsafe in all kinds of localities. While women in village feel safer than metros, the young women in the rural areas are more vulnerable than their counterparts in urban areas.
- The poor women who live in the big cities turn out to be the most vulnerable group across all the locations and categories in this survey.
- Single working women feel much more insecure than the average.
- While there is no strong community pattern to the level of insecurity, young Muslim women feel particularly vulnerable.

Source: Indian Express-CNN-IBN-CSDS State of the Nation Survey, 2008

to women's safety was based on restrictions, fear and self-preservation, it was time to encourage a paradigm shift based on the recognition of 'women's right to a life free from fear and violence.' (Government of NCT, Delhi. 2006b:106). The Report also provided a set of recommendations to make Delhi safer for women, under the broad headings of infrastructure, services for women facing violence, community action, media and police.

The Government of Delhi has a wide range of programmes that aim to promote women's empowerment. Some key programmes among these are the Delhi Commission for Women, and the Stree Shakti and Gender Resource Centres. The Department of Women and Child Development is the nodal office for all programmes and interventions relating to women in the city.

Box 5: 67% travelers find Delhi unsafe

NEW DELHI: Three months before the Commonwealth Games, Delhi's ratings continue to plummet as a city unsafe for women. An overwhelming number of Indian travellers have given Delhi the thumbs down in terms of safety.

Of the total number of travellers polled, 67% felt that Delhi was the most unsafe city in India followed by Goa (17%) and Mumbai (9%).

The Trip Advisor survey, that interviewed 5,000 respondents, said that Patna (5%) and Noida (4%) were the other unsafe cities.

The capital city has become notorious for some of the most heinous crimes in the past few years. Crimes against women, incidents of foreigners being cheated from transit points like airports and railway stations have only strengthened this reputation. Goa has earned the ignominy this year of being unsafe thanks to the increasing number of assault cases against foreign tourists.

Source: Times of India, June 25, 2010

The Delhi Commission for Women was established in 1994. The main objectives of the Commission are to ensure security, development and wellbeing of women, and specifically to suggest and ensure implementation of steps against gender discrimination. The Commission is also mandated to ensure that adequate provisions for women's advancement are included in all State policies, plans and programmes. In addition they run a helpline to deal with the cases of violence against women, and work with the Delhi police to run rape crisis centers located within the police stations in order to provide support to rape victims.

In 2002, the Government of Delhi initiated the Stree Shakti project for women living in the slums, to address issues related to women's health and well-being, gender discrimination, community involvement and women's empowerment. This was followed up with the establishment of Gender Resource Centres (GRCs), with an expanded mandate that included women's social empowerment, legal rights, economic development, health, non-formal functional literacy, and information sharing and networking. There are currently 83 GRCs across the city working in conjunction with the local NGOs and CBOs. While currently there is no focus on dealing with women's safety, the same can be included in the mandate.

2.2 Policies of Delhi Government on Urban Planning

The main document addressing urban planning and governance in the city is the Master Plan of Delhi, prepared by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) and notified in 2007. This document has been critiqued on several grounds by urban planners and activists. From a women's safety or gender inclusion point of view, the Master Plan neither uses disaggregated data to indicate which areas are particularly significant for women nor makes any recommendations vis-à-vis urban design, services or infrastructure which could make the city more women-friendly and safe.

In addition the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), an initiative of the Indian government aimed at converting 60 cities into world-class cities, is the primary driving force behind urban development today. The Mission was designed to improve infrastructure and governance and to provide basic services to the urban poor. In Delhi the lion's share of the money has been diverted to infrastructure, especially in the light of the Commonwealth Games. The City Development

Plan of 2006 talks about creating a safe and inclusive city but nowhere is there a mention of gender or women's access. Further the document makes no mention of women's specific concerns when discussing urban planning or service provision.

2.3 Policing Initiatives

The Delhi Police's Crime Against Women Cell has been functional since 1983 and focuses specifically on violent crimes against women. Each of the nine districts of Delhi also has its own CAWC. Over time, the central CAWC was provided with enhanced manpower, infrastructure and responsibilities, including the new task of counseling families, as well as dealing with sexual violence, sexual abuse, molestation, rape, and other gender-related crimes. The CAWC has now been re-named as the Special



Broken/ Narrow Pavements in New Delhi

Police Unit for Women and Children. Over the years, the Unit has largely dealt with marital issues of violence, dowry demands and other forms of discrimination.

An innovative programme launched by the Delhi Police in 2005 is the Parivartan (Change) program. It began as a pilot project in northwest Delhi. Initially launched in 20 police beats, it has been extended to 70 beats now. The programme is an attempt at reaching out to communities with the understanding that they are often wary of approaching the police themselves. Women officers go into communities to help women register cases of violence and provide support. Street theatre, mime and other methods are used to reach out to address the issues of discrimination and violence against women. While this program has attempted to reach out to women, it is still a small program and has focused largely on family violence.

In 2008, as the graph of gender-based crimes showed an upward rise, the

Delhi Police launched a dedicated 24-hour helpline.¹⁰ The explosion in technology has led to new forms of harassment against girls and women. Within a year of its institution, the Delhi Police's anti-obscene call cell received 12,108 complaints from women harassed by lewd, objectionable, obscene phone calls and text messages.

Government and police initiatives, as demonstrated in these sections, have not been too successful in addressing the concerns of violence against women and safety in a concerted manner. While there exist some institutional mechanisms and laws, the issue of violence against women in public spaces has only recently been recognized as a serious problem that needs to be tackled. The numerous cases, media focus and statistics from the police records have reinforced this understanding. In addition, a sustained campaign in the city with research and advocacy led by Jagori has resulted in greater awareness of the problem among the different stakeholders.

10 www.thaiindian.com/newsportal

SAFE DELHI CAMPAIGN

Safety, or the lack of it, has concrete consequences on the lives of people. For instance, harassment of girls in their neighborhoods, while they are on their way to school, and in buses could lead to their dropping out of school. The ramification of the lack of safety here is not just a feeling of fear but also an irrevocable material consequence on the lives of these girls. Safety concerns also prevents women from accessing certain spaces and at certain times, thereby limiting their mobility.

Jagori initiated the Safe Delhi Campaign in 2004 to address these concerns. The initial phase of the campaign created an awareness of the dimensions of the problem, identifying in that process the stakeholders who need to play a crucial role in building a safer and more inclusive city.¹¹

This campaign turns the focus on the issue of "Women's safety" which refers to a range of strategies and policies that work to create safer environments for women and girls. It is based on the notion that women and girls have the right to live their life without the constant feeling of fear and insecurity. The main thrust of this campaign is to assert that violence against women is not just a "women's issue". Women's safety and security cannot be ensured through the efforts of women's organizations alone, no matter how committed or active they are. There are many different sets of actors who have a role to play and who have



Safe Delhi Campaign 2004

a stake in creating a safer space. Therefore this campaign will focus on involving and creating partnerships among women's organizations, NGOs, citizens' groups and community organizations, educational institutions, the police and law enforcement agencies, the administration and elected representatives. (From the Campaign document, 2005)

The women's safety audit¹² methodology was adapted and used. Audits conducted in various parts of the city revealed that insecurity and

¹¹ Times of India, 'City police lacks fair power, only 7% are women', May 26, 2010

¹² A Women's Safety Audit (WSA) is a participatory tool that is used for collecting and assessing information about perceptions of safety in public spaces. It is a process that brings together to make people walk through a physical environment evaluate how safe it feels, and identify ways to make it safer. The process is based on the premise that the users of a space are experts in understanding the space. This methodology was developed in Toronto, Canada (1989), by METRAC. It is discussed in greater details in the section of safety audits.

Box 6: Most well-off Central Delhi is most unsafe for women

The study by Tata Strategic Management Group derives its rankings by superimposing economists Joseph Stiglitz and Amartya Sen's well-being definition on National Sample Survey's expenditure date on health, education, transport and food for the year 2006-07. For FSI, gender ratio and crime against women data has been considered.

"Some of the most well-off parts of India (Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and Western Uttar Pradesh) have the worst ratings in terms of the female security index," the study said. These states also have the most skewed sex ratio. The study indicated poverty has nothing to do with gender discrimination.

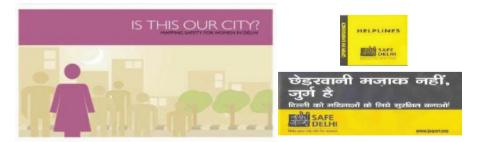
Source: Hindustan Times, June 2, 2010

fear define women's experiences as they negotiate public spaces in Delhi during the day and night. The absence of a public culture and domination of public spaces by men heighten women's sense of insecurity, restricting them from accessing different parts of the city with ease and comfort.¹³Highlighting the 'normalization of violence' in the city spaces,

13 Kalpana Viswanath & Surabhi Tandon Mehrotra, 'Safe in the City?' Seminar 583, 2008

the Safe Delhi research shows that public spaces in Delhi are primarily male-dominated spaces. Women's access to and visibility in public spaces are determined by several factors including time, place and purpose. The audits pointed to the fact that the main factors affecting women's safety included infrastructure, usage of space and the nature of social institutions and policing.

A major part of the initiative was the public campaign reaching out to women, girls and young men in different parts of the city and from different backgrounds. A lot of campaign material was developed including posters, stickers, a short television advertisement and a film (see some samples below). Awareness-raising sessions and campaigns were held in colleges and neighborhoods. The campaign also resulted in some significant partnerships with student groups, the Delhi Transport Corporation, a union of auto-rickshaw drivers, the Confederation of Indian Industry among others. During the campaign several activities, including protest marches, tempo rally and regular distribution of leaflets and booklets, were conducted in the public domain.



Is this our City: Jagori Publication, 2005



Spot on Sexual Harassment by Jagori



Tempo Rally: 16 days of Activism, 2007

GENDER INCLUSIVE CITIES PROJECT

4.1 Introduction and Background

Building on the momentum of the earlier campaign, JAGORI is currently a partner in a multi-city Gender Inclusive Cities (GIC) project being carried out by Women in Cities International (WICI) and supported by the UN Trust Fund in Support of Actions to Eliminate Violence against Women. The project is unique in that it engages with the issue of safety within a broader framework of urban development and social inclusion. It maps safety through spaces in the city and assesses whether women and other vulnerable groups of people are able to access them freely without fear or anxiety.

The project is being implemented by WICI and four partners in cities across the globe. These include JAGORI in New Delhi, India; Information Centre of the Independent Women's Forum in Petrozavodsk, Russia; Red Mujer y Habitat de America Latina in Rosario, Argentina; and the International Centre and Network for Information on Crime in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

This project aims to understand the dimensions of gender inequality and exclusion in cities and to implement interventions based on the knowledge generated by the mapping, research and policy review. In partnership with the government, police, civil society organizations, communities and other stakeholders, interventions to reduce vulnerabilities and exclusion faced by women and girls and to promote their access to spaces and rights are being planned.

Instead of viewing gender-based violence through the prism of isolated incidents, the project structures the issue within the context of poverty, age, disability, and other variables. Identifying the causes that perpetuate a culture of exclusion, deepening inequalities, anxieties and insecurities, the project is working towards making women an integral part of the city, and to enable them to reclaim their 'right' to its spaces.



Condition of pavements (Ajmeri Gate - Delhi Gate site)

In describing the experience of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, Anna Mtani describes how gender insensitive planning, fast-paced urbanization, and growing inequalities affect the experience of women and the poor. 'After going through the findings, recommendations and areas of concern, i.e. unemployment, poor sanitation, mixed socioeconomic activities, physical environment (urban design and services), and general security (Sungsungu groups), the municipality drew up a plan to facilitate the inclusion of the audit in the municipality annual action plans and implementation budget.'¹⁴

The project emphasizes the links between safety and the inclusion of women and other vulnerable groups in the urban design, planning and governance. These links have emerged as important markers of the security and comfort that a city provides for its citizens. Importantly, the project intersects gender with class, ethnicity, age, and sexual orientation in order to place the problem within a broad trajectory, drawing connections between gender and socio-economic axes. This methodology is crucial, given Delhi's intrinsic gender unfriendliness, its continued marginalization of the poor, and the ever widening gap between the rich and the poor.

Through interactions with different sections, intersecting class, gender, and other factors causing vulnerability, the GIC research in Delhi has highlighted the importance of engaging with the issue of safety not merely from the point of physical violence, but also from the point of view of how lack of safety affects the quality of lives of women of all classes while they negotiate the city's public spaces. In this context, city spaces – streets, parks, bus stops, wasteland, community areas, and dump grounds – have become a significant part of the research on which actions are based.

4.2 Methodology

The key strategies undertaken so far have been – mapping the geography of public gender exclusion ,using quantitative and qualitative methods. The mapping also highlights the ways that gender interacts with other marginalized identities in limiting people's access to the city. In addition the background assessment of the city through a desk research on the city demographics and listing of policies and schemes on women in India was undertaken

As part of the research three methods of data collection were used in order to create a baseline for understanding the nature of insecurity and women's experiences in the city. The findings from the three methods of data collection – Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), street surveys and safety audits – complement each other. The aim of the street survey of 1006 women in three areas of Delhi was to access the experiences of a large number of women from different classes, age groups, occupations, etc. The questionnaires were designed to get an insight into women's anxieties, their understanding of the factors that cause insecurity, and their responses to violence and fear. The survey was conducted both during the day and night in order to get a better understanding of women's experiences in the city after dark. The three areas of the survey were: the Delhi University and its surrounding areas, the areas around the crowded Ajmeri Gate and Delhi Gate, Lajpat Nagar and the surrounding areas.

¹⁴ Anna Mtani, 'Violence and women's city: Meeting places and places of interaction, Experience of Dar es Salaam,' 2000

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with groups of women who access various parts of the city at different times of the day and night. Despite a thread of commonality running through their experiences, each group faced its own specific vulnerability, depending upon the nature of their work, age, ethnicity, economic status, and sexuality. The focus groups consisted of women hawkers, domestic workers, homeless women, students, women from Northeast states, transgendered persons, visually challenged women, call centre employees and journalists. The discussions focused on women's experiences and their perceptions of insecurity, their expectations from institutions such as the police, and the factors that could bring positive change. In addition, in-depth women's safety audits were conducted at two sites – Delhi University and its surrounding areas, and the areas around Ajmeri Gate and Delhi Gate. The safety audits included several walks with the users of the spaces and interactions with women using the spaces. The walks were conducted before and after dark, the aim being to understand the factors that lead to lack of safety, with focus on infrastructure, social surroundings and usage. The safety walks were followed by discussions to recommend changes and to identify stakeholders who need to be involved.

FINDINGS FROM FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

A focus group is a moderated conversation/discussion held to get a better understanding of a particular issue and explore ideas as to how a problem might be addressed.¹⁵ It involves sharing specific experiences, presenting opinions and exploring possible solutions. The aim of the focus groups within the Gender-Inclusive Cities Project was to identify and understand the factors that make women feel safe or unsafe in public spaces in the cities, and how their safety could be enhanced.

Focus Group Discussions were conducted with diverse groups of women with specific vulnerabilities who access various parts of the city during different times of the day and night. The FGDs explored the intersection of gender with other vulnerabilities including class, type of work, disability, etc., to gain a deeper understanding of women's experiences, perceptions of safety and access to the city. FGDs were conducted with nine groups of women.

- 1. Hawkers
- 2. Domestic workers
- 3. Homeless women
- 4. Students from Delhi University

- 5. Women from the northeastern states of India
- 6. Transgendered people
- 7. Visually challenged women
- 8. Women working in call centers
- 9. Journalists

The discussions explored the notions of vulnerability, women's safety and access to the city's public spaces. Poverty – as was reflected in the experiences and specific problems of domestic workers, hawkers, homeless women and other women working in the informal sector – is an important axis of vulnerability in Delhi. Women from the northeastern states face specific vulnerabilities because they look different and are often perceived as 'sexually promiscuous or available'. Among the most marginalized in most societies are the transgendered persons, whose experience of exclusion is particularly poignant. Disability, which in itself is often an excluding experience, was studied in the context of its intersection with gender. The last two groups – women working in call centers and journalists – were included since both these professions require women to work late into the night and travel in the city after dark.

5.1 Factors contributing to lack of safety

In general Delhi was reported as being unsafe for women by most participants across the different groups. Parks and isolated areas, like

¹⁵ The participating group needs to be large enough to include different points of view and generate the discussion, but not so large that some participants are unable to participate. Focus groups are more likely to work well when participants have similar backgrounds or experiences. Hence it is recommended that several focus groups on a particular theme to gather different perspectives. Focus groups usually last 1:30 to 2 hours.

subways or deserted streets were identified as being particularly unsafe places where women were fearful of being robbed or raped. By and large, most FGD participants reported feeling safer in their own area, in familiar surroundings. They felt safest and most comfortable near their own homes (e.g. the neighborhood parks or market places) because of their familiarity with the place which, they felt, would enable them to handle any problem that arose there. Conversely, participants reported feeling more vulnerable in new, unfamiliar spaces.

The usage of spaces by different social groups also, reportedly, had an effect on safety across the groups. For example, women noted that if a public park was being used to play cards by a group of men, it would generally be avoided by others, especially women and girls. Similarly, if a group of men took to hanging around an area, the area would be perceived as being hostile to women. Contrary to this, spaces that are generally filled with a multiplicity of users and have a variety of ongoing activities through the day were reported to be more comfortable for women and also easily accessible.

Interestingly, the FGD participants pointed out that they felt unsafe both in deserted and in crowded spaces. In deserted spaces, they claimed there was greater fear of assault or rape and in crowded spaces, men took advantage of the crowd to sexually harass women. Almost all the participants felt that the public does not support women who are facing harassment. They felt that it is the total apathy of the residents of the city and their failure to respond to public violence that has played a major role in perpetuating the cycle of violence. 'The I.T.O stretch as well... it is very unsafe in the late evening. Though there is a huge crowd there...if an incident happens, people actually don't cooperate at all. People will try to touch you, and if you don't say anything, they will go on. Others will smile, but never help you.' (FGD with journalists).

'It was a crowded area, the main market area, and this incident took place and I was just really shocked, I mean what... Really everyone is watching, no one is asking why are you beating the window, why you are doing this, no one was questioning those persons, whatever they were doing, that was fine with the crowd over there.' (FGD with women call center workers).

The **key causes** (as identified by the FGD participants) of women feeling vulnerable and insecure in public spaces are:

5.1.1 Poverty and socio-economic status

The findings from the FGDs with domestic workers, hawkers and homeless women revealed that they need to access public spaces and public transport on a regular basis. The women reported feeling more comfortable negotiating spaces within their own neighborhood but felt less safe in other spaces. They felt threatened by men in groups, especially those under the influence of alcohol or in the vicinity of alcohol shops. They also reported feeling uncomfortable with men urinating in public.

The vulnerabilities of the homeless women and children are intensified by the fear of sexual assault. The dearth of the basic amenities, such as clean and safe public toilets adds to their difficulties. Women in particular are exposed to risks at many levels. With no infrastructural support from the



Focus group discussion with Homeless Women

government and harassment by the police they are often isolated in the city or even driven into the hands of pimps and dealers. This despite the fact that there are shelters for the homeless, but the very location of these is a detracting factor and plays an important role in determining their usage. Women are not willing to go to locations that may seem secluded or that do not fall within a reasonable distance of the spaces that they need to access on a daily basis. Also, they prefer to inhabit crowded public spaces such as temples, railway or bus stations where they can find safety in the midst of a large number of people.

5.1.2 Traveling in the city

The one experience common to all women in the city is related to public transport; accessing the same is seen as fraught with discomfort and danger. This danger is associated with the threat of harassment or even

rape in deserted areas. Public transport – buses in particular – are listed among the most unsafe places for women where sexual harassment seems to have become a regular feature. The bus is the most commonly used form of public transport in the city, in addition to the metro rail system, auto rickshaws, cycle rickshaws and taxis.

Middle and upper class women are, to an extent, able to filter their experiences because of the options available to them. For instance, many upper class women can avoid buses if they can afford to travel in cars or taxis. Many women pointed out that the metro system, which earlier used to be safe, now has similar crowding and the fear of sexual harassment looms here as well.

Women do not feel entirely safe in their cars either. There have been instances of women being followed or attacked while driving or travelling



Focus group discussion with Journalists

in cars. The FGD participants unanimously said that they feel unsafe in all forms of public transport, and fear harassment or even rape in isolated areas.¹⁶

For young women the city offers many advantages, though accompanied by fear of violence and insecurity. Students shared experiences of how men traveling in cars and bikes often slow down, passing comments and stalking women when they find out where they study or live. This generates a sense of fear among girls who often try to deal with the situation by altogether avoiding certain spaces, especially after dark. For example, even in the university campus, women students are not able to equally access libraries or laboratories due to the fear of sexual harassment or assault. The lack of good lighting in many areas is a further hindrance to their mobility.

5.1.3 Infrastructure

In many parts of the city, the pavements are unusable for a variety of reasons – from being dug up and encroached upon to being poorly maintained. In addition, the pavements are often used as men's urinals, which makes access to these sidewalks extremely uncomfortable for women. Though the old bus stop designs made the pavements less accessible, the ones that are newly-designed are an effort at addressing this problem. Delhi lacks clean and accessible public toilets, and this is a grave issue. The GIC data reveals that the city is virtually handicapped by an acute shortage of such public facilities, for even in the few places where they do exist, they are very poorly maintained. The lack of safe and clean public toilets poses a serious safety and public health hazard. In addition, toilets all over the city are poorly designed.¹⁷ For example, the entrance to the women's toilet is often at the same place as the entrance to the men's toilet and this adds to its inaccessibility for women. In slums and resettlement areas, the problem is even more severe as people in these areas do not have private toilets. The lack of or the very poor state of the public toilets leaves them no option but to use open fields, exposing them to the danger of sexual assault. Transgendered persons face the additional problem of not being able to use either men's or women's bathrooms as they are often refused entry to both.

5.1.4 Attitude of Police

The FGD participants generally seemed to fear the police, claiming that when they did report incidents of gender-based violence, it is they who were judged or blamed for the situation. In some cases, participants (both men and women) reported further abuse and even sexual molestation at the hands of the police.

'The police don't speak to us with respect.' (FGD with domestic workers)

FGD participants also noted that it is very difficult to file a case with the police and the perpetrator is often let off without charge. When this

¹⁶ In 2008 there was a case of a young woman journalist who was found dead in her car. She was driving back from work late at night. The police have still not been able to solve the case. A few months later, another young call center worker coming home from work late at night, was killed when she got out of her car on reaching home. In another more recent case in May 2010, a Delhi traffic police constable and his friends were reported to have raped a 30-year old woman in a moving car in May 2010.

¹⁷ Out of 3192 urinals in Delhi, only 132 are for women; Shahana Sheikh, Public Toilets in Delhi, 2008, Centre for Civil Society.

occurs, the participants reported, the perpetrators would come back and continue the harassment, emboldened by the fact that the complaint had not gone in favor the complainant, and the situation would actually worsen.

5.1.5 Societal Attitudes

Women seek to address these problems in various ways. Many believe that a large part of the problem, being societal, has to be addressed at the community and social levels. They shared their feeling that we need to challenge the notion that women themselves are responsible for sexual harassment or assault, and that people need to raise their voices when they witness harassment right in front of their eyes. Given the present scenario, i.e. the public remaining silent and blind to the acts of harassment, the harassers move around freely, smug in the knowledge that they could get away.



Focus group discussion with call center workers

'Society needs to be mobilized and be made more responsible. If there is a case with their daughter then they are bothered, but not when it happens to someone else's daughter.' (FGD with call center workers).

Others, however, felt that intervening could be dangerous. Bystanders trying to help have often been attacked. In addition, lack of family support or sympathy have taught women to handle difficult situations on their own.

"Your parents will tell you to stop taking the bus. Like I have had to take the bus without telling my father. Because he will be like ... Why didn't you call? Wait, I will send the car. Take an auto. We are not broke. Why do you have to take the bus?' (FGD with journalists).

5.1.6 Biases and insensitivity towards people who are 'different'

Students and young women from the Northeastern states of India face particular forms of discrimination in the city. People have pre-conceived notions about Northeastern women, branding them as 'easy' and 'available' for sexual favors.

'We were sitting at our table when a man started staring at us, despite the fact that he had come with his wife, and when we tried to change our tables he started calling us names. He just caught hold of my friend's hand and told us not to stare instead, and accused us of being manner less. We had to leave.' (FGD with women from North East)

In the last few years, there have been many more reports of cases of



Focus group discussion with North East Women

violence against Northeastern women. In a recent case, a young woman from the Delhi University, who had gone out with her girl friend late at night to a food stall was raped. In 2009, a young woman was stalked and eventually killed by a man whose advances she had rejected.

'We cannot trust anyone, no man on the street; also because there has been no situation in which someone has come to help. Whenever I've faced harassment in a bus – like brushing of bodies – and raised my voice, no one has done anything about it, neither the conductor nor the men or the women.' (FGD with women from north eastern state, India).

Women with disabilities find it hard to trust people in public and are often wary when strangers offer help. There are instances when they get into 'uncomfortable situations' where strangers, on the pretext of helping them, try to touch them in offensive ways. Lack of public amenities and poor maintenance of public spaces pose another threat to women with disabilities.

'This bus stop is not safe; the bus nearly touches the footpath and goes and because of this I got hurt. The bus driver did not even have the decency to stop.' (FGD with visually disabled women).

Transgender persons are another group who feel completely marginalized, ridiculed, and exposed to violence from virtually all quarters, be it the public or police. They reported feeling ostracized in society and there is no place where they feel safe. Moreover, the police harass them; they can expect little or no protection from the police.

'Even if we are coming from our neighborhood house people give us dirty looks as if we are not human and call us whores.' (FGD with transgendered persons).

'At 11 in the night we were all going to a place when five guys approached us and took away one of my friends, had sex with him and left him naked. Thankfully it was night so no one could see him in that condition and he ran off to one of his friend's place. But we didn't dare to go to the police, as they would have only insulted my friend.' (FGD with transgendered persons).

5.2 Recommendations

Though women feel that they do not get support from the police, most still believe that the police have an important role to play. In one group



Focus group discussion with Domestic Workers

discussion, it was suggested that an option to file a complaint online be made available to women. This would save them from visiting the police station, which often leads to secondary victimization of women. The police need to be more responsive and responsible. They suggested the installation of video cameras inside police stations, and more police cars in the streets to make policemen and women accountable. Procedures have to be simplified so that women feel confident to register complaints. It is important to have provisions for stringent punishment in order to pull up the erring policemen and women.

'Once my friend's cell phone was lost so we had gone to the police station in Connaught Place. As soon as we entered, everyone was looking at us and was kind of checking us out from head to toe. It was so weird. So if I am in trouble will I ever approach these people?' (FGD with Northeastern women).

"The police don't speak to us with any respect." (FGD with domestic workers)

Several other suggestions were made to improve the infrastructure and facilitate the use of public spaces. Proper lighting is a pre-requisite for making public spaces safe, along with regular maintenance. Bus stops are one place where women feel relatively safe to wait and the new design bus stops are more open and well lit. Many of the women, particularly those with disabilities, talked about the poorly maintained and often non-existent pavements in many parts of the city.

Another area of concern was how to make public transport safer and more accessible for all. The suggestions include increasing the number of buses and trains exclusively for women, particularly to ply on the routes used by large numbers of women commuters. Announcing the names of destinations in buses is an important recommendation and would greatly benefit the visually challenged. Working with bus drivers and conductors and appointing more women for these posts are significant policies that could go a long way in addressing the issue of safety in public transport.

FINDINGS OF THE STREET SURVEY

In order to get to a larger number and a representative cross section of women using the public spaces in the city, a street survey was conducted in three areas: Delhi University and the surrounding areas, Lajpat Nagar and the surrounding areas, and the Delhi Gate-Ajmeri Gate areas. These areas were included as they have a range of public spaces – markets, colleges, residential areas, bus stops, metro stations, parks, hospitals, etc. The total sample was 1006 women – 518 in the Delhi University areas, 337 in Lajpat Nagar and 151 in all in the Delhi and Ajmeri Gate areas. In order to get an idea of the situation in the city at night time, 20 percent of the questionnaires were distributed after dark.

The areas where the survey was done were primarily dominated by a cross section of people from lower and middle classes, and included a range of spaces like residential areas, busy markets, bus stops and shops, parks and hospitals.

The aims of the survey were

- to determine what forms of violence/harassment women face in public spaces in the selected cities
- to determine what factors play a role or contribute to creating an environment of greater safety and inclusion for women
- to determine how women respond to harassment and lack of safety
- to see whether the police are able to address the issue of violation of women's rights

 to understand women's access to the police and their perception in terms of the latter's role in safeguarding women's rights.

Of the total random sample of 1006 in the survey – which included women of all age groups, socio-economic backgrounds and occupations – 77 percent had lived in the city for over five years. As shown in Table 2, the percentage across age groups was similar with the largest percentage being of the 30-39 age groups.

While 53 percent of the women had completed or were attending college, only 9 percent had not completed primary school. Women from different occupations were part of the survey, including unskilled workers, petty traders, and women in mid-level office jobs. Students made up 35 percent of the sample; 39 percent were housewives/ home makers.

Table 2: Age of the respondents

Age of the Respondents		All		
S.I	Age Categories	Base= 1006		
	(years)	Frequency	Percentage	
1	15-19	152	15%	
2	20-24	154	15%	
3	25-29	145	14%	
4	30-39	238	24%	

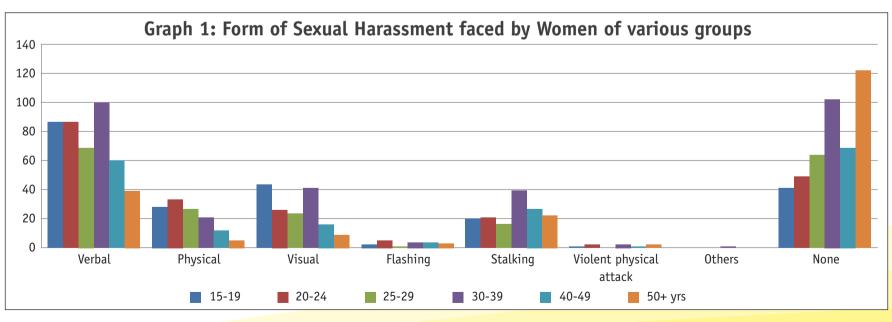
In order to get a deeper understanding of the nature of violence that women face in public places, the survey elicited information about the forms of harassment.

The most common forms of harassment (Table 3) are verbal, followed by visual – both of which contribute to the general anxiety and discomfort experienced by women, increasing their perception of threat. Physical harassment like touching or stalking was reported by 15 percent of the respondents. Whistling, passing sexual comments, flashing and making obscene gestures were some other forms of harassment that added to women's sense of insecurity.

While women of all age groups are vulnerable to sexual harassment, those between 20-29 years of age appear to be the main targets (Graph 1).

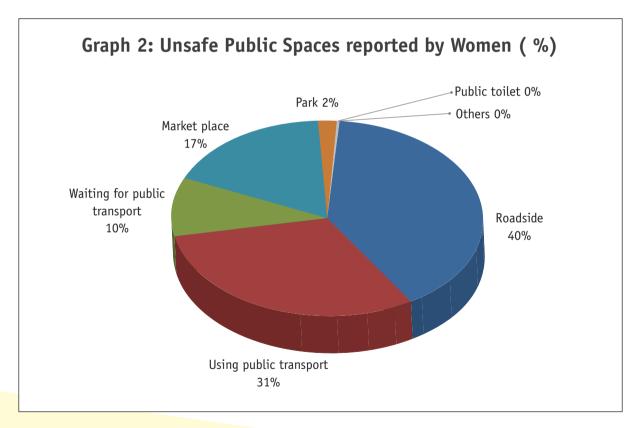


S.I	Forms of Harassment faced by	Base=998	
	women	Frequency	Percentage
1	Verbal (comments, whistling etc.)	442	44%
2	Physical (touching, feeling up etc.)	126	13%
3	Visual (staring, leering)	160	16%
4	Flashing	19	2%
5	Stalking	145	15%
6	Violent physical attack	8	1%
7	Others	1	0%
8	None	447	45%

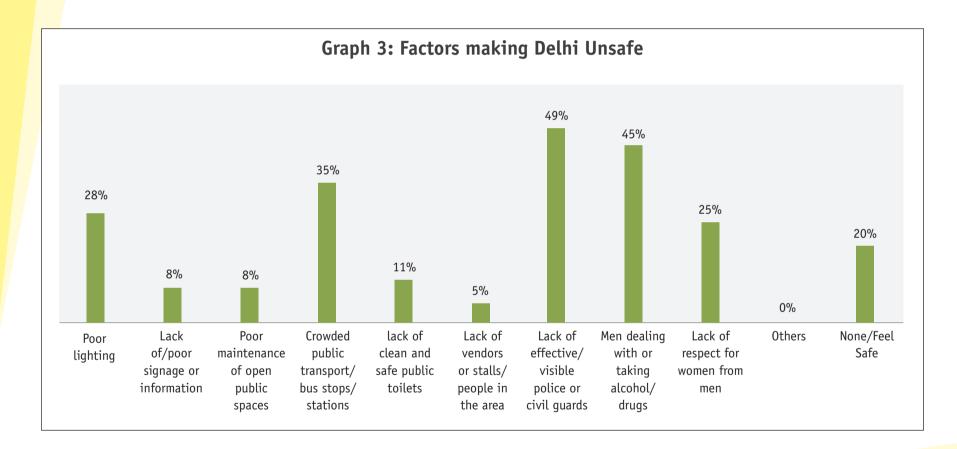


The maximum number of incidents of violence, as reported by 74 percent of the respondents, takes place in broad daylight and not, as is often believed, after dark (13 percent). One of the reasons is that women prefer to access public places during the day as the perception of threat increases after dark. Also, the increasing coverage of such incidents by the media, coupled with pressure from family members restricts the free mobility of women after dark.

Among the most unsafe public places listed (Graph 2) are roads (40 percent) and public transport (31 percent) followed by markets (17 percent) and spaces where women wait for public transport (10 percent).



Graph 3 outlines some of the factors that make the city unsafe for women. These include poor lighting on the streets, poorly maintained or non-existent pavements, and poorly designed men's urinals. It also points to the discriminatory societal attitude towards women that deepens their sense of insecurity and exclusion.



An interesting finding of the research was that a large percentage of women (43 percent) reported confronting the harasser in some way or the other (Table 3). This indicates a certain measure of self-confidence among women, despite their persisting anxieties about the city. At the same time the data also shows that an almost equal number (41 percent) do not do anything when faced with harassment.

S.I	Type of Action taken by the Base=551		=551
	women	Frequency	Percentage
1	Nothing	228	41%
2	Confronted the perpetrator	238	43%
3	Reported it to the police	11	2%
4	Reported to municipal guard or	0	0%
	agency		
5	Asked bystanders for help	26	5%
6	Reported it on a helpline/to	2	0%
	another service		
7	Told/ asked for help from family	89	16%
8	Told/ asked for help from a friend	123	22%
9	Others	0	0%

Table 4: Action taken by the Women

The lack of trust in the police is widespread and only 11 respondents reported incidents of harassment to the police. As for the cases that went

unreported, 74 percent said that the incident was not serious enough to report (Table 4).

Table 5: Reason for not approaching/reporting to the Police

In the past , why have you not reported some/all incidents to the police		All Base=551	
S.I	Response	Frequency	Percentage
1	Not serious enough to report	405	74%
2	Afraid to approach the police	50	9%
3	They would not do anything anyway	100	18%
4	They would blame me	48	9%
5	The process is too tedious	72	13%
6	Others	4	1%
7	Not applicable - I reported all incidents	0	0%

Given the fact that the various public spaces that are frequently used by women of all classes and professions are unsafe at all times of the day and night, women have increasingly started to devise their own self-defense mechanisms. These include imposing curfews on themselves by not going out at certain times of the day and night, avoiding certain public spaces – interestingly, both crowded and secluded – and carrying items of self protection. It is important though to see this finding in conjunction with the one where over 40 percent of the women respondents stated that they confronted the perpetrator.

Table 6: Action taken to avoid sexual harassment

follov	When in this area, do you do any of the following to avoid sexual harassment/ assault		Base=1006	
S.I	Responses	Frequency	Percentage	
1	Avoid certain public spaces completely	221	22%	
2	Avoid going out alone at all times	330	33%	
3	Avoid using public transport	97	10%	
4	Avoid going out alone after dark	418	42%	
5	Avoid going to crowded places	307	31%	
6	Avoid going to secluded places	305	30%	
7	Avoid wearing certain clothes	210	21%	
8	Carry items to protect myself	82	8%	
9	No I don't do anything	215	21%	
10	Others	2	0%	

Table 6 gives a clear indication that the onus of women's safety has fallen on the women themselves. So while women are seeking ways to deal with the daily harassment, they are also beginning to raise their voice and assert their right.

FINDINGS FROM THE WOMEN'S SAFETY AUDITS

A Women's Safety Audit (WSA) is a participatory tool that is used for collecting and assessing information about perceptions of safety in public spaces. It is a process that brings people together to walk through a physical environment, evaluate how safe it feels, and identify ways to make it safer. This methodology, based on the premise that the users of a space are experts in understanding the space, was developed in Toronto, Canada (1989), by METRAC and has been adapted and used in over 40 cities around the world.¹⁸

7.1. What does a safety audit involve?

A safety audit¹⁹ consists of a group of women walking in public spaces of their neighborhood (a street, a public square, a park, etc.) to identify the physical and social characteristics that make these places safe or unsafe. To conduct such audits it is important to choose routes that are taken by women every day to drop their children to school or the health centre, or a street or an avenue where people come to catch public transport to go to work. This working method allows us to look at our neighborhood in a way that is different from our everyday perspective. It allows us to become acquainted (or reacquainted) with the places we live and move around in everyday, but from a different position and perspective.

The identification of the problems allows us to make very specific proposals to the decision-makers to improve the safety of our streets and that of the public spaces in the neighborhood.

It is advisable to conduct safety audits close to dusk, allowing you to begin the journey during the daylight; wait for dusk; and then return along the same route in order to see how the neighborhood, streets and public spaces change at night.

It is also important that the following people be invited to take part in the safety audits:

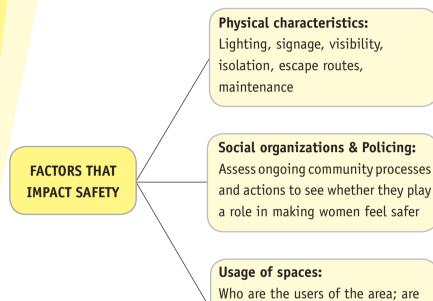
- a public official, so he/she may explore the neighborhood and understand its needs through the eyes of the community.
- a community leader, so he/she may sense the insecurity experienced by women, and support actions to prevent violence against them.

Women's Safety Audits are crucial to assessing the safety and accessibility of a city and its public spaces for women and other vulnerable groups. The safety walks are conducted before and after dark to see how public spaces are transformed at night. Essentially participatory in character, the audits identify the spaces that are unsafe for the vulnerable groups, as well as the factors causing the lack of safety or the exclusion of these groups.

¹⁸ Women in cities international, 'Women's Safety Audits: What works and where. UN Habitat 2008.

¹⁹ Red Mujer y Habitat America Latina, ' walking our neighbourhoods, building cities free from violence, CISCA, 2008

The factors that need to be considered while conducting the safety walks:



there vendors, shops. Are there people of all ages and gender?

Under this research, women's safety audits were conducted at two sites in Delhi – the first at the Delhi University North Campus and the second on the stretch from Ajmeri Gate to Delhi Gate. Both the sites were part of the street survey project. The findings of the survey and the focus groups clearly indicated a strong need for further participatory research – with the involvement of the beneficiaries and the stakeholders – on the issue of women's safety. At each of these sites three safety walks – including one after dark – were conducted, with the participation of the local communities and the users of the space. Each walk was conducted after an interactive discussion on the methodology and the safety-audit tools. Following the walks, a debriefing session was held to discuss the observations of the participants and formulate recommendations. This process is crucial to ensuring that the local communities and stakeholders have a continuing interest and ownership of the process of change. It is also an opportunity to hear the voices of different sets of people who use the spaces and to give value to the more vulnerable and marginalized. If the local government or other service providers are involved in the safety audit, it allows them to hear the voices of the community directly and understand the perspective and needs of the different groups.

7.2 Groups that Participated in the WSA

Three safety walks were conducted for each of the two sites with the following groups:

Delhi University Students: A group of Delhi University students – both male and female, who regularly accessed the campus and its neighborhood – participated in the safety audits. As these students were regular users of the University, they not only actively participated in the safety audits but also gave their inputs vis-a-vis the selection of the stretches. They shared their day-to-day experiences with the other participants while accessing the public spaces in and around the University campus.

Delhi Foundation of Deaf Women (DFDW): A group of women from

Steps of Women's Safety Audits

A. Preparation and training:

- Defining and delineating the area and the route for the safety walk. Get maps of the area to be audited. These should be studied in detail before the safety walk. Explain why you are selecting this area.
- Identification of key stakeholders and policy makers, and informing them that a walk will be taking place and will probably lead to recommendations (these include city officials, police, and possibly key private sector owners of land or buildings)
- Meeting with local community and community groups to share the process of safety audits. Try to involve many different sets of people including, for example, youth groups, so that their concerns can be understood.
- Training of the group who are going to conduct the safety audit walk. Reading over and getting familiar with the checklist
- Getting ready material that will be used prior to and during the audit maps, paper, pens, chart paper, torch light, camera etc.
- Ensure safety and transport of audit team

B. Safety walks:

- A walk should involve a group of around 4 6 participants. If the area is large, you may want to have more, and split into groups that cover different parts of the area.
- If the participants are in agreement, invite some elected local government, councilors, police or other key stakeholders to participate in the walk. You might consider inviting some members of the media too.
- Plan the role of different members of the safety audit team.
- Carry paper and pen to take notes. Note down everything. Do not leave it to memory. Carry a camera and take photographs. Use the checklist as a guide throughout the walk. Use the map to guide and to note down issues.
- You will need to do more than one safety walk in each area at different times of the day, to get a full understanding of usage of space and issues that concern women. At least one safety walk should be done after dark, as there are specific issues of lighting and safety at night.
- Speak to people in the area (including vendors, shop keepers, a range of people using the street) to get their understanding and perceptions of safety.
- Ask women using the area about their experiences if they are willing to share them.

C. Recording findings

- Immediately after the walk, the team should spend a little time discussing the walk and making notes. Make sure that all the points in the checklist have been looked into.
- Maps should be used to record the information about safety issues based on the checklist and reactions during the walk.
- It is important to note down not only places that are identified as unsafe and the reasons, but also areas that are seen as relatively safer and used comfortably by women.

D. Formulating recommendations:

- After the walk, ideally within a few days, the audit team should meet again to discuss the findings from the walk, and formulate appropriate recommendations.
- A set of recommendations needs to be drawn up based on the views, perceptions and experiences of the people who conducted the walk.
- Recommendations can be related to Design and planning, Usage of space, Governance issues, Other crime prevention measures, Community based initiatives.
- Organize and target the recommendations for different sets of stakeholders.

E. Taking recommendations forward and ensuring implementation.

- Set up meetings with the relevant authorities to present your recommendations and encourage action.
- Keep in mind existing policies and programs that can be used to support the recommendations.
- Ensure communities are informed, involved and support the recommendations.
- The WSA is the first step in the process. It does not end with the delivery of the recommendations to the relevant authorities. It will also entail regular community involvement, and ways to monitor and keep track of where recommendations have been addressed and acted upon.
- Have meetings with community and community-based groups to keep the process active and ensure their continued interest and involvement.
- Use media to advocate for changes, and to highlight positive changes when they occur.

DFDW participated in one of the safety walks in the Delhi Gate area, accompanied by the JAGORI team. These women were regular users of the selected spaces, for various purposes. The audit highlighted the various problems and issues faced by these women on account of their disability, which made them more vulnerable to harassment.

The Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH)

The Delhi Chapter Team: INTACH has been working on a plan to redesign one of the study areas (Ajmeri gate). The plan has been accepted by the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. The involvement of the urban planners in this safety audit walk provided a focus on the infrastructure and design issues.

7.3 Ajmeri gate – Delhi gate area

This area has two colleges (one of them an all-girls college), three schools, three hospitals (including a maternity hospital), the Stock Exchange and several offices. There is also a police station and a branch of the Crime against Women Cell on this road. In addition there is the entrance to the New Delhi railway and metro stations. Women using these spaces informed us that they rarely linger in these areas as they are not comfortable spending time here. While over 40 percent of the women from the survey conducted here said that they had faced some form of sexual harassment, 97 percent felt that being a woman was a cause in itself for the lack of safety; 36 percent of the women also reported that they feared being robbed in this area. On the roads leading off from this main road, there are several residential areas and hostels for women.

Women felt that the lack of visible policing and the open usage of drugs are the major cause of insecurity and lack of safety here. The survey showed that none of women who had experienced sexual harassment reported the incident to the police and in fact, 56 percent did nothing by way of response.

Extremely crowded, the Ajmeri Gate-Delhi Gate stretch lacked pavements, or else they were poorly maintained, which made walking through these areas very difficult. It is a male-dominated public space, accessed by very few women after dark. Even though a transport market remains open all through the day and night, women do not access it.

There were several men's urinals dotting the entire length of the road, and all of them were open to the road, thereby making it all the more difficult for women to use the road freely.



Street of Ajmeri gate

7.3.1 Audit Routes

- The entire stretch of Asaf Ali Road Delhi Gate to Ajmeri Gate crossing.
- The J.N. Marg, from Delhi Gate to Zakir Hussain College, accompanied by member from INTACH, Delhi.
- The J.N. Marg, from Zakir Hussain College to Ajmeri Gate, accompanied by members of the Delhi Foundation of Deaf Women, and Renu Addlakha, Senior Fellow, CWDS (also member of the GIC Technical Advisory Committee).

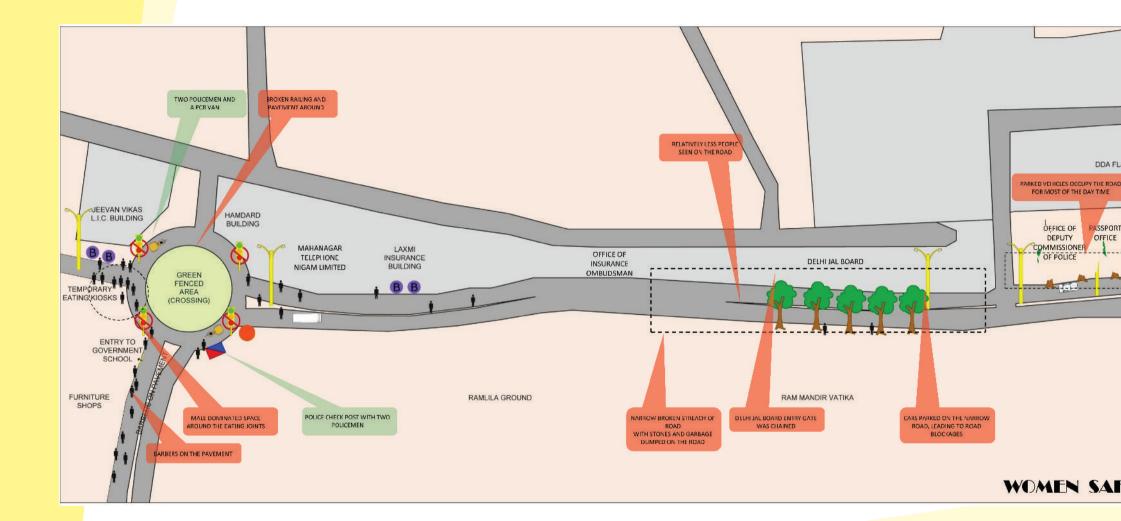


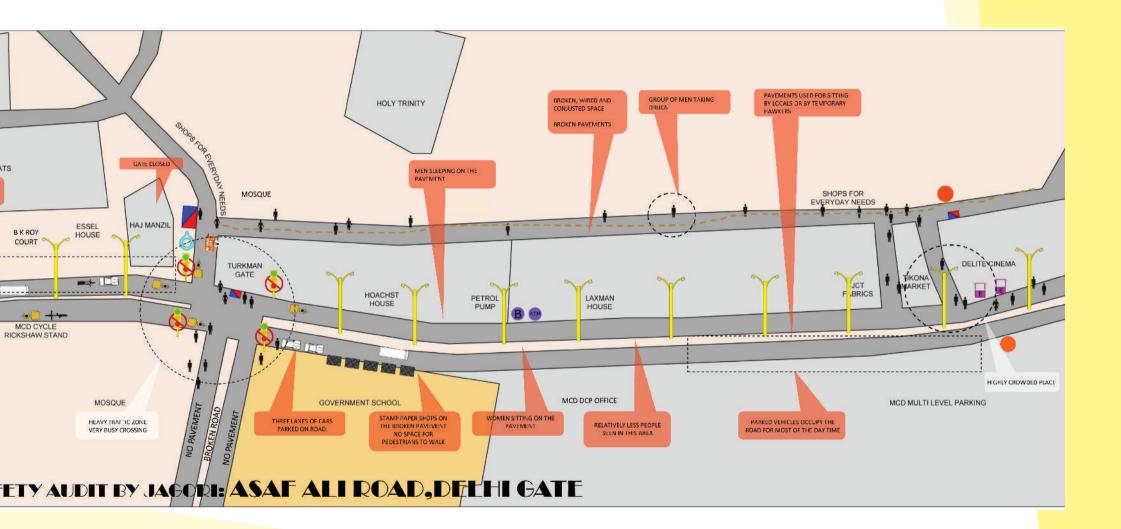
Condition of pavement in Ajmeri gate

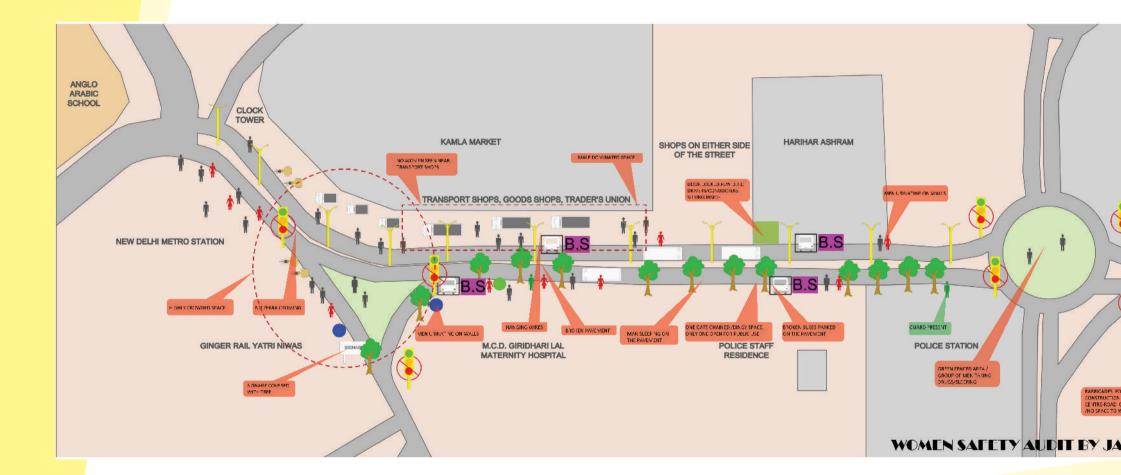
7.3.2 Audit findings

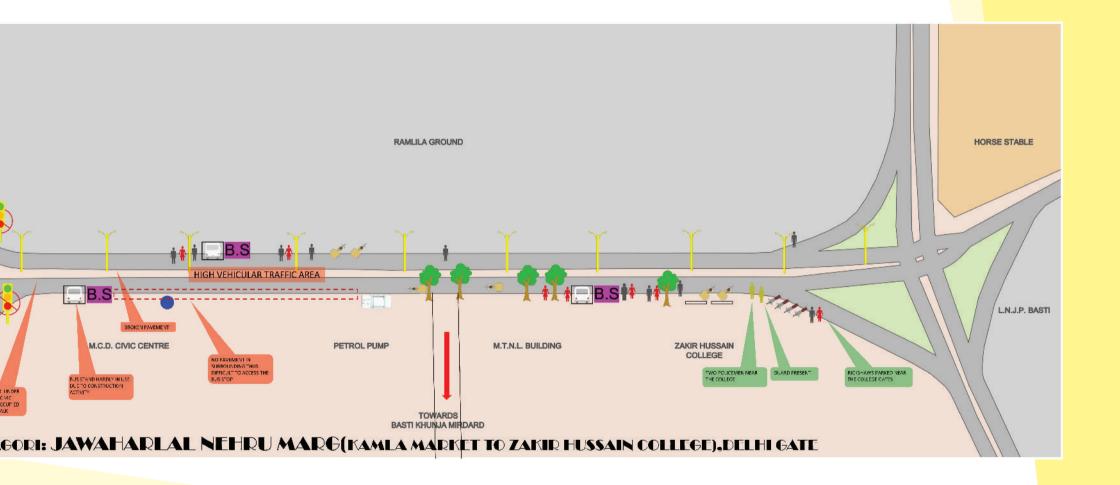
Some points that emerged from the safety audits:

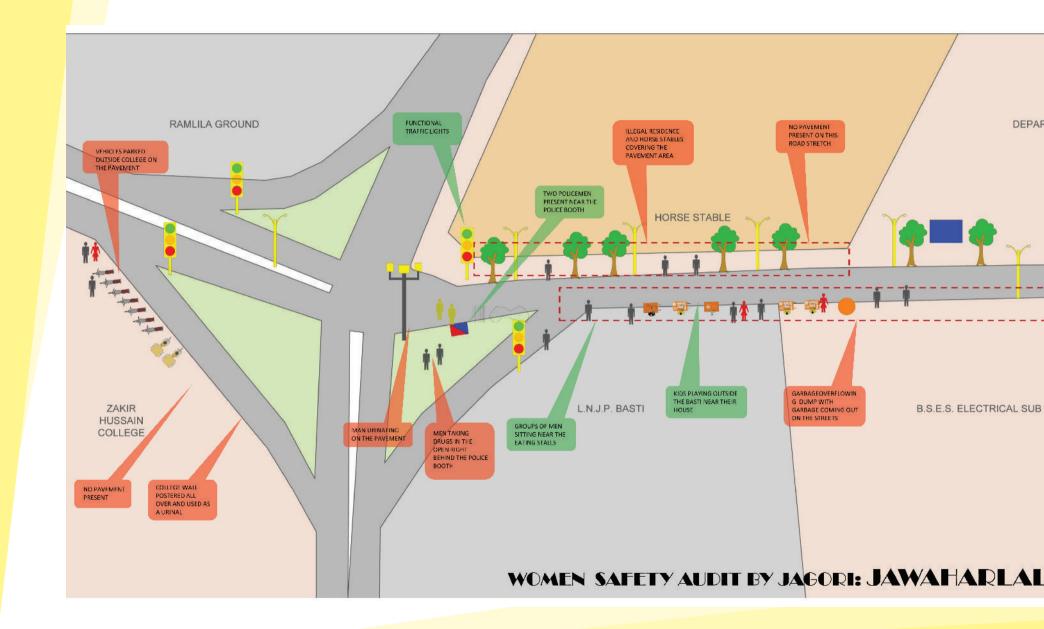
- There should be well constructed, pedestrian-friendly pavements. Currently the pavements are either non-existent or they are dug up. The service lane is also unusable in many areas. The areas outside the hospitals should be made more accessible and friendly; people may need to spend time there.
- The planned Mahila Haat (Women's bazaar) on top of the MCD parking could make a difference in the public space and increase women's access. The Haat should be planned keeping this in mind. It should be well-lit, as should be the routes leading to it.
- Men's urinals should be redesigned so that these are not visible to people on the street.
- Toilets for women should be constructed, as there were none in the stretches audited.
- Lack of cleanliness in the area, especially near the hospitals needs to be addressed as it makes these spaces inaccessible.
- Visible and open drug usage on the roads should be addressed.

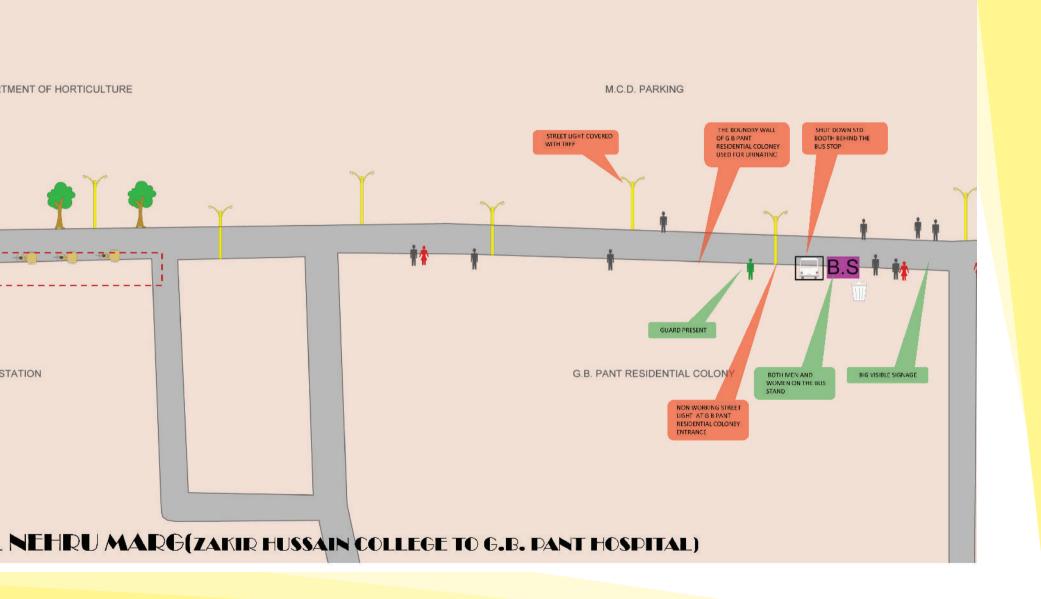


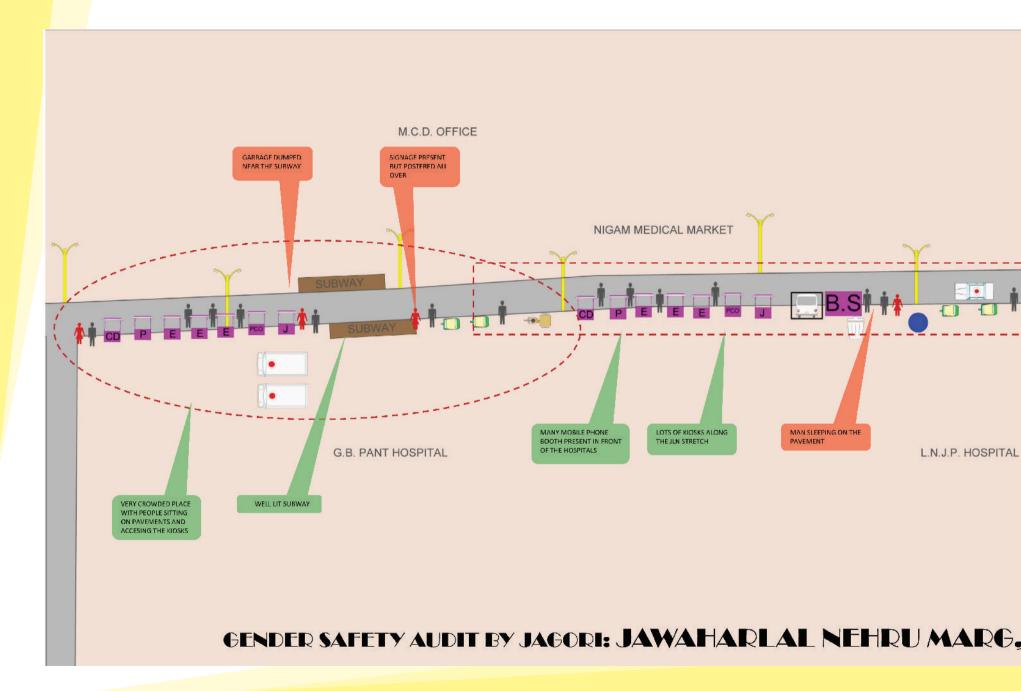


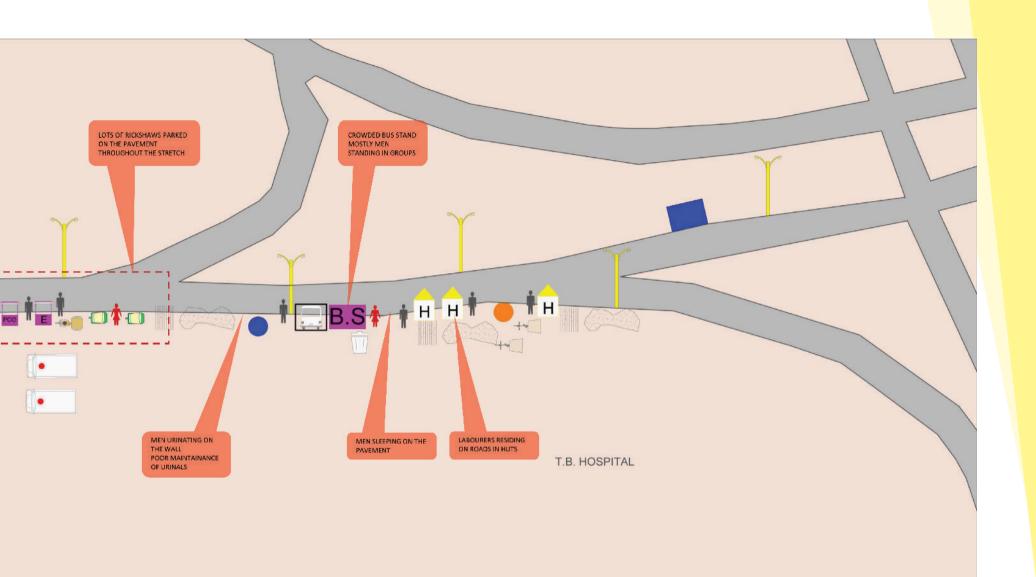












SHAHJAHANABD DRECINCT, G.B. DANT HOSDITAL TO DELHI GATE

'I pass by Asif Ali lane every day on my way back from coaching. I wish I could avoid this road. The road is always crowded; buses stuffed. People stare back, pass comments; the place is just not safe for women, especially after it gets dark.'

(Girl on Asif Ali road)

'We walk down to New Delhi Metro station after lectures every day. We make sure to move out of the college campus in groups. Reaching the Metro station is an everyday hassle. We avoid staying back late in college, especially in the evening and after dark.'

college student

A man intentionally brushed against one of the girls from the safety audit group and then disappeared in the crowd. The team couldn't spot the man and could take no action.

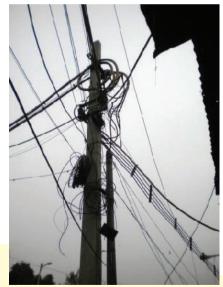
In spite of the visible group strength, the perpetrator had the courage to do such an act, which itself explains the nature of the space in the Delhi gate area. 'It's 24 hours open market. Goods keep loading all day long. Women have no reason to access the place.'

(Shopkeeper from Kamla Nagar Transport market)

7.4 Delhi University Area

The North Campus of the Delhi University is one of the famous education hubs of India. Students from across the nation and other countries come here to access the courses offered. Being the campus zone, the student community and youngsters were, by and large, visible in all the lanes where safety audits were being conducted. Not a closed university campus, the traffic of cars is one of the major areas of concern here. The traffic and surveillance are controlled by the Delhi Police.

Besides its several colleges, libraries, faculties and college hostels, the university area is surrounded by residential colonies like Roop Nagar,



Street light clustered with wires without lamp post (Ajmeri Gate site)

Vijay Nagar, etc. Many students live in the college hostels or in private accommodation. The area also covers one of Delhi's famous markets known as the Kamla Nagar market which remains crowded throughout the day. The other side of the University is covered by the green ridge area. The University plays host to a wide range of people including young men and women from around the country, teachers and university administrators and owners and workers of the various commercial establishments in the area.

The survey identified three main factors that cause insecurity among women in this area, namely the lack of visible policing, crowded buses and bus stops, and the usage of drugs and alcohol. Verbal harassment is found to be the most common form of harassment experienced by 44 percent of the women.

7.4.1 Audit routes

- Maurice Nagar police station to Khalsa College, accompanied by a student of Delhi University and a campus resident who is actively involved in the University's Sexual Harassment Campaign.
- Delhi School of Economics to the canal connecting Vijay Nagar, accompanied by Delhi University students.
- Institute of Economic Growth to Delhi University Metro station on Chhatra Marg, accompanied by Delhi University students.



Streets in University of Delhi (North Campus)

7.4.2 Audit Findings

Some of the points that emerged from the safety audits:

- The audits revealed that nearly all of the pavements were not walkable. There were open or raised sewer holes and broken stretches. One audit site stretch had the pavements dug up due to the construction going on for the Commonwealth Games. In may parts, vendors and shops occupied the pavements, which made it difficult to walk on them.
- Lack of signage in the area.
- Very few public toilets on the campus; they are only within the colleges and buildings. There are no public toilets for women in the audited areas.
- Poor maintenance of lights especially on the streets where there were no college gates. Many students reported a feeling of insecurity and incidences of harassment when accessing these areas.
- There was no visible policing, except in front of some colleges and the arts faculty main gate. Also as the roads were open to outside transient traffic, steps to regulate the traffic – like making separate lanes for cars, bikes, on-foot commuters – were suggested.
- It was suggested that provisions be made for vendors to stay longer



Under construction site along the busy lane towards Kamla Nagar Market in University of Delhi (North Campus)

so that women feel safe to access the streets at night. Also, that the installation of lights at the bus stops or remodeling on the newer bus stop design would help greatly and so too would installing more public-phone booths, especially those that are open 24 hours.

• Finally, creating awareness among people on the issue of lack of safety in public spaces is essential for any change to take place.

"We have been running this stall for generations now, 37 years it's been. Both male and female students come and eat even during late hours. They come in groups and alone as well. The road is more or less till 9 p.m."

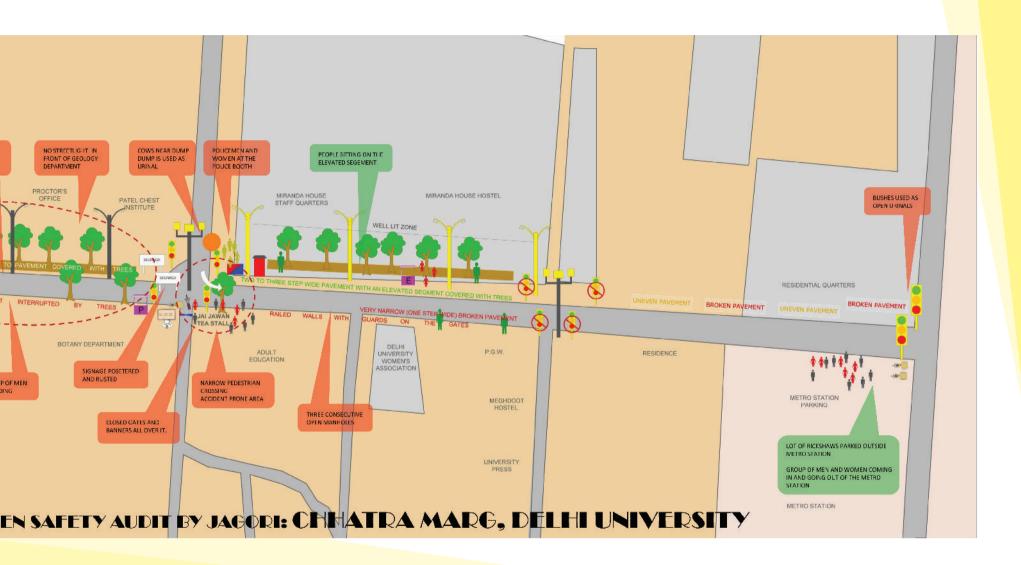
(JJ Tea stall owner)

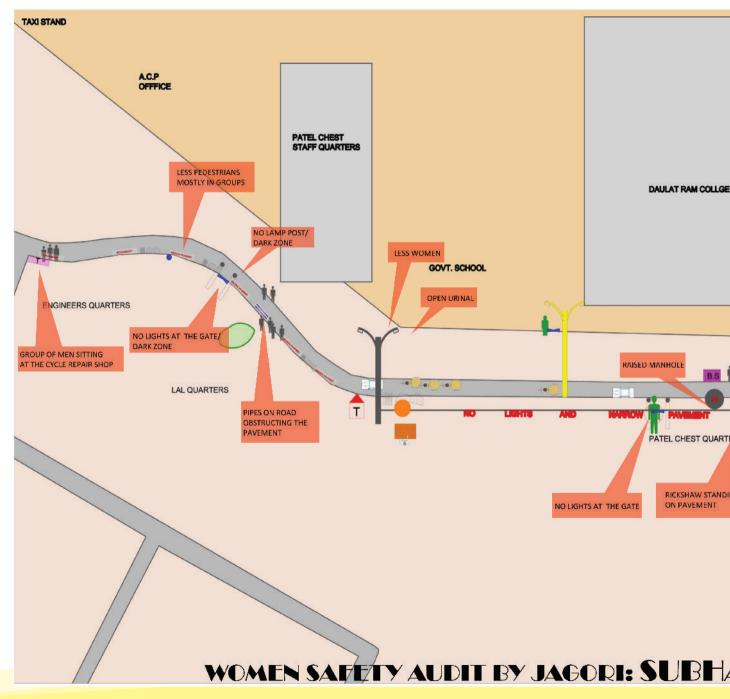
There have been many cases of chain snatching lately; so this patrolling is on and every biker is being stopped and general questioning is on.

(police men on Chattra Marg)

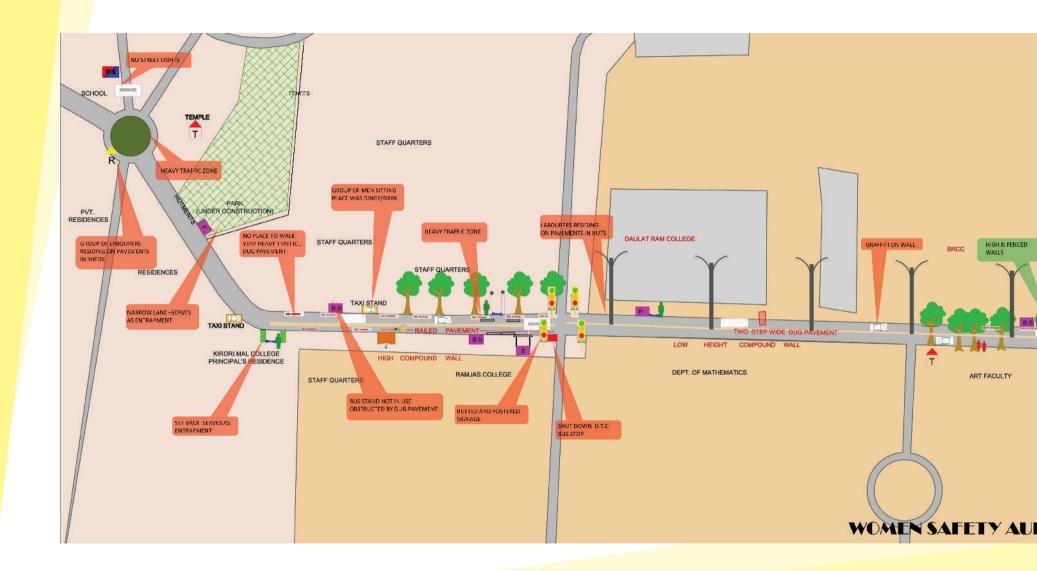
"Men in cars often slow down after dark or even early morning. They pass comments, often try and grab you. Girls get stalked and avoid going out alone after dark. The street lights do not work which adds to the fear factor". (As told by a women waiting for bus at Maurice Nagar bus stop). She reported having been in Delhi for more than half a decade but still the sense of safety was missing.

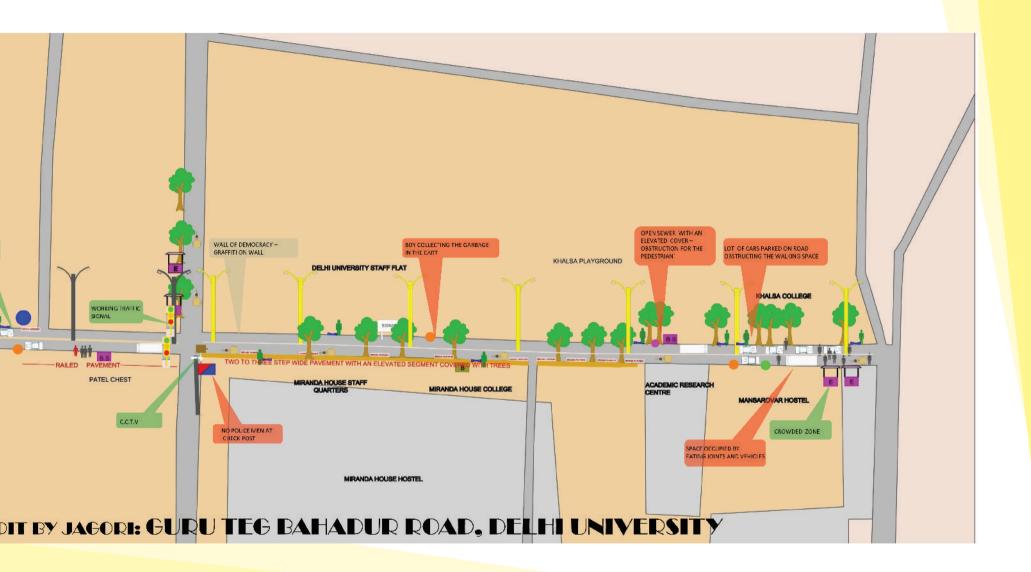












THE FILM NARRATIVE

Following the safety walk in the North Campus area of the Delhi University, a group of eight students from MA Sociology, Delhi School of Economics, put together a documentary film exploring the spaces they negotiate daily. The film, 'The Post Graduate' brought to life the usage of these neighborhood spaces not just by the students but by a whole community of people – shop owners, roadside vendors, chaiwallahs, and families inhabiting the temples located in-between the educational institutions.

For the students, the journey of filmmaking was a discovery of the nooks and corners of their neighborhood, an exploration of the different usages of urban spaces, of a way of life that still persists despite modernization. Colleges, residential areas, temples, roadside stalls, markets – they all exist together, living an exasperating though a seemingly easy existence. It also threw up questions that the young filmmakers debated among themselves – how to present the film so that it is acceptable, and whether it was right to present conclusive answers in such a short time.



Snapshot from the Film: 'The Post Graduate

The 20-minute film shot by the group of post-graduate students sums up the impact of the safety walk. Despite their familiarity with the area, filming the campus led to unexpected discoveries by the students that tended to blur the dividing lines between the ownership and usage of the spaces. Hence it was a discovery of the 'Outsider Within'.

CONCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD

While the common perception of Delhi as a city of exclusion was shared by all the groups and across all classes, age groups, professions, etc poverty clearly emerged as an important axis intensifying this vulnerability. There is an alarming level of 'normalization' of violence which threatens public spaces. The experience of violence and fear of violence at all times of the day and night, and virtually in all kinds of public spaces, underlines the flawed architecture of the city spaces and the gender insensitive attitude of the institutions that govern.

It is worth noting that the women reported feeling unsafe in both secluded and crowded places, as well as during the day and night. While they are afraid of being physically hurt, harassed, molested or raped in deserted spaces, they also fear harassment in crowded spaces, most commonly in crowded public transport. What emerges from the experiences of the women is the fear of violence, feelings of exclusion, and lack of confidence in the agencies that are supposed to ensure their safety. Though the perception of Delhi as an intimidating city is shared by all sections of women, the research indicates that certain groups of women, such as younger women, women from the northeastern states and women from the poorer communities feel more insecure. For the latter especially, the development of Delhi as a 'world-class city' has made their lives more insecure. While all public spaces were seen as unsafe, women reported the highest number of incidents within buses and other public transportation, and on the streets.

The research has also brought to the fore a number of factors that play a role in creating safer spaces for women and girls. These include better planning and design of public spaces such as roads, bus stops, parks and public toilets. Some recommendations included proper lighting, better design of pavements, presence of vendors and designated spaces, and well-designed male and female public toilets. The glaring lack of public toilets for women is a strong indictment of the state of services in the city. The second important factor is the way the public spaces are used. The presence of a multitude of users makes a space more amenable to inclusion and safety. Thus parks that had a range of users including older people and the young, children and others were safer.

A third factor that came up consistently in the FGDs and through the street survey was the lack of public support to women and girls in the city. This lack of any response from the bystanders in the public spaces, combined with the indifferent attitude of the police has been identified as one of the main reasons contributing to the lack of safety for women, allowing the perpetrators to continue to harass them with impunity. Thus the response of the agencies has also not been very positive, with many women reporting experiences of harassment and questioning by the police themselves. The survey also showed that less than 10 percent of the women reported cases to the police. The reasons cited included fear of the police, fear of going to a police station and fear of the issue being trivialized.

The research findings have also clearly shown that a comprehensive set of interventions and programs are needed to address the issue of women's safety and inclusion – such as urban design and planning, provision of services, policing and law enforcement, community involvement and awareness building for men, women and youth. Creating safer cities for women and girls needs to be put firmly on the agenda of a wide range of stakeholders including local and national governments, service providers, police, educators and communities. What the research has demonstrated is the wide range of issues involved and the need for a multi-strategic and multi-stakeholder approach.

The findings from the GIC research, in conjunction with the continuing Safe Delhi campaign and advocacy efforts have created a momentum to address this issue in a concerted manner. The GIC street survey has been supplemented with a larger one involving all the nine districts in the city. Over 5000 men and women have been interviewed to establish the widespread nature of the problem and the necessity for a citywide approach to this problem. Along with this, seven broad areas have been identified for interventions in the short, medium and long term. These include:

- Urban planning and design of public spaces
- Provision and maintenance of public infrastructure and services
- Public transport
- Policing
- Legislation, justice and support to victims
- Education
- Civic awareness and participation.

The findings of this research, along with other research and data, will now feed into planning initiatives and interventions in partnership with the stakeholders – both state and civil society – to ensure that women's safety and gender inclusion are addressed in the areas listed above.

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APPENDIX

Gender Inclusive Cities Project Year 1: 2009-2010 Street Survey Data:

(Sample Size: 1006; NR: No Response; DK: Don't Know)

Table Delhi Time of interview			
Interview	Respondents (Base: 1006)		
Timing	Frequency	Percentage	
Before dark	802	80%	
After dark	204	20%	

	Question 1 Delhi How long have you lived in this city? (Single coding)			
Sl.	Years Respondents (Base: 1006)		(Base: 1006)	
		Frequency	Percentage	
1	Longer than 5 years	771	77%	
2	1-5 years	153	15%	
3	Less than one year	57	6%	
4	Just visiting the city	23	2%	

Note: NR/DK=2

Question 2 Delhi Why are you in this area today? (Single coding)			
Sl.	Sl. Purpose Respondents (Base: 1006)		
		Frequency	Percentage
1	Live here	336	33%
2	Study/Work here	375	37%
3	Visiting, shopping, others	293	29%

Note: NR/DK=2

Question 3 Delhi How often have you been to this area in the last one year? (Single coding)			
Sl.	Frequency of Visit	Respondents (Base: 1006)	
		Frequency	Percentage
1	Just once or rarely	36	4%
2	Occasionally	239	24%
3	Frequently/Daily	730	73%

Note: NR/DK=1

Question 4 Delhi What personal safety risks concern you most when are in this area? (Multi-coding)			
S. No.	Risks	Respoi (Base:	
		Frequency	Percentage
1	NO, I have no concerns	458	46%
2	Sexual harassment, hassling, 'eve teasing', stalking, touching, flashing, staring	428	43%
3	Sexual assault or rape	37	4%
4.	Robbery or having money or possessions stolen	237	24%
5	Murder	23	2%
6.	Others	2	0%

Question 5 Delhi In this area which factors contribute to your feeling unsafe? (Multi-coding)			
Sl.	FACTORS		ndents 1006)
		Frequency	Percentage
1	Poor Lighting	277	28%
2	Lack of/poor signage or information	85	8%
3	Poor maintenance of open public spaces	77	8%
4	Crowded public transport/bus stops/ stations	354	35%
5	Lack of clean and safe public toilets	109	11%
6	Lack of vendors or stalls/people in the area	49	5%
7	Lack of effective/visible police or civil guards	495	49%
8	Men dealing with or taking alcohol/ drugs	419	42%
9	Lack of respect for women from men	255	25%
10	Others	3	0%
11	None/Feel Safe	198	20%

Others (specify)

- Outside boys (1)
- Like Jag Jeewan Ram Samadhi(1)
- Jhuggi child (1)

Question 5(a) Delhi Agree to answer question about personal experience? (Single coding)			
Sl.	Yes/No	Respondents (Base: 1006)	
Frequency Percentage			
1	Yes	998	99%
2	No	8	1%

Do	Question 6 Delhi Do any of these factors affect your personal safety in this area? (Multi-coding)			
Sl.	Factors	Respondents	s (Base: 998)	
		Frequency	Percentage	
1	Being a woman	885	89%	
2	Being of a certain religion	32	3%	
3	Being of a certain race	8	1%	
4	Being from another state/ region	36	4%	
5	Being from another country	6	1%	
6	Sexual Orientation	0	0%	
7	Others	1	0%	
8	None/Even Men Unsafe	108	11%	

Question 7 Delhi What kind(s) of sexual harassment have you faced in public spaces in this area in the past year? (Multi-coding)				
Sl.	Sl. Harassment Respondents (Base: 998)			
		Frequency	Percentage	
1	Verbal (comments, whistling etc.)	442	44%	
2	Physical (touching, feeling up etc.)	126	13%	
3	Visual (staring, leering)	160	16%	
4	Flashing	19	2%	
5	Stalking	145	15%	
6	Violent physical attack	8	1%	
7	Others	1	0%	
8	None	447	45%	

Question 8 Delhi How often have you experienced such incidences in this area in the past year? (Single coding)				
Sl.	Times	Respondents (Base: 551)		
		Frequency	Percentage	
1	Just once	232	42%	
2	2 or 5 times	259	47%	
3	More than 5 times	59	11%	

Note: NR/DK=1

Question 9 Delhi At which time of the day did these occur? (Single coding)				
Sl.	Timing	Respondents (Base: 551)		
	Frequency Percentage			
1	Daytime	405	74%	
2	After dark time	70	13%	
3	Both	73	13%	

Note:NR/DK=3

Question 10 Delhi In which specific public spaces have you faces sexual harassment/ assault in the past year? (Multi-coding)			
Sl.	Type of Place	Respondents	(Base: 551)
		Frequency	Percentage
1	Roadside	276	50%
2	Using public transport	213	39%
3	Waiting for public transport	68	12%
4	Market place	121	22%
5	Park	14	3%
6	Public toilet	0	0%
7	Others	1	0%

Others (Specify) On the footpath way from Nizamuddin (1) Railway station, Bhogal(1)

(Question 11 Delhi On what occasions in the past year when you were sexually harassed/assaulted, what did you do? (Multi-coding)		
Sl.	Type of Action	Respondents	(Base: 551)
		Frequency	Percentage
1	Nothing	236	43%
2	Confronted the perpetrator	238	43%
3	Reported it to the police	11	2%
4	Reported to municipal guard or agency	0	0%
5	Asked bystanders for help	26	5%
6	Reported it on a helpline/to another service	2	0%
7	Told/ asked for help from family	89	16%
8	Told/ asked for help from a friend	123	22%
	Others	0	0%

Wha	Question 12 Delhi What was the nature of the most recent incident you reported to the police? (Single Coding)			
Sl.	Type of Report	Respondent	s (Base: 11)	
		Frequency	Percentage	
1	Verbal (comments, whistling etc)	5	45%	
2	Verbal (comments, whistling etc)	0	0%	
3	Visual (staring, leering)	2	18%	
4	Flashing	1	9%	
5	Stalking	2	18%	
6	Violent physical attack	0	0%	
7	Other (specify)	1	9%	
8	None 0 0%		0%	

Others (specify) Take a photo (1)

Wł	Question 13 Delhi When you reported this incidence to the police, what was their response? (Multi-coding)		
Sl.	Response	Respondent	s (Base: 11)
		Frequency	Percentage
1	They blamed me for the incident	2	18%
2	They minimised/trivialised it	4	36%
3	They didn't do anything	1	9%
4	They recorded the incident	5	45%
5	They investigated the incident	4	36%
6	They caught the offender	6	55%

1	Question 14 Delhi In the past one year, why have you not reported some/ all incidents to the police? (Multi-coding)		
Sl.	Response	Respondents	s (Base: 551)
		Frequency	Percentage
1	Not serious enough to report	405	74%
2	Afraid to approach the police	50	9%
3	They would not do anything anyway	100	18%
4	They would blame me	48	9%
5	The process is too tedious	72	13%
6	Others	4	0%
7	Not applicable - I reported all incidents	0	0%

Others Police is corrupt (2) Police behaves badly (2)

Whe	Question 15 Delhi When in this area, do you do any of the following to avoid sexual harassment? (Multi-coding)		
Sl.	Response		ndents 1006)
		Frequency	Percentage
1	Avoid certain public spaces completely	221	22%
2	Avoid going out alone at all times	330	33%
3	Avoid using public transport	97	10%
4	Avoid going out alone after drak 41		42%
5	Avoid going to crowded places	307	31%
6	Avoid going to secluded places 305 30%		30%
7	7 Avoid wearing certain clothes 210 21%		21%
	Carry items to protect myself	82	8%
	No I don't do anything	215	21%
	Others	2	0%

	Question 16 Delhi Age of the Respondents			
Sl.	Age Categories	Respondents	(Base: 1006)	
	(Years)	Frequency	Percentage	
1	15-19	152	15%	
2	20-24	154	15%	
3	25-29	145	14%	
4	30-39	238	24%	
5	40-49	146	15%	
6	50 +	171	17%	

	Question 17 Delhi Educational level of the respondents (Single Coding)			
Sl.	Sl. Education Respondents (Base: 1006)			
		Frequency	Percentage	
1	Did not attend/complete primary school	91	9%	
2	2 Completed primary school 134 13%			
3	Completed secondary school	244	24%	
4	Completed/going through college/ university	535	53%	

Note:NR/DK=2

Question 18 Delhi Monthly Household Income (Single coding)			
Sl.	Income (Amount) Respondents (Base: 1006)		
	Frequency Percentage		Percentage
1	Below 10,000 INR	431	43%
2	10,000-25,000 INR	466	47%
3	Above 25,000 INR	104	10%

Note:NR/DK=5

	Question 19 Delhi Occupation of the Respondents				
Sl.	Occupation	Respondents			
		Frequency	Percentage		
1	Unemployed	1	0%		
2	Student	349	35%		
3	Housewife	396	39%		
4	Manual/Supervisor-skilled / unskilled manual	87	9%		
5	Small business/ petty trader/ shopkeeper	24	2%		
6	Lower employee/ managerial/ professional occupations	138	14%		
7	High managerial/professional/big business occupations	10	1%		
8	Others	1	0%		

	Question 20 Delhi Main Occupation of the Respondents Family		
Sl.	Occupation	Respondents	(Base: 1006)
		Frequency	Percentage
1	Unemployed	0	0%
2	Student	0	0%
3	Housewife	0	0%
4	Manual/Supervisor-skilled / unskilled manual	190	19%
5	Small business/ petty trader/ shopkeeper	295	29%
6	Lower employee/ managerial/ professional occupations	455	45%
7	High managerial/professional/ big business occupations	31	3%
8	Others	33	3%

Note: NR/DK=2

Sample Checklist for Women Safety Audit

The template below has been prepared for "Streets". The templates for other areas such as residential areas, parks, bus-stops etc can be prepared on the similar lines.

Name of Area:

Date:

Route audited:

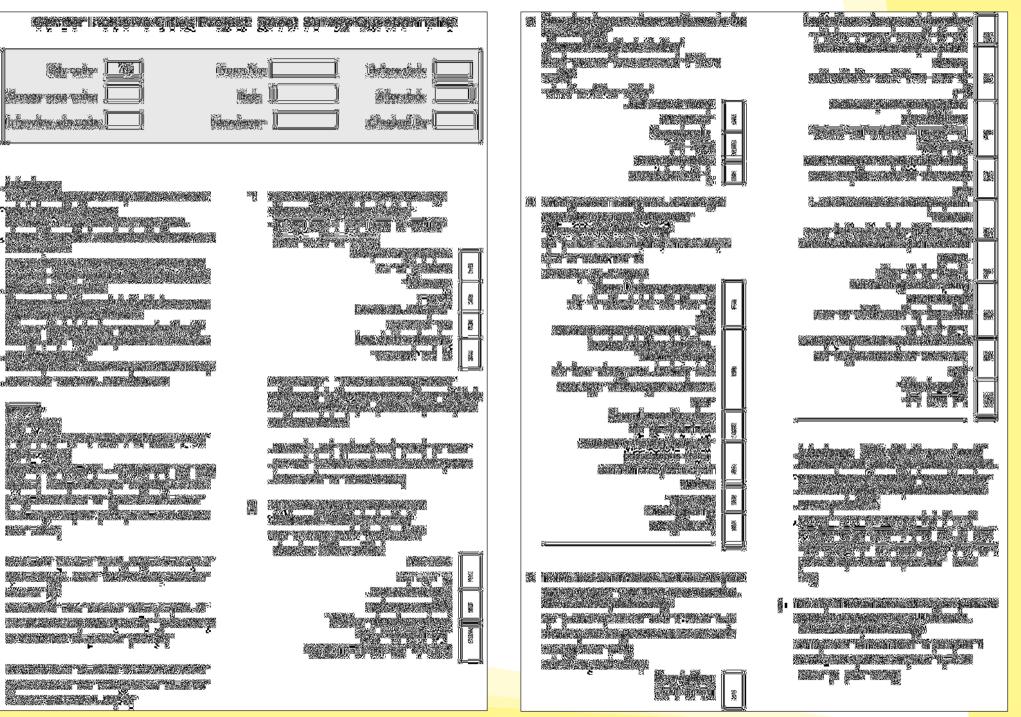
Time and day of audit:

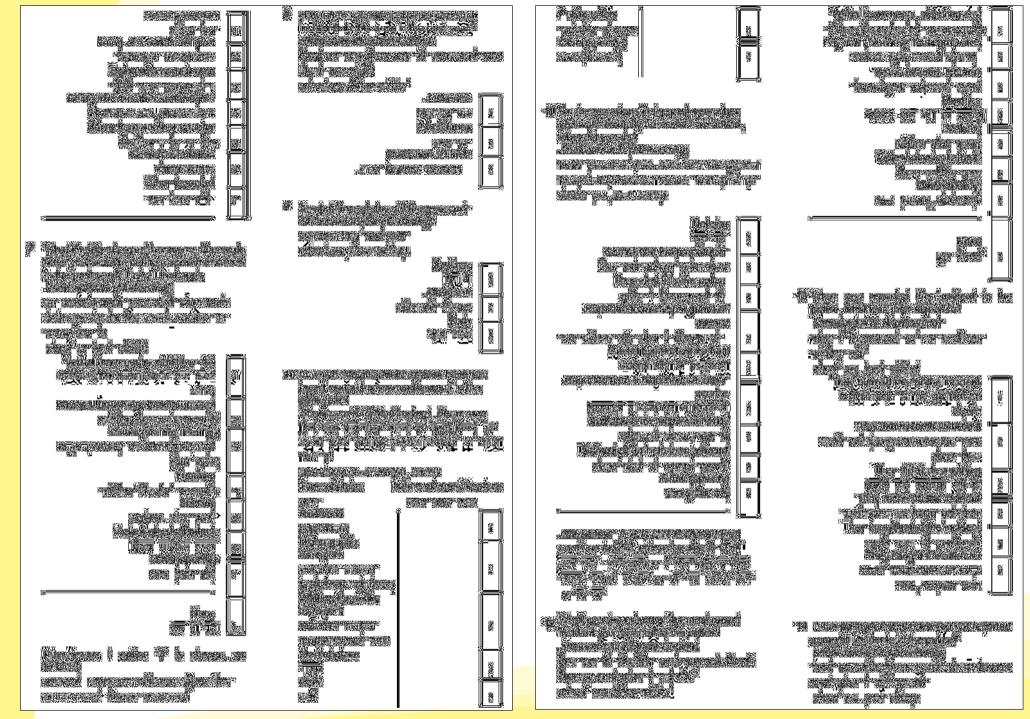
Weather:

Duration:

Names of people who participated:

 Lighting - are they working, distributed evenly, do they light pedestrian ways, and how long does fixing take. Mark on maps lights that are not working. Signage (maps, directions etc) If there are footpaths are they wide enough, are there obstructions or large cracks? Are footpaths accessible for people with disabilities or with prams (dropped curbs, paved) Maintenance: garbage, graffiti etc. Are there rubbish bins? Access to any help in emergency/ phones/ a lot of people around Do surrounding buildings provide informal surveillance (shops or restaurants with large windows, housing or offices with balconies) Ary entrapment areas - recessed doorways, alleys. Are there any demolished or unfinished buildings which could be unsafe Any visible policing? Are there groups who use the street that make women feel unsafe? An equal number of women and men? Are they rushing through or lingering? Are there reasons to linger (benches, shade, interesting things to see such as public arl)? Are there afe pedestrian crossings? Are there children or youth playing? What age 	Streets	Comments & Findings
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groups?	• Are there children or youth playing? What age	





68 UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S SAFETY : Towards a Gender Inclusive City

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STARING IS EVE TEASING TO Staring hurts. Stop sexual harass^{met}



Women's Training, Documentation and Communication Centre

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