

**Perception and Experience
of
Gendered Violations in
Public Places of Delhi**

**Baseline Report
November 2009**



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Foreword

Sexual harassment and assaults on women is a phenomenon so common, that it is assumed to be condoned as a minor act of ‘eve teasing’, not a matter of grave concern. The physical and psychological fallout that such acts have on women and girls are rarely recognized. Its impact in terms of restricting a woman’s mobility and access to public spaces, thereby limiting her access to goods and services, has never been measured.

Women cutting across age, class and caste are commonly subjected to various degrees of harassment in public spaces. What this implies is that freedom of mobility, speech and expression, as enshrined in the Indian constitution, is not effectively applicable to half the population. Women are unable to achieve their full capabilities due to social and cultural constraints which often create violent barriers, thus impeding their effective economic and political participation. This stems out of the patriarchal understanding that public spaces belong to men. Such a scenario has a direct impact on women and girls’ mobility. Their access to education and skills, healthcare, markets, livelihoods and recreation is curtailed due to safety concerns. Thus a vicious cycle of low capability leading to gender discrimination is constantly perpetuated. Women and girls from poor households are most vulnerable and severely impacted. Migration and urban poverty further compound this issue.

The Domestic Violence Act in India was a landmark legislation, and has provided a framework to look at all forms of violence which fall within the purview of this Act. However, while addressing gender based violence in the public space, there is no existing framework within which to approach such crimes. Currently, the only framework which exists is the Vishakha guidelines of the Supreme Court pertaining to sexual harassment at the workplace. There is no policy or legislative framework which addresses gender based violence in public spaces – between home and place of work.

Gender based violence in public spaces is being addressed by the law enforcement agencies within two basic categories – rape and ‘eve teasing’. Anything short of rape is viewed in the category of ‘eve teasing’. This includes sexual assaults under Section 354 and sexual harassment under Section 509 of IPC. These laws are not strictly enforced. There is no effort to book cases and to take offenders to task. Women rarely report cases. Hence it does not come as a surprise that the Crime Against Women Cell in New Delhi, receives approximately 10-12 calls in a day, of which only one or two calls pertain to harassment in public spaces, while more than 90% are in the context of domestic violence. Yet, harassment in public spaces is a reality women live with on a daily basis.

One of the primary focus areas of CEQUIN's interventions is addressing violence against women in public spaces. We have launched the 'Make Delhi Safe for Women' campaign, which assumes special significance in the run up to the Commonwealth Games, when we shall proudly proclaim Delhi to be an 'international' city!

A key challenge to our work has been the lack of reliable data on which to base our assumptions and strategize our interventions. We felt the need to have a baseline survey, which would provide us qualitative and quantitative data on the nature and dimensions of gendered violence in the city of Delhi. The data that we were looking for was not just of **experience** but also of **perception**. Perceived threat in itself had a debilitating affect on women's mobility, and hence, must be factored in. The perception of women's 'safety' is very often a reflection of several layers of societal attitudes, with media playing a conscious or inadvertent role in reinforcing such perceptions. Personal experience of respondents, of course, gives us a crystal clear picture of the actual situation on the ground.

Centre for Media Studies, with its high credibility in research, expertise in perception study and sensitivity to gender issues, was the obvious choice for CEQUIN to undertake such a survey. CMS spent a substantial amount of time, carefully developing the methodology and tools for this survey, which was sensitive in nature. This report, the first of its kind, has brought out valuable data, which provides us with a solid foundation to analyze and understand the scope and nature of gendered violations in public places of Delhi.

This baseline report - Perception and Experience of Gendered Violations in Public Places of Delhi, we hope, will be used by various stakeholders to strategize interventions and build advocacy to ensure the safety of all women and girls in the city of Delhi.

CEQUIN would like to thank Chief Minister Shiela Dikshit and Lt. Gov. Tejender Khanna, who have demonstrated their personal commitment to the issue of women's safety. With joint efforts of the government and civil society, we will hopefully soon be able to transform Delhi into a zero tolerance zone for violence against women. We also specially thank RC Foundation which has funded this project. We would like to acknowledge the guidance and support of Debashree Mukherjee, IAS, as well as PN Vasanti and Paramita Dasgupta from CMS.

November 13, 2009

Sara Pilot & Lora Prabhu
CEQUIN

Chapter I- Introduction

1.1 Background

Violence against women (VAW) either in private or public sphere is a violation of women's human rights and a form of gender-based discrimination and must be treated as such. VAW, whether within the family or outside of it, is no longer to be considered as a private matter, known but not publicly acknowledged as a social problem; is a bolt on civilized society.

The Centre for Equity and Inclusion (CEQUIN) at present is working on gender issues, with special focus on gendered violence and violations in the public space. CEQUIN has launched a campaign to 'Make Delhi Safe for Women'. In the absence of relevant data and studies on which to base advocacy, as also to provide a sharper focus and direction to the campaign, CEQUIN felt the need for a baseline study to explore the nature and dimensions of gendered violence in public spaces of the national capital Delhi.

1.2 Aim

The aim of this initiative was to conduct a survey in Delhi for understanding the perception and experience about nature and frequency of violation against girls and women across the socio economic sections and to offer a fact sheet for measuring the impact of the campaign at a later stage.

1.3 Objectives

The main objectives of the survey were as follows:

- 1) Identifying the perception of women about
 - a. the most vulnerable age groups and class and the reasons thereof
 - b. the most unsafe public spaces in Delhi and the reasons thereof
 - c. the most 'unsafe' public location in Delhi and the reasons thereof
 - d. the most 'unsafe' and time of the day/night and the reasons thereof
- 2) Identifying the different forms of unacceptable violations (verbal/visual/physical)
- 3) Identifying the types of violations experienced by women in public places in Delhi
- 4) Identifying the reaction to such violations or steps taken up by women and the response received (protesting / complaining about violation in public spaces and the response/support received)
- 5) Understanding the determining factors and the perceived impact or consequences of such violations on mobility and access (education, work, markets, health care, leisure)

1.4 Approach

In line with above objectives CMS Communication Team had adopted a special data collection methodology that combines the face-to-face quantitative interview with qualitative group discussions and in-depth interviews among the identified women respondents in Delhi. This study has used a broad definition of harassment¹ against women, which takes into account verbal, physical and sexual abuses, sexual harassment and street crime against women.

Apart from the quantitative survey a few focus group discussions among the girls and boys were conducted to elicit information on 1) Perception about 'mindset' of abuser, 2) Perception about the triggers for such violations, 3) Influence of family norms and peers on their behaviours. This was done to help CEQUIN design a strategic focused campaign which would have a broader impact.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Scope and Location

The survey was conducted in the city of Delhi (New Delhi and Old Delhi). The locations comprising slums, school, college, metro station, bus stand, market place besides residential colonies were strategically chosen to ensure geographical spread and to contact the desired respondent category. The focus group discussions were also held in some of the select locations within Delhi.

1.5.2 Respondent Categories

As identified by CEQUIN the respondents for this survey are women between the age of 12 and 55 years, covering all the socio economic classes (because violation is not restricted to any class and also the target audience of the mass media campaign cannot be restricted to any such class). Further since the campaign is targeted towards both men and women CMS suggested contacting groups of men for the purpose.

In order to have specific answers to the research questions from different groups and age of respondents two stage stratified random sampling method was undertaken. Stratification criteria were age group and socio economic class.

According to age group the categories are:

- 1. Girls in their teens:** Age group 12-19 (mostly unmarried, students)

¹ 'Harassment' need not be always physical. It implies threats of physical violence or gestures, verbal abuses, harassment, making girls/women uncomfortable, entertain fear and feel generally unsafe or intimidated.

2. Youth: Age group 20-30 (married, unmarried)

3. Adult : Age group above 30 (Mostly married women, parents of girls)

1.5.3 Sample Design

In order to have a statistically logical number and response from the desired classes of respondents CMS proposed the following sample design. This sample will yield an error of $\pm 3.9\%$ at 95 % significance level which is quite good in view of the objectives of the survey.

Table 1: Sample

Age groups	Total
12-19 years	210
20-30 years	210
More than 30 years	210
Total	630

1.5.4 Qualitative Survey

The research team conducted five (5) Focused Group Discussions (FDG) among men and 10 In-depth Interviews (IDI) with working women in different locations of Delhi. The findings from the discussions were to supplement the quantitative data and also to have an in-depth understanding of relevant issues of the study.

1.6 Research Tools

For the quantitative survey protocol was designed in English and translated into Hindi. The survey instrument had both open and closed-ended pre-coded questions. This was to assure consistency in responses. The tools were shared with CEQUIN, further fine tuned, exposed among the investigators, *pre-tested* and then modified further based on findings from the field. Data was gathered on the following indicators:

- Background characteristics: Questions on age, marital status, education, employment status, religion, and ethnic group
- Experience and perception of violations
- Perceptions about unsafe spaces/times
- Reactions to and impact of personal experience
- Response /support received

A separate guideline for FGD and IDI was also developed in English and has been translated into Hindi.

1.7 Field and Training

The survey was conducted between July 25 and August 7, 2009, on a representative sample of 630 women aged 12 and above, living in Delhi. The survey was conducted by experienced researchers, moderators, field supervisors and investigators. The field team was trained for two days detailing out the purpose of the study, respondent identification and selection, major areas of probe, probing methods, coding and confidentiality of information gathered. While the group of supervisors and investigators conducted the quantitative survey, the researchers and trained moderators undertook the discussions. Focus group discussions were arranged in different locations of Delhi with different group of men ranging from students to professionals, from slums to upper middle class. The FGDs and IDIs with working women were held in August and September, according to the availability of the participants.

1.8 This Report

This report presents the results of one of the first surveys on perception and experience of violence against women in public places in the city of Delhi. The first chapter details the background of the study and the methodology of the survey. The second chapter reports on the background of the respondents of the survey. The third chapter deals with the perception of the respondents about gendered violence in the public places in Delhi. The fourth chapter documents the experience violations as reported by the respondents. The fifth and the final chapter summarize the study findings.

The individual sections of the tool were analyzed along the parameters of age, education and reported socio- economic category (SEC) of the respondents. The results from these analyses are reported in the figures and tables wherever applicable. Significant differences along these parameters are also presented in the text. The findings from the in-depth discussions and group discussions have been manually analyzed and put up in relevant portions of the report. Verbatim quotes have also been used to support the text.

Chapter II- Demographic Profile of Respondents

This chapter discusses the background characteristics of the respondents selected for the study.

2.1 Sample Background Characteristics

The tool included the following background characteristics:

- Age
- Level of Education
- Marital status
- Occupation
- Religion
- Ethnic group
- Monthly income (Both household & Individual)

Age: As discussed in the previous chapter, the respondents for the survey were women between the ages of 12 and 55. Respondents were asked to report on their age in years. The continuous variable pertaining to age was recoded into 3 categories: 12–19, 20-30, and 30-55. This was done purposely to bring in the perspective from unmarried girls, married women and parents. Table 2 below provides information on the age distribution of respondents. As can be seen, age wise the respondents were almost equally distributed.

Table 2: Age Distributions of Respondents

Over all (N=632)	%
12-19 years	33.5
20-30 years	38.9
More than 30 years	27.5

Level of Education: Educational level recorded in this report is based on self-reported literacy level of the respondents. Respondents were asked to report the highest class they had completed. Based on their responses, the following Table indicates that more than 80 percent of the respondents have been educated above middle level.

Table 3: Educational Level of Respondents

	%
Literate up to middle	12.5
Above middle Level	82.1
Read only	0.3
Read and write both	0.6
Illiterate	4.4

The educational status of the respondent is very important because it enables them to make crucial decisions, react in a certain way and to seek information related to their protection and security. Further with varying degrees of education the articulation of their perception also varies.

Marital Status: The respondents were asked to report on their current marital status at the time of the survey. The information on marital status was coded for analysis purposes as follows: married, unmarried, single (Chosen not to marry), widow, divorced and separated.

Table 4: Marital Status of Respondents by State

	%		%
Married	48.4	Widow	1.3
Unmarried	48.7	Divorced	0.9
Single	0.2	Separated	0.5

The proportion of married and unmarried respondents was almost equal (48 percent). The study team also could randomly select a few single, widowed and divorced women for the study.

Table 5: Religion and Ethnic Group

Religion	
Hindu	65.0
Muslim	24.2
Sikh	9.7
Christian	1.1

Religion and ethnic group: Majority of our respondents were Hindus followed by Muslims. Around 10 percent were Sikh.

Table 6: Occupation

Occupation	%
Student	35
Housewife	30
Salaried	21
Wage Labourer	8
Unemployed	4
Self Employed	2
Other small trade	1

Occupation: As can be seen from Table 6, around one third of our respondents were students, and most of the others were housewives or employed.

It can be concluded that the respondents were equally distributed by age and marital status and were mostly educated. While the study ensured representation from major religious groups interestingly the study also covered almost equal percentage of women from different occupation of students, housewife and working class.

Chapter III- Perception

This chapter collates the findings from the survey pertaining to the perception of the respondents on what is ‘unsafe’. Apart from understanding their perception about unsafe places, times, locations, mode of transport and vulnerable age or class in Delhi, the respondents were also probed to elicit their understanding of gestures which are ‘sexually offensive’. A set of questions were included in the survey to understand the perception of women on ‘ideal reaction to such violations in a public place’, ‘what triggers men to harass women’, ways to reduce such incidence and the impact of such violations on women. The localities of Delhi considered to be ‘unsafe’ has been mapped and reason for such perception is documented as well. The findings from the FGDs and IDIs on relevant topics are also presented in the chapter.

3.1 Why are Women Vulnerable?

Table 7: Reasons for Considering Women to be Vulnerable

N=632	%
Women are physically weak	19.4
Women are dependent	40.4
They don't have voice to protest	1.8
Women are afraid of being slandered	0.3
Men take women as objects of entertainment	0.6
Because of their dressing	0.5
Because of their illiteracy	0.2
As boys influenced by films act abnormal	0.2
Don't know / Cant say	19.4

Around 40 percent of women in Delhi felt that women are vulnerable because of their ‘dependant’ status. While 19 percent felt the physical structure of women make them vulnerable, only 2 percent felt that women do not have a voice to protest. Only 0.5 percent of woman thought that their way of dressing made them vulnerable.

“Women are vulnerable because of the way they have been brought up, or their mindset has developed in a particular way. They have been told that do not oppose, always ignore such a situation. So in most of the cases girls keep quiet and become more vulnerable to such harassment, as boys feel that they can do anything and the girl will never oppose”....Group of Professionals

3.2 Vulnerable Age Group & Status

Table 8: Vulnerable Age & Status

Age	%	Status	%
Less than 10 years	2.8	Married	2.1
11-16	25.6	Unmarried	54.9
17-25	30.4	Single	2.8
More than 25	4.6	Widowed	3.3
All age group	36.6	Divorced	1.1
Don't Know	0	All types	35.8

It is interesting to notice that more than one third of the respondents felt that there is no particular age or type of women who is more vulnerable to physical or sexual harassment in Delhi. While the highest percentage of vulnerability was noted in the 17 to 25 age group, nearly 26 percent was noted in the younger age group of 11 to 16. About 55 percent of

respondents felt that unmarried women are the most vulnerable group as compared to other categories.

The reasons of vulnerability for different age group of women as perceived by the respondents have been presented in the Table below. More than 60 percent of the respondents felt that girls less than 10 years are most vulnerable. They also said that women in the age group of 17-25 have to go out more often for either study or work and they are vulnerable because they are afraid of protesting. Further, those who said that women of all age group are vulnerable, one-third of them felt that 'to be a woman is enough' for being vulnerable to physical and sexual harassment in public places.

Table 9: Reasons Cited for Age Wise Vulnerability

	<10	11-16	17-25	25+	All age group	Total
Men enjoy harassing them		2.5	3.1		9.5	5.1
As they are physically weak		9.9	4.2	20.7	16.0	10.6
As they need to go out for work and study		11.7	21.4	13.8	1.3	10.6
Women are timid	16.7	3.7	4.7	6.9	7.8	6.0
Being young are afraid of protesting	5.6	22.8	26.6	27.6	14.7	20.7
Girls of 17-25 are outspoken (chulbuli jawan)	5.6	13.6	24.5	10.3	2.2	12.3
To be a women is enough		1.9	2.1	3.4	33.8	13.6
Because they do not protest	11.1	3.1	2.1	10.3	11.7	6.5
They wear sexy clothes		0.6	3.6	3.4	1.3	1.9
They easily fall prey to men's trap	61.1	32.7	7.3	3.4	3.0	13.6
Don't Know/Can't say		1.9	2.1		1.3	1.6

As presented in the Table below the respondents felt that 'men knowingly harass women', it does not make any difference whether the woman is married or single. More than one-fourth felt that being women is enough.

Table 10: Why do you say Marital Status is a Factor?

	Married	Unmarried	Single	Widowed	Divorced	All	Total
Unmarried girls are cheerful, so attract men		20.2		4.8		0.4	11.4
Men deliberately target single women	30.8	22.5	50.0	57.1	71.4	4.0	18.5
They are attractive		22.5				2.2	13.1
Being women is enough	15.4	4.6	11.1	4.8		68.1	27.7
They cannot protest	7.7	6.6	16.7	9.5	14.3	8.8	7.9
Do not protest in fear of disgrace	38.5	8.1		23.8	14.3	1.8	6.8
Physical appearance is seen not 'sindoor'		1.4				5.3	2.7
Women are scared		1.7				0.4	1.1
Drunk hooligans harass all kinds of women		0.6	5.6			4.4	2.1
Their clothes are not decent		4.3				0.9	2.7
They frequently go out for studies and work	15.4	9.2	5.6	4.8		3.1	6.8
Don't Know/Can't say			11.1			0.4	0.5

“I don’t think so, koi koi boltey hai ki dress provokes them but I don’t agree. Agar ye sach hota to choti si bachchi ke sath ya elderly lady ke sath kyu hota? Age bhi kuch factor nehi hai, kisi bhi age ki larki ke sath ye ho sakta. Aur marital status bhi matter nehi karta”.IDI Working Women

Interestingly, the respondents had different opinion to offer about women from different categories. For unmarried girls, the respondents felt that being ‘attractive’ and ‘cheerful’

they attract men. For single, widowed and divorced women, respondents felt that ‘single’ women are always more prone to harassment.

3.3 Vulnerable Economic Class

Table 11: Vulnerable Class

	%
Poor	30.5
Middle	27.4
Upper Middle	1.3
Upper	5.9
All Class	34.2
Don't know	0.8

Similar to the above findings around 34 percent of respondents felt that there is no special economic class which has the privilege of not being harassed in public. Further, a little less than one third of the respondents felt that women of poor class are more vulnerable. About 6 percent felt that women from the upper class or rich are vulnerable too.

Table 12: Why do you say Socio-economic Status is a Factor?

	Poor	Middle	Upper middle	Upper	All Class	Total
Women are timid	17.1	12.7			11.6	12.8
Women come out of house in search of work	37.8	50.9	37.5	2.7	4.6	27.9
Women are physically weak	2.6	1.2			2.8	2.1
Their stylish dress, makeup and hairdo	1.6	6.9	50.0	81.1	1.9	8.5
Being women and beautiful is enough	1.6	1.2		2.7	64.4	23.1
Do not protest in fear of disgrace	2.1	22.0			7.9	9.4
Being illiterate are scared to protest	37.3	5.8	12.5		2.8	14.2
They party late night		1.2		10.8		1.0
Because men are not afraid of anything	1.6	0.6		2.7	3.7	2.1
DK/CS					0.9	0.3

The respondents felt that poor women are more vulnerable as they have to come out of home in search of work and because of being illiterate, they are scared to protest. For middle class women, the reason, apart from coming out for work was that they do not protest in fear of disgrace.

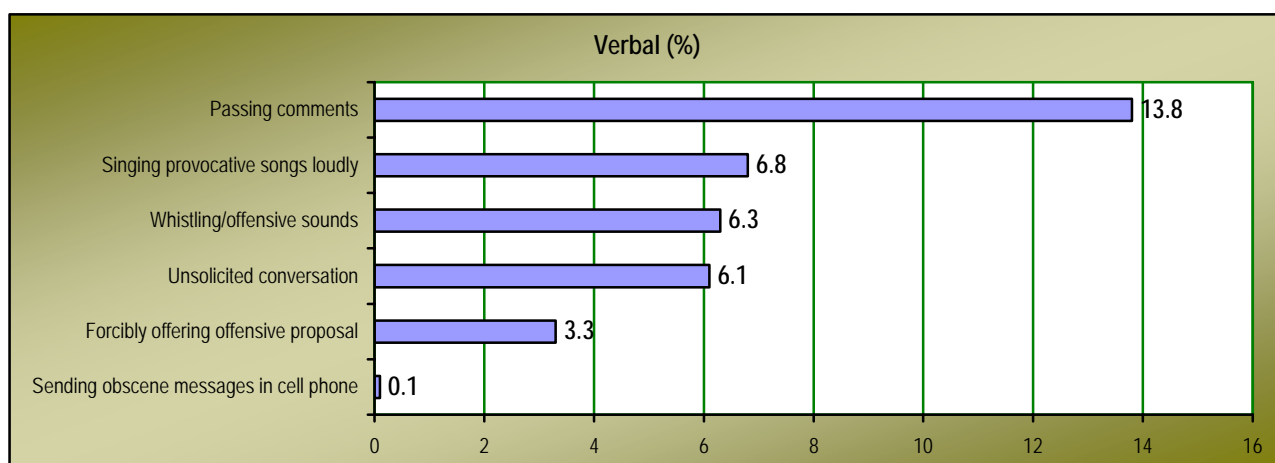
Further the respondents felt that women from upper class are vulnerable to harassment in public place because of their hairdo, style and dressing. Quite similar to the previous responses, respondents who felt that all women are vulnerable said that being a woman and being ‘attractive’ is a reason sufficient to become a prey to sexual harassment in public place.

The other reasons like weak physical strength, timid in behaviour and men are not afraid of anything were also listed down.

3.4 Gestures Considered as Sexually Offensive

The study attempted to establish the perception of ‘what act in public do women of Delhi consider to be sexually offensive’. A list of actions was categorized under verbal, visual and physical. The actions were **not prompted** to the respondents.

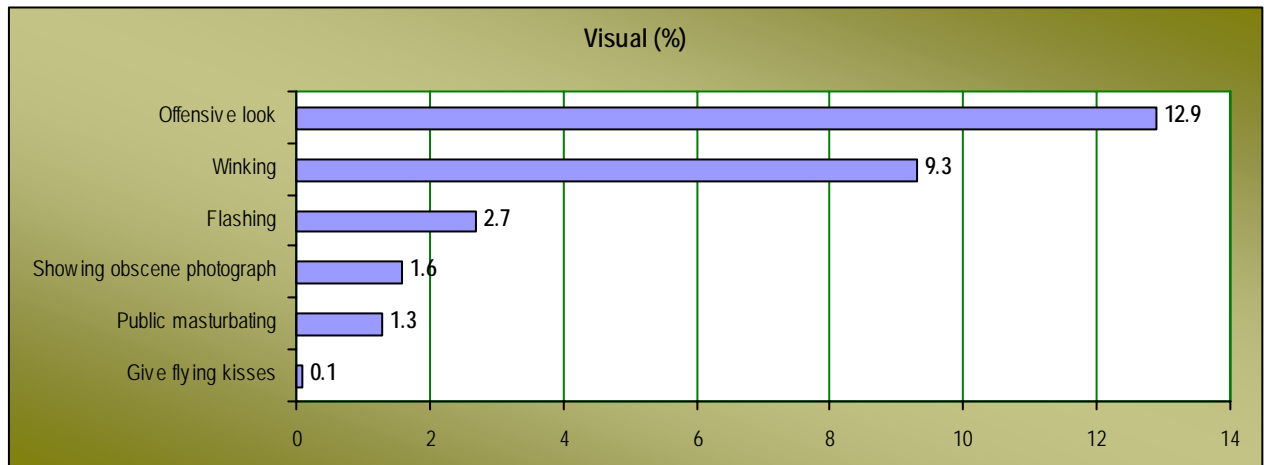
Figure 1: Verbal Gestures Considered as Offensive



As can be seen from the figure above, among the verbal gestures of offense, passing comments, singing provocative songs, whistling and making offensive sounds and coming for unsolicited conversation in public place were all found to be sexually offensive by the respondents.

Among the visual gestures about 13 percent reported offensives look or winking as a form of harassment in public places. Few respondents also reported that flashing and masturbating in public area are sexually offensive. (See figure 2)

Figure 2: Visual Gestures Considered as Offensive

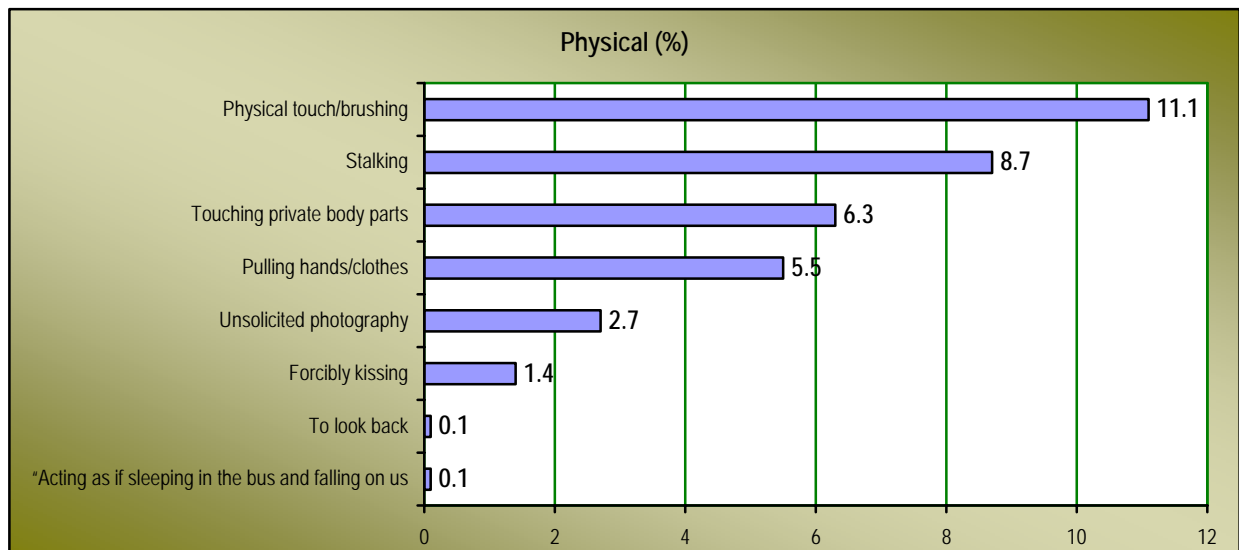


“Men pretend as if they are sleeping in the bus seat and continuously keep falling on the woman sitting beside”... Female respondent

Among the physical acts, 11 percent considered physical touch or even brushing against body to be offensive. Stalking, touching private parts in public areas, pulling clothes and hands are also considered offensive. The respondents also pointed out that taking unsolicited photographs

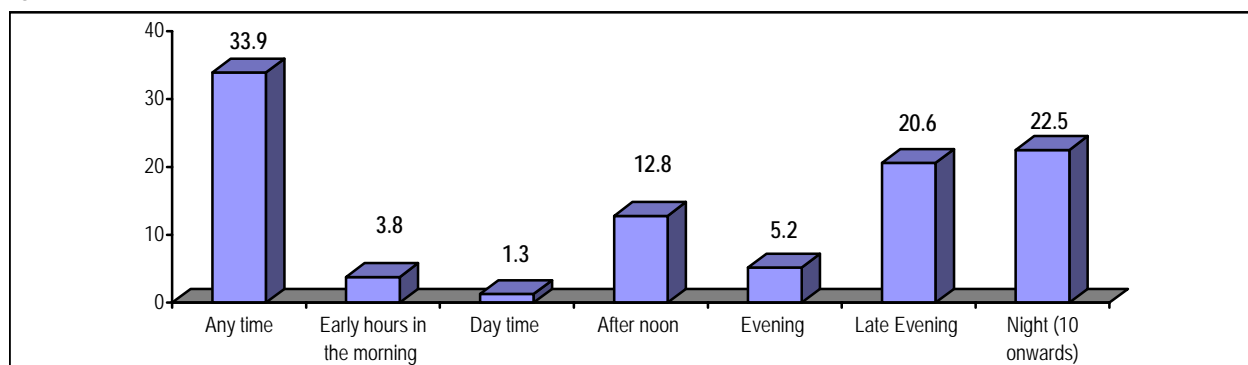
by mobile is also considered by them as harassment in public place.

Figure 3: Physical Gestures Considered as Offensive



3.5 Unsafe Time

Figure 4: Unsafe Time for Women



One third of the respondents reported that no particular time in the day or night can be considered to be safe for women. It is generally ‘unsafe’ but ‘risky’ too at night. Late evening and night were considered risky by more than one fifth of the respondents.

The respondents gave reasons for considering a particular time of the day or night to be vulnerable. Majority spoke about deserted roads and lanes at a particular time, drunken men harassing during night, while some felt that the abuser does not care whether it is day or night.

“My workplace is far from my house. It is very difficult for me to commute. Yesterday I could not get an auto so I called a cab and you know, after incidents like Saumya Viswanathan, cabs are not very safe. Delhi has a negative reputation on safety of girls. So after coming to Delhi, my parents are not only concerned about whether I am able to settle in Delhi but also my about my safety. I haven’t had any horrible experience, but still Delhi is not safe after 9pm and Noida after 6 pm”....IDI Working Women

Table 13: Why do you say so – Time of the Day?

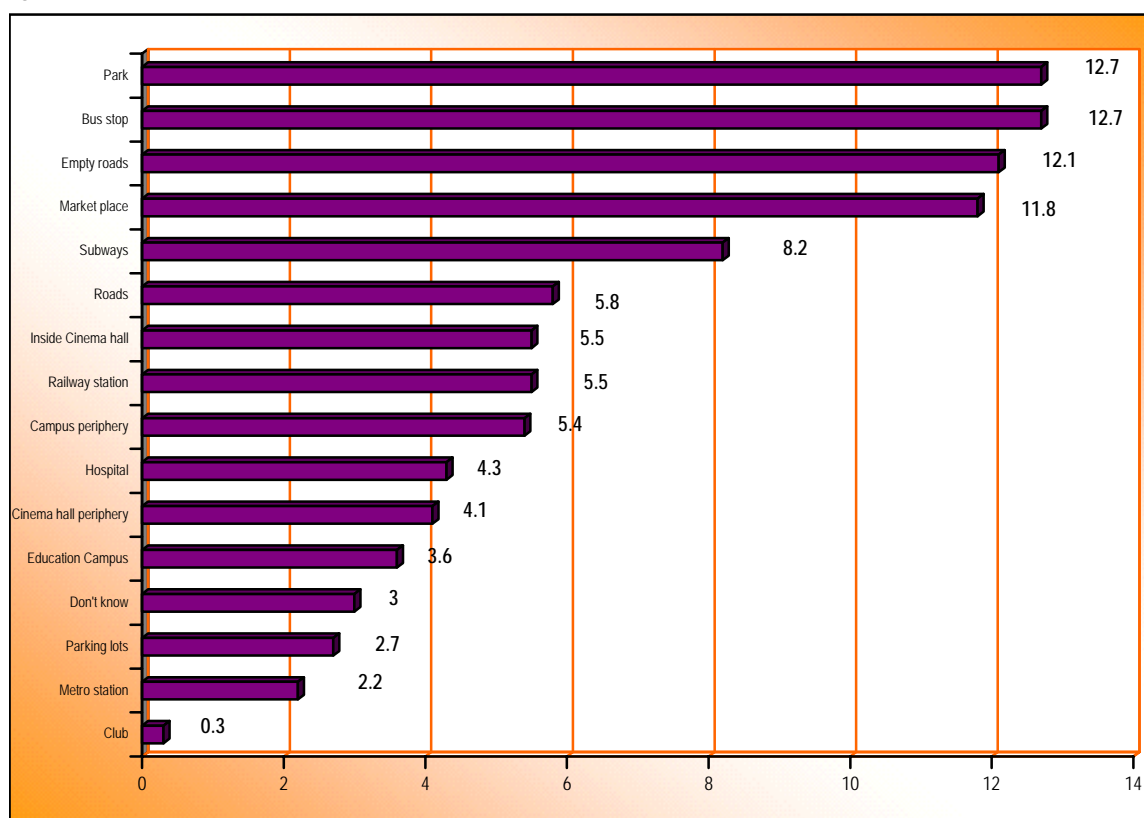
	Any time	Early morning hrs	Day time	Afternoon (12 - 3 pm)	Evening (4-6 pm)	Late Evening (7 -9 pm)	Night (>10pm)	Total
Drunk men harass women in late evening	1.4	4.2	12.5	1.2	21.2	43.8	12.0	13.8
Do not have much support to protest	3.3	20.8		8.6	30.3	25.4	27.5	16.0
Most of the lanes and by lanes are deserted	1.9	37.5	62.5	81.5	21.2	17.7	57.0	30.9
The abuser does not care if it is night or day	88.3		12.5	2.5		3.1	1.4	31.3
There is no security	2.8					0.8	2.1	1.6
Very crowded buses and roads	0.9	62.5	12.5	8.6	36.4	11.5	2.1	8.7
Don't know/Cant say	1.4							0.5

3.6 Three Most Unsafe Places

The respondents were asked to identify three most unsafe places in Delhi. Accordingly, 12.7 percent ranked park and bus stops to be the most unsafe place for women. The second one is empty roads (12.1 %) followed by market place (11.8%) and subways (8.2%). The reasons for considering the following public places unsafe for women are presented in the Table below.

While the respondents identified the crowded places like bus stops, metro stations, market places to be unsafe they also identified parking lots, subways and streets to be unsafe as these places are deserted. They specifically pointed out that men wait in the car and look for opportunities to harass women in the parking lots.

Figure 5: Unsafe Places for Women



For education campuses and surroundings, women reported that the hooligans roam around these places and harass women.

“Seeing a single girl boys feel that she has come for me”...Female Respondent

It is interesting to note the reasons provided by the respondents for the places being unsafe for women in Delhi. While around 28 percent indicated crowded places like bus stop, railway station, metro and market, nearly one fourth of them indicated deserted places and hooligans roaming around. Around 11 percent pointed out that, poor lighting conditions make the place quite unsafe for women. In case of hospitals, respondents reported about staff misbehaving with women and harassing them. However, although this is pointing towards the need of a critical role to be played by the police, it is also incumbent on other agencies like transporters, academic institutions, municipalities, resident and market associations to take a proactive role in ensuring the safety of women.

Table 14: Why do you say so –unsafe Public Places?

	Roads	Empty roads	Bus stop	Railway station	Metro station	Market place	Inside Cinema hall	Cinema hall periphery	Education Campus	Campus periphery	Parking lots	Subways	Park	Hospital	Club	Total
Crowded	10.9		63.8	66.7	81.0	84.4	17.1	15.4	8.8	9.7		1.3		18.5	50.0	28.5
Dark	8.2	16.5	4.2	2.9			59.0	26.9			5.9	32.3	4.6	4.9		11.5
Deserted	39.1	73.9	6.3	1.0				3.8	17.6	3.9	45.1	60.0	24.9	11.1		23.5
Hooligans wait in the car and look for opportunities	2.7	0.4						1.3		2.9	25.5		0.4			1.2
No security arrangement	13.6	4.8	7.9	12.4	4.8	7.1	3.8	10.3	7.4	7.8	3.9	3.2	11.6	6.2		7.7
Hooligans roam around	22.7	5.7	16.7	17.1	11.9	7.6	20.0	39.7	64.7	73.8	17.6	4.5	51.5	8.6		23.8
Men comment when one is exercising													4.6			0.6
Click photographs by mobile phone			0.8			0.4		1.3								0.2
Shopkeepers harass						0.4										0.1
Hospital staff harass women after misleading them										1.9				50.6		2.3
Men harass women in the name of friendship									1.5						50.0	0.2
Seeing a single girl boys feel that 'she has come for me'	3.6	1.7	1.7		2.4	0.4		1.3			2.0	1.3	3.3			1.4

The male participants of the group discussion also pointed out that women in crowded places are the soft targets of men, and give ample opportunities for harassing.

- “In a very crowded space like bus it happens more frequently. That is because they can easily slip away from that crowd, and nobody bothers.” ...Student, Delhi University
- At public places such as metro station, railway station or bus stop, there is a feeling that ‘nobody knows me so I can easily take advantage. “Unko lagta hai ki na humein koi janta hai na hum kisi ko, usmein darr nahin rehta.”... Students, Chandni Chowk
- Either they harass in crowded places or harass a single woman when the boys are in a group. Or even in a park when she is alone and a group of boys are sitting. “Ek bhir me jada kartey hai jaise

bus me, ya to group me kuch larke hai aur lerki akeli ja rehi hai. Park me kuch larke group me baithe hai aur udhar koi larki aa gayi tab karte hai”....Male Group, Sangam Vihar

3.7 Unsafe Mode of Transport

While 82 percent of women felt that bus is the most unsafe mode of transport in Delhi, another 12 percent of them felt that auto rickshaws are also equally unsafe.

Figure 6: Unsafe Mode of Transport for Women

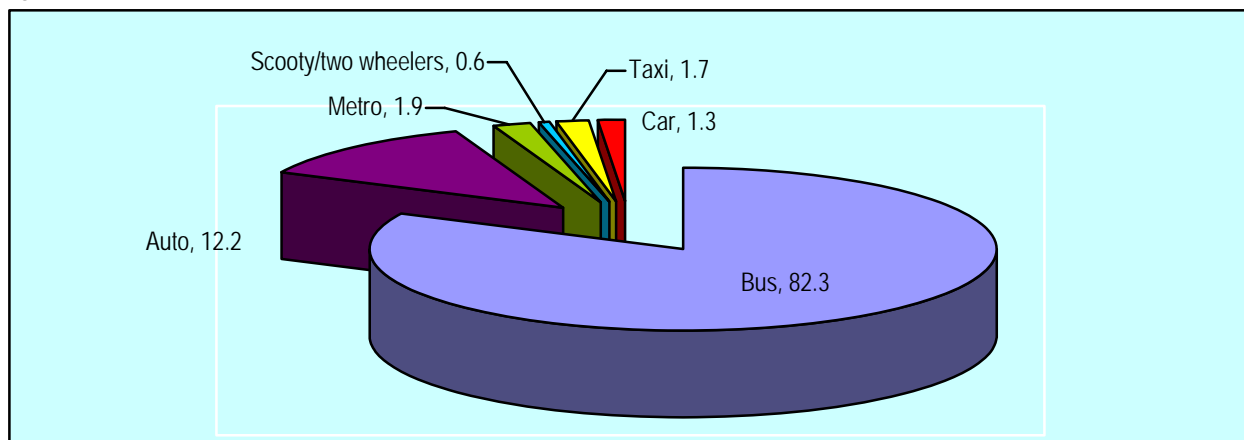


Table 15: Why do you say so – Mode of Transport?

	Bus	Auto	Metro	Two wheelers	Taxi	Car	Total
Buses are crowded	93.1		100.0				78.5
Bikers offer lifts and pass comments		7.8		50.0			1.3
Drivers looks through the rear view mirror		74.0			27.3		9.5
Harassed while boarding or getting off	10.4						8.5
Pass comments while driving slowly along the footpath				25.0	54.5	37.5	1.6
Bikers stalk single women in auto		1.3					0.2
People with cars offer lift and pester women		1.3		25.0		62.5	1.1
Conductors harass women	9.0						7.4
Easy to harass women alone	2.5	15.6			18.2		4.3

The reasons for identifying these places as ‘unsafe’ are presented in the Table above. Although it is understood that crowded buses are most risky place for women to be harassed, walking in the street or riding in an auto is not considered completely safe either. The types of harassment faced by the women in these modes are worth noting.

3.8 Unsafe Localities in Delhi

The study attempted to identify three locations in Delhi which the respondents felt were unsafe. The respondents identified three most unsafe places which they frequent or the locations that they are familiar with. Interestingly the list of unsafe locations reached more than two hundred. The survey threw up high number of incidences in Chandni Chowk and Connaught Place,

followed by Seelampur, Sadar Bazaar, Sangam Vihar, Karol Bagh, Mangol Puri, Rohini Call Center and several other places identified by the respondents. The reasons for these locations being unsafe are also listed below.

Table 16: Reasons for Considering a Place to be Unsafe

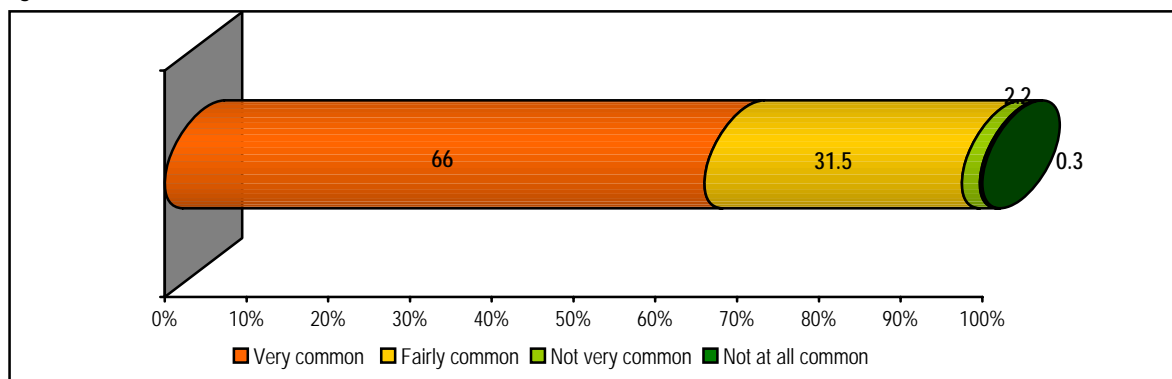
	%
Crowded	34.2
Hooligans roam around and pass comments	30.7
Deserted	14.7
Lack of police security	8.7
Dark	3.9
Hooligans wait in the car and look for opportunities	3.1
Illiterate boys of some community or caste roam around	3.2
Students have political support	0.5
Hospital staff harass women	0.4
Try to start of a dialogue forcibly	0.4
Click photographs by mobile	0.2

The reasons for considering a location in Delhi unsafe are being listed in the Table. It is noted that a location which has no security system or policing, be it crowded or deserted is considered as unsafe by women. Further education campuses are considered unsafe as the abusers are able to get away after

harassing, because of their political clout. However identifying a locality to be unsafe because of a particular community needs more in-depth understanding of the problem in that area.

3.9 How Common is Sexual Harassment in Delhi?

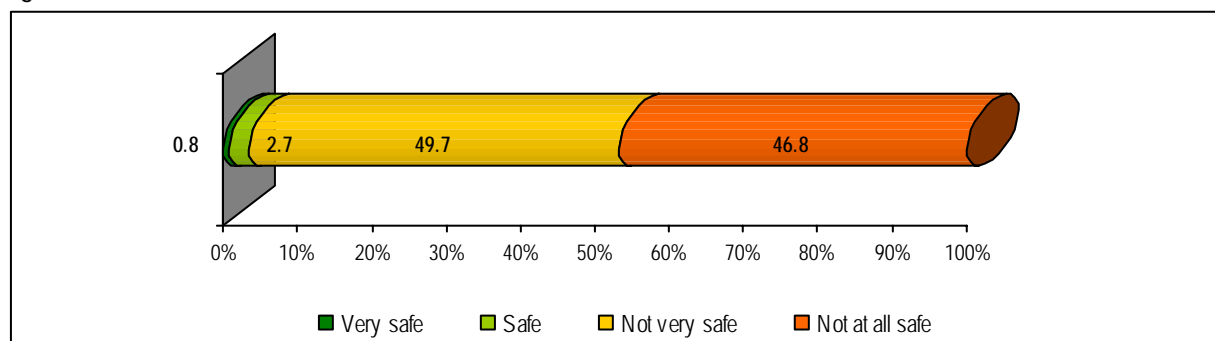
Figure 7: Sexual Harassment in Delhi



As can be noticed from the graph above about 97 percent of women respondents in Delhi are of the opinion that sexual harassment of women in Delhi is fairly common.

3.10 How Safe Are Women in Public Places in Delhi

Figure 8: Delhi Not Safe



As can be noticed from the graph above about 96 percent of the respondents are of the opinion that women in Delhi are not very safe.

3.11 Support Received from Public After an Act of Violation in Public Place

Around 88 percent of the respondents of the survey were of the opinion that when a woman is harassed in a public place she rarely or never gets any help from the public who are present in the site.

Table 17: Support Received?

	%
Yes	11.6
No	40.7
Rarely	47.0
Don't know	0.8

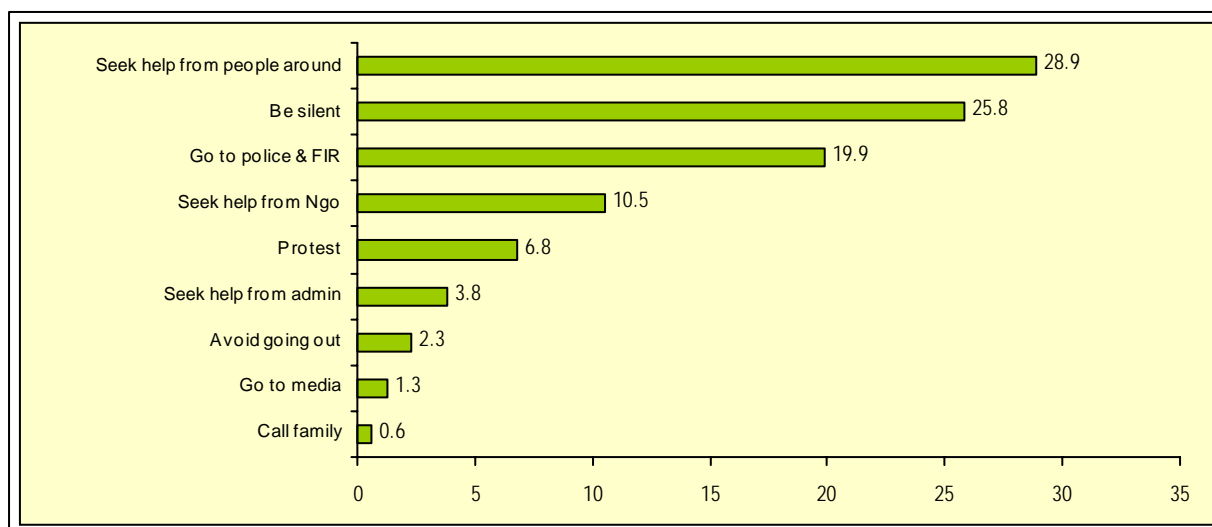
The group discussion with the male groups also supplemented the findings from the quantitative survey. They said that nobody is concerned about what is happening around and people in Delhi tend to ignore and avoid any problem on the road. Rather than helping the girl out who has been harassed, people often comment on the girl for wearing provocative dresses.

- One should ask for help from people surrounding “Ass pass ke log ko bolna chahiye madat karne ke liye”... Male Group, Sangam Vihar
- “...Another thing is resistance. If some one is harassed, the resistance to such act is not that much prominent among the other people that motivate them to stand in favour of that girl”... Students, Delhi University
- “Two or three days back two girls were moving around with two guys, just near by a departmental shop. Four of them went into that store and other two guys followed them. One of them really hit

her on the hip and went away. But no one said anything to him. *Ulta usi lerki ko bol rehe the ki tum aise kapre kyu pahen ke ati ho?*” they instead, commented on her clothes... Students, Delhi University

3.12 Ideal Reaction to Such Violations

Figure 9: Ideal Reaction to any Violations



As can be noticed from the graph above, around 30 percent of the respondents suggested that in case of such violations in the public place a woman should immediately seek help from others. This response is despite the fact that they reportedly said that no one ever comes to help a woman when she is assaulted in public places. Further another 26 percent suggested that one should remain silent. Only one fifth of the respondents were of the opinion that one should go to the police and report against such violations in public places.

The male groups suggested that the women should not be afraid and should oppose any such act in public. They argued that unless she protests, the men will advance more and would think that the women have forgiven them for their act. However, there were some negative deviants who felt that girls should stop moving in public places with their boy friends because such acts make ‘other guys’ jealous. The actual quotes are as below.

- Women should not be afraid, they should resist. “*Lerkio ko darna nehi chahiye unko aapni sursksha khud hi karna chahiye, unko oppose karna chahiye.*” Male group, Sangam Vihar
- They should call on the helpline. “*Mahilao ka jo help line hai usme phone kar saktey hai .. har bus me likha rehta hai.*” Male group, Sangam Vihar

- If the girl does not oppose, men will presume she is allowing them. *“Lerki agar oppose na kare to lerke log aur bhi agaey bar jate hai. Wo log sochthey hai ki lerki chhut de rehi hai.”* Male group, Sangam Vihar
- Girls should not go out with their boyfriends since it makes other boys jealous. *“Lerki agar boy friend ke saath ghumti hai to dusre larkey ko usko dekh ke jalan sa hota hai. Wo chirna suru kar deta hai. Isi liye lerkio ko zada boy friend ke saath ghumna nehi chahiye.”* Male group, Sangam Vihar

Table 18: Perception: Why Not to Police?

	%
There is no investigation, only ask irrelevant question	29.9
Police ask for bribe	14.1
Have no faith on police	9.1
Police are good for nothing	9.1
Am scared of police	9.1
Police look down upon women who complain	7.5
Police interrogation is time pass	6.6
Police themselves harass	5.7
We fear disgrace	4.3
Police publicize case in media	2
Police do not behave properly	1.8
If complain to police, 70 % boys will be in jail	0.9

“If we start complaining to police against them, 70 percent of Delhi boys will be in Jail.”...Female Respondent

Among those who did not consider ‘going to police’ as an option of reacting, were asked about the reasons for saying so. While around 30 percent felt that police would

never investigate but ask irrelevant questions, around 14 percent felt they would ask for bribe.

- *“What would Police do? They are most corrupt. Even if you are wrong they will take money from you and leave you. We do not have any hope that the police, will ever act. They need to become aware and need to act.”... Student Delhi University*

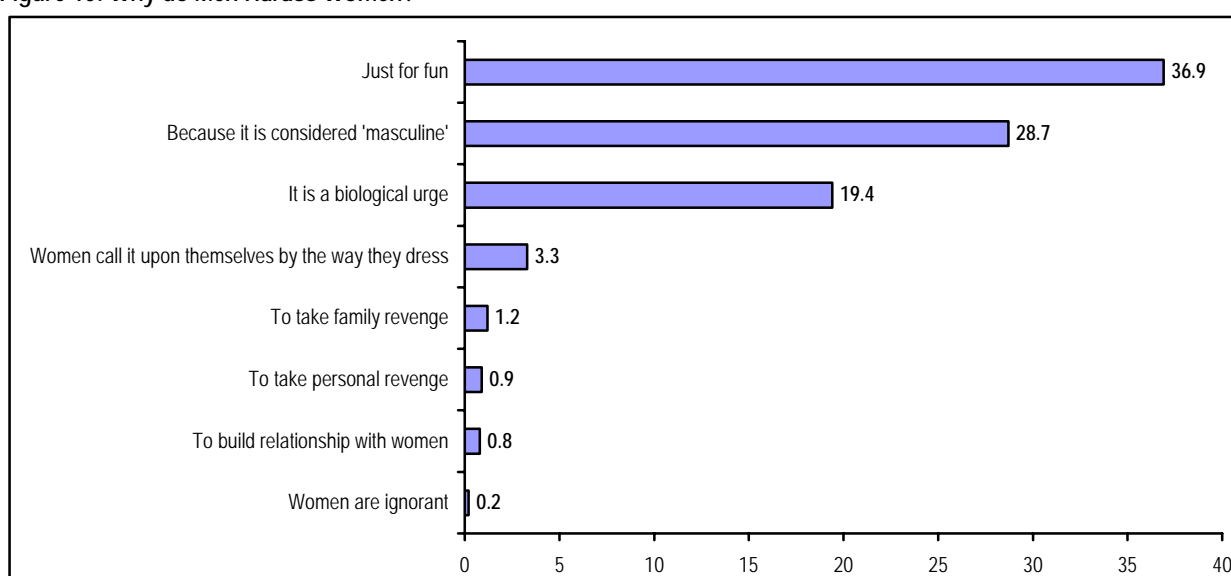
The reasons like ‘police will harass more’; ‘they look down upon women who complain’ or that police will flash it in media bringing about more embarrassment, were common. The findings from the male group discussions were quite similar. They equally felt that women keep quiet as they fear disgrace and harassment from the police. They added that this actually gives opportunity to men, who being sure that the woman will not complain, would keep harassing them. They also felt that even if the police arrests some, these people have political and police connections and easily come out of custody.

- *“Lerkiya bhi badnamike dar se police ke pass nehi jati. Chup chap sahen kar leti hai, kyuki police ke pass agar gaye to purey samaj ke log jaan jainge, samaj me uski badnami hogi. Isi liye wo police ke chakkar me nehi parna chahti, aur lerko ko auyr bhi mauke mil jatey hai. Ye kuch nehi karne wali, chalo usko chhero”.... Male Group, Sangam Vihar*

- *“Nehi lekin kuch din pahale Delhi police ne ek admi ke pith ke upar likh diya ki mai lerkio ko cherta hu.- to ye saza to suna. Jab logo ko police isi karan pakartey hai un logo ka political ya police ke saath kuch na kuch link rehta hai. Unko badme chhor dete hai”... Student, Delhi University*
- *“Kanun hai lekin punishment dene wala to honest nehi hota, pakarke le jayenge lekin adhey rastey pe are kuch paisa leke usko chor dega. Aajkal murder karne wala ko kuch nehi kartey to is type ka case ka kya karega. Fir kabhi kabhi in logoka political ya financial power zada hone ki wajey se wo log kuch bhi karsakte hai”... Group of Male Professionals*

3.13 Why Men Harass Women?

Figure 10: Why do Men Harass Women?



More than one third of the respondents perceived that men harass women ‘just for fun’. While more than one fourth felt that they do it ‘assert their masculinity’, a little less than one-fifth said it is for satisfying their ‘biological’ urge.

The focus group discussion among men also brought out that boys and men harass girls and women for ‘fun’, more like a time pass for people who have nothing to do. Few argued that some men have a mindset and they will do it come what may while a majority felt that men harass women because ‘women wear short provocative dresses’.

“It is a metropolitan city so women must have right to go out any time. And they should wear any dress, which is comfortable for them. I don’t feel that women invite those things by

wearing provocative dress. And in most of the cases it happens when girls are usually in decent dress. In bus and metros usually the women are in salwar kurta or jeans kurta. But still they are molested.”...IDI, working women

- *“If women are wearing short clothes men get attracted ‘dimag ghoom jata hai’ so they harass such women”...Students, Chandni Chowk*
- Some people have the habit of harassing women, some do it in the bus stand, some on road, and they harass women knowingly. But there are flaws of women too, specially in terms of dress, some wear miniskirts, someone’s dress is open, these increase the attraction of men towards a woman, even if he does not want to, he ends up harassing. *“Dekhiye kuch larke hote hai jiski adat hi hota hai lerkio ko chherna, koi bus stand pe khare hai koi rastey pe khare hai aur lerkio ko ajan bujh ke chertey hai... aur kuch kami lerkio me bhi hota hai. specially dress...kisika mini skirt hai, kisi ka open hai, isi se larko ka attraction barta hai. Ye sab karne ka wo na chahtey huye bhi aise kartey hai”*. ...Male Group, Sangam Vihar
- These activities are supposed to be a pat on the back, to prove that I have grown up and I am a man. *“Aur ek chiz hai, matlab mai agar ye sab kiya to mai Don ban gaya”*... Group of Professionals

However, contradictory to what men from the working class had to say the students of Delhi University felt that it is surely **not because of ‘short clothes’** that women are harassed. Then, they argued women in ‘burkha’ would have never complained about sexual harassment in public.

“Ha, that you can hear every day- ‘Are pahena hi aisa to kyu koi nehi bolega, cherega?’ I don’t think so. Because in my case I was fully dressed so what was the reason behind the harassment? Again many times you hear that jhuggi jhopri se utha ke legaye, to uska karan kya wo log kayse kapre pahentey hai? This is all in their head, dresses don’t matter. Actually when you can see a person staring at you even if you are fully ‘properly’ dressed, you can feel that his vision is piercing through your clothes. Woh sixth sense hota hai, you feel that someone is staring at you”... IDI Working Women.

They added that rather it has more to do with the **family background** from where the boy comes from and the **values imbibed** in them. People who want to sexually harass, would anyway target women, whether it is an 8 year old girl or 80 year old woman.

- *“Generalization is very difficult, to find out the motivation for doing all these things. You have to go back to the family, where women are not treated as a human being- more as an object”*... Student, Delhi University
- *“No I would completely disagree with it that, it is completely wrong that you get raped because of the clothes you wear so the women with ‘Burkha’ would never be harassed?”*... Student, Delhi University

- *“I am giving you one example that in Orissa in all the colleges the dress code has been imposed recently and one of the reasons behind that is dress attracts men to do all these things, but I have a question. After introducing the dress code can Orissa Government ensure that the harassment of women will not happen any more?”... Student, Delhi University*
- *“Some people do this for sexual gratification. Sexual gratification ke liye koi bhi aurat usko chahiye. Nehi to 8 saalki lerki ya 80 saal ki aurato ka rape huya hai, how can you justify these incidence?”... Student, Delhi University*
- *“Most of the cases where such cases have happened it is always more men raping or harassing 1-2 women. In all major cases of Delhi we never heard that the woman was not ‘dressed properly’. So short clothes are not an issue, rather it is male mentality towards women from the beginning. It is number power and game of dominance. When we are more in number it is granted nobody will do anything”... Group of Professionals*
- *This is a kind of addiction just like cigarette, once you start taking after two three days you yourself start smoking, similarly after doing it with friends for a day or two they become activated on their own...decided to have fun so will have fun whether it is physical or only visual. “Ye ek type ka nasha hai jaise cigarette, ek din pita hai, do din pita hai, tisre din se apne aap se hi wo pina suru kar deta hai. Aaise ye bhi hai ek dni do din dosto ke saath karta hai, fir wo aapne aphi activate ho jata ek nasha jaise na chahtey huye bhi kar leta. Maza lena hai to maza lenahi hai wo chahe satne ka maza ho ya dekhne ka maza kuch bhi ho”...Male Group, Durga Vihar*

Further a group of men also said that people who are sexually frustrated in life also tend to have fun by harassing women in public places. They also pointed out that these actions and incidents continue to happen in public places **only because no one protests**. They said exemplary punitive actions against such abusers have never been taken to stop anyone. Also a big metro city provides **‘anonymity’** to the abuser as opposed to the peer or community pressure that a village or a small town provides.

- *“In the buses or at other public places there is a feeling that nobody is there who can take any action against us, so we can do whatever we want to”.... Students, Chandni Chowk*
- *“But in Arab countries if one person stands beside any women other than his mother, sister or wife, the kind of punishment he gets is unbelievable. In India nobody is scared. Criminals have a typical mindset - first 10/15 years they will do crime, earn millions and then get into politics. So why worry or be scared.”...Group of Professionals*
- *“Chhote shahar me to sab log sabko jantey the, aur agar kisi jaan pehchaan walo ne kisi larke ko dekh liya ki wo girls’ collage ke samne khare hoke citi baja raha hai toe tab hume bhi bataya jata ki hume aise kartey huye dikhna nehi chahiye. You should not be caught doing that. Iske alawa, agar kisi ne mujhe dekh liya ki mai girls’ collage ke samne tha to ghar akey bata dega aur mujhey un logo ko sahi baat samjhana parega ki mai sabzi kharidne gaya tha. Mera koi galat intention nehi tha. **Chotey jaga me ye sab leke charcha bahut zada hota hai. Peer factor bhi bahut zada tha. Aur pahle samaj ka dar tha, ab nehi hai. Ek to yahan itne bare shahar me koi kisi ko janta nehi,** isi liye mummy papa jan jaige iska dar nehi hai, jo hamare samay pe bahut zada tha.”... Group of Professionals*

They themselves also argued that **media** has a strong role to play in influencing such behaviour. They said that Indian films since ages have been documenting such actions which incite the boys to take similar actions. **“The boys imitate what they have seen in the films where the heroines are teased and often harassed by the heroes and the heroines feel glad about it.”**

3.14 Steps to Bring Down the Incidence of Violations or Harassment

Table 19: Steps to Bring Down Incidence of Harassment in Public

	%		
Law and order/police security should be made strict	25.5	Woman should avoid coming out alone	2.2
Women should protest then and there	19.4	Karate classes should operate free of cost	2.0
Women should avoid wearing revealing clothes	10.6	Keep red chilly powder, and spray it	1.6
Women should be made aware	9.2	Parents/teachers should imbibe values to boys	1.4
Police should support women honestly	9.2	NGO/voluntary organization should support	1.2
Should take police help	6.1	CCTV should be installed at every public place	0.5
Abuser should be punished socially	5.3	Women should have a helpline number	0.2
Should not go out late night	2.6	Ban on making obscene films	0.2
Ladies special bus/metro compartment	2.6	Kiran Bedi should advice	0.1

As evident from the list given by the respondents strict law and order and tightened police security are required for bringing down the incidences of harassment of women in public.

While around 10 percent felt that women should not behave in a way that ‘excites’ men to take such a step, around 9 percent wanted women to become aware and the police to support ‘honestly’.

Several other suggestions put forward by the respondents are worth considering for bringing down the incidences of harassment of women in public places.

“We can’t see technically how we can minimize it. Because I think it is not just this problem, it is the effect of other social problems; it is the reflection of our societal rule, family environment perception about women. So you have to go back to the family and sensitize the people. Try to change the mind set of people other wise law can’t do anything, laws can’t prevent the rape inside the family”... Student, Delhi University

The groups indicated logical steps to be taken to curb violations in public places. Difference of opinion among the educated aware (students from school, Delhi University and the professional group the team contacted for FDGs) and ‘not so educated’ men (unskilled partially migrant labour class men contacted in Sangam Vihar) was noted. While the ‘not so educated’ group of men spoke about restricting women’s mobility and wanted to limit the freedom of choosing ones’ own dress, the educated men were of the opinion that empowering women with lessons of self

defense, imbibing good values in boys and strict policing would bring down the incidence. They also added that police should always be ready to help in these cases and that strict punishment for such acts should be given to set an example. The working women who reportedly experienced harassment (who did or did not get help from co-passengers or lodged an FIR) also had several suggestions for bringing down the incidence of such harassment in public places. The suggestions are in different areas and have been clubbed accordingly.

1. Women Should Dress ‘Properly’

- If girls control themselves then boys will automatically be under control. If girls wear simple clothes and change themselves these incidents would come down! ...Male Group, Sangam Vihar
- Boys do not come out in vests, girls should not also come out in tight tops, and these dresses should be banned. College should have dress codes - salwar kameez. The parents need to be made aware about the clothes their daughters are wearing... Male Group, Durga Vihar
- *“Lerkia ko chotey chote kapre ke upar ban lagaya jaye.”*... Male Group, Sangam Vihar

2. Implementation of Law & Honest Policing

- Proper implementation of law and order..... Students, Chandni Chowk
- *“Every place should have two police stationed and they should take immediate action in case of such events”*... IDI working Women.
- Police should work with honesty. They should not try to resolve these cases through bribes. They should investigate and find out the culprit. They, these days, only do formality. They also enjoy these events, they make the abused women run from one door to other, and have fun!Male Group, Sangam Vihar
- *“Kathor se kathor saza deni chahiye, kyuki lerkio ki ijat to uski zindagi se bhi bara ha. Murder kar diya to wo upar chali jati. Lekin ijat lena, cher khani karna to usko jite ji khatam kar dena hai. To usi tara bartaw police ko karna hai”*...Male Group Durga Vihar
- *“Laws can’t do any thing because in this corrupt system there is always a gap that persists between the law and its implementation. Our dowry law is very harsh but still it exists in our society. We must consider the cultural perception of law enforcements, because they belong to the same kind of patriarchic society”*.... Students, Delhi University
- *“Police should be more active and handle this issue with more sensitivity, because they play a vital role here. If we can sensitize them we don’t need to improve the law and order. Another thing is, if we make strict laws that means we are empowering police force, and giving them more chance to be corrupt”*.... IDI, Working Women
- *“Chauk chauraha me awara larke ko khara nehi hone dena chahiye. Police ko iske bare me kuch karna chahiye. School collage ke ass pass bhi aise awara larke khare hotay hai, un logo ko pakar ke le jana chahiye, chahe wo kuch kare ya na kare”*.... IDI, Working Women

- *“Ek to awareness barhana chahiye lerkio ka ki is ke against me kya step le saktey ho. Lekin uske sath strict immediate action bhi hona chahiye. When an autowala charges more, there is a helpline number where you can complain. I have tried several times but nobody is interested to listen. They take down the numbers and that’s it. The fines and punishment should be as stringent as possible so that people think before they act in such a way again”.... IDI working Women*
- *“If police is not listening there should be a place where we can complain against them”....IDI Working Women*
- *“Faridabad me is type ki PCR me women rehti hai. Driver se leke sab log women hai. Wo log madat bhi kartey hai. Wo mujhey bahut achcha laga. Agar Delhi me bhi aise ho to bahut achcha hoga. Udher to college ke samne aise hota hai aur agar kisi ko dekha to un logo ko khule aam danda marte hai aur isi liye ye sab ab bahut kum ho gaya. Delhi me bhi hona chahiye, mahilao ko moral support milega. Female police ye sab mamalo me zada sensitive hotey hai”.... IDI working Women*
- *“Women police in civil dress should be posted in prime places. There should be more mobile police patrolling. I have not seen it in Delhi”.... IDI, Working Women*
- *“Rape ka jaise punishment ha,. isi tarah eve teasing ka bhi kuch punishment hona chahiye. Police ko agar complain karo to pahele wo log sochthey hai ki lerkio me kuch galti hai, aise hi 10% lerki hoti hai jo complain karti hai, baki to chup rehti hai, awaz bhi uthati hai to koi support nehi karta. Lerkio ko bachpan se ye sikhaya jata hai ki koi kuch bhi kare tum chup raho. Lekin lerkia agar protest kanna suru kar de to ye aapne aap hi kam ho jaiga”IDI, Working Women.*

3. Girls Should Act

- *If the girl feels that she is not guilty she should immediately rush to the police station and complain shrugging any embarrassment. Or else, the boy would become even more courageous and would take more serious actions. Unless the girls take a step towards complaining to police, the police also cannot do anything... Male Group, Sangam Vihar*
- *“Girls should learn methods of self defense”.... Group of Professionals*
- *“Lerkio ko self defense ke liye bhi aware karna chahiye”... Male Group, Durga Vihar*
- *“Lerkia to saath me bodyguard leke ja nehi sakti. Isiliye jab uske saath aise ho tab usko protest karna chahiye, jaise larai me jisko mara gaya wohi to palta marta hai. Baki log to ekattha hotey hai bhir jamane ke liye. Aise hi mahilao ko bhi unke saath jo cher khani hota hai uska virodh kanna chahiye, Return jawab do. Aise to dekhe koi kuch kartey nehi, lerkin agar lerki awaz uthaye kuch ulta sidha bol de to aas pass ke log bhi uska saath dengain. Aur ass pass ke logo ko lerkio ka saath dena chahiye. Kyuki aaj kal koi jaga pe unity nehi hai aur log kuch kartey bhi nehi. Lekin aise hona nehi chahiye”.... Male Group, Durga Vihar*
- *”Lerko ki pitai honi cahiye. Matlab jab log dekh rehe hai koi larka kisi lerki ko cher raha hai tab dekhne wale sab logo ko ekattha hoke uska zabardast pitai karna chahiye, aur usko police ke hawale karna chahiye”.... Male Group, Durga Vihar*

4. Government

- *"Sarkar kya karega? Mahila Ayog sirif naamka bana huya hai, udhar kuch hota hai? Sirf apna political mudda leke khare ho jate hai".... Male Group, Sangam Vihar*
- *"Sarkar jo niyam banatey hai usko kabhi pura nehi kartey. To mera rai hai ki sarkar jo niyam banatey hai usko pura karne ke liye lagu bhi kare. Aur ye bhi dekhna chahiye ki uska najais faida koi na utha sakey".... IDI, Working Women*
- *"Mere khayal se, pahle prashasan ko age ana chahiye. Jaise, bus me zada cher char hoti hai to buso me aisa kuch suvidhaye deni chahiye, taki cher char na ho, jaise ladies ko agey baitthaya jai aur gents ko pichjey baithaya jai. Wo alag alag darwaje se chare, utrey, aur ladies ke jagah gents nehi ja sakte, alag alag baitthey".... IDI, Working Women*

5. Bring Change in Thought, Raise Awareness, and Change Attitudes

- *"Should change the mindset of people, through awareness education. People need to be aware that if you do such things, these are the actions that will be taken against you"... IDI, Working Women*
- *General thought about 'women' should be changed ... Male Group, Sangam Vihar*
- *"Aur parents ke liye mera yahi sujhaw hai ki bachpan se lerkio ke dimag me ye sab ke bareme dar na baitthao, lerkio ko iska samna kar paye, is tarah mentally strong banao. Aur khud ko bhi itna darna nehi chahiye." IDI, Working Women*
- *"Government se workplace me harassment ke bare me fir bhi kuch instruction diya gaya, lekin public place me kya hota aur isko rokne ke liye kya kiya ja sakte hai woh kuch malum hi nehi. Logo ka attitude aise hai ki ye to hota hi hai isko leke itna kuch karne ka kya hai. Agar zada ho raha hai to lerkii ghar baitho. Ye sab soch badalne ke liye media, school, family, sabko ek sath milke koshish karna hai. Lerkio ko bhi iske sath sath aware karne hai ki kaise is ka mukabala kar saktey ho. Kyuki chup rehne se kuch nehi hota".... IDI, Working Women*

6. Family Values

- *"Schools and family should generate awareness amongst the boys also. Actually it starts from family. If the boy sees the status of women in his family is low, he learns from that. So family also plays a vital role. Family should teach boys to respect girls and women. Children are curious and they ask lots of questions so family and schools should give some sex education, etc to clarify their queries. In some stage we don't feel very comfortable with our opposite sex. So, from that time if we clarify all those things and discuss it in a proper way and openly, I think it will be helpful. Schools and colleges should start campaigning and not only girls, but boys should also actively be involved in it".... IDI, Working Women*

7. How Should Media React?

- *"Media should be more sensitive rather than to just make those as news. They don't say anything about the follow-up actions that had or not had been taken by the police and the legal system. 10-12 days after, they keep silent and people also forget about that".... Students, Delhi University*

- “T.V. me jo programme logo ko uksatey hai usme ban lagna chahiye aur internet dekh ke bhi log ulta sidha bartaw karna seekhney hai”.... Male Group, Durga Vihar

3.15 Perceived Impacts of Violations on Women

The respondents were asked to reflect upon the impact of such ‘perceived vulnerability of women in public places of Delhi’. As indicated in the Table below more than two thirds of the respondents felt that women in Delhi are impacted by such perceived vulnerability to a large extent.

Table 20: Degree of Impact of Violations

	%
To a large extent	65.8
To some extent	30.5
Very little	2.7
Not at all	0.9

Further when they were probed on the type of impact this has, about 40 percent felt that such perceptions restricts mobility of women. While 20 percent felt that women are restricted in choosing their career around one fourth felt that it also restricts women to enjoy leisure in peace.

Table 21: Impact of Violations

	%
Restricted mobility	40.3
Restriction in choosing career	20.3
Restriction in accessing opportunities	14.6
Restriction in enjoying leisure	24.8

“They are very much worried about my office timings matlab late ana jana ... every time my brother tells me ki aas paas ka naukri dekh lo. Kayi baar aise huya ke kuch huya lekin humne ghar me bataya nehi. Batane se bhaiya immediately naukri chorne ke liya bolengey.” IDI working women

“Yes, I have reduced visiting some places by myself, but cannot reduce traveling in a bus. But of course, if I am taking a bus at 9 pm there is a sense of insecurity that sets in my mind, I know buses are not safe at night”... IDI working Women

3.16 Knowledge about any Law against Harassment in Public Places

The male participants and the group of working women with whom discussions were conducted gave a mixed response when enquired about their knowledge about any law that exists against harassment of women in public places. While few felt that there is no such law to address such harassment, few felt that there is some provision under which harassing a women in public place is a punishable offence and the abuser may get imprisonment of one year or six months. There were participants who felt that it is a part of laws that exist against rape or sexual harassment in workplaces. Referring to 498A, the male groups felt that there is a law which has been misused by many women.

However, it is felt that there is no clear understanding whether there is a law, what the provisions are under the law and what are the kind of punishments for any harassment that take place in public place.

- *“Nehi kabhi suna nehi. Rape ka hai ye pata hai lekin baki kisike bare me suna nehi. Mujhey lagtahi ki aisa kuch hai bhi nehi. Jab tak rape nehi hota tab tak legally kuch nehi kar saktey ho.”....IDI, Working Women*
- *“Yes it is a punishable offence and the punishment is a maximum 1 year or six months”.... IDI, Working Women*
- *“Ha hai, lekin kya punishment hai wo pata nehi hai kyu ki iske bare me to newspaper me bhi kuch kabhi ata nehi. Punishment hota hoga lekin ab tak kisi ko diya gaya hai, ye to suna nehi”... IDI, Working Women*
- *“No, I have not heard about any such law. Rape ke liye to hai but for this type of harassment I do not know”.... IDI, Working Women*
- *“Ha hai sexual harassment ke liye law hai. Jaise apne work place me agar koi sexual harassment ho to uske liye 7 saal ki jail hai, aur bus me yaun utpiran ke liye ek saal ki saza hai, aur rape ke liye death sentence bhi diya ja sakta hai. ... jaha tak mai janti hu”... IDI, Working Women*
- *“Bus yehi jaankari hai ki Delhi Police ka 1091 jo mahila helpline hai usme phone kar saktey hai”... Male Group, Sangam Vihar*
- *“Delhi police ka ek number hai jisme larkiya phone karke bata saktey hai ki mujhey is jaga pe larka cher raha hai. To police us jaga pe ayga aur usko darayga... greftar karke le nehi jaiga”.... Group of Professionals, South Delhi*
- *“Anti ragging ke liye bhi law nikal gaya, lekin usme boltey hai ki agar collages aur university complain karegi tab hum action lengey. Kaanun hai lekin punishment dene wala to honest nehi hota. Pakarke le to jayenge lekin adhey rastey pe ake kuch paisa leke usko chor dega. Aajkal murder karne wala ko kuch nehi kartey, to is type ka case ka kya karega. Fir kabhi kabhi in logo ka political ya financial power zada hone ki wajey se wo log kuch bhi kar sakte hai”.... Group of Professionals, South Delhi*
- *“Mahila utpiran ke upar ek Act bana huya hai, uske bare me detail mujhey pata nehi. Lekin usko humlog galat mantey hai. Mahila ke upar cher char huya ya nehi wo jake claim kiya to maan jayenge ... aur ye wo aapni pati ke khilaf bhi kar saktey hai”....Male Group, Durga Vihar*
- *“I think there is a bill in the parliament against the sexual harassment in the work place”.... Student, Delhi University*
- *“There is a rule in every organization but they don’t take it seriously because it empowers women”... Student, Delhi University*
- *“Jaise Dhananjay ne balatkar kiya thha, to uska fansi huya thha”.... Male Group, Sangam Vihar*
- *“Kanun to hai lekin malum nehi”.... Male Group, Sangam Vihar*

Chapter IV- Experience of Violations in Public Place

One of the major components of this survey was to document the experience of women living in Delhi with regard to sexual harassment in public places. Further, this chapter also documents the way women reacted to such incidents and the response that they got from the public and the police. This would also corroborate the perception that the women reported on the same which has been detailed in the previous chapter. The findings from the in-depth interviews with working women in Delhi have also been cited in the relevant sections.

4.1 Frequency of Outing: Locations Frequented and Mode of Transport

Table 22: Frequency

	%
Everyday	72.5
Every alternate day	8.7
Weekly	15.5
Twice a month	3.0
Monthly	0.3

As indicated in the Table more than 70 percent of our respondents reported going out daily for some reason or the other.

As a part of their normal responsibility and chores, 25 percent women go out for shopping, while 19 percent of women go out to their relatives or friends place. Around 12 percent reported going out for work and a total of 15 percent being students go to their school/educational institute.

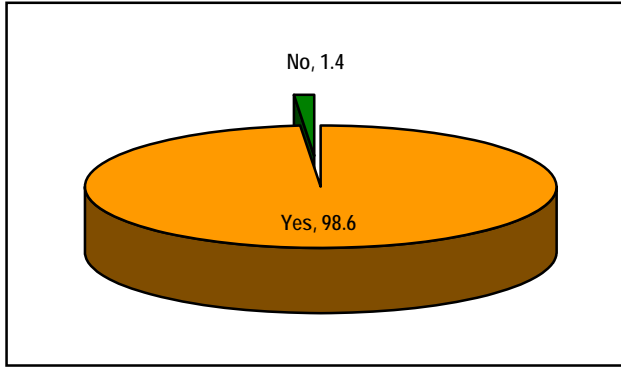
Table 23: Locations Frequented & Mode

Locations	%	Mode	%
School	7.2	On foot	25.1
College	8.4	By bus	34.6
Work place	11.6	By auto	17.1
Market	24.8	By metro	8.1
Hospital	5.7	By scooty	2.2
Park	10.5	By car	10.6
Recreational place	7.8	By Taxi	1.7
Cinema hall	2.9	Bike	0.8
Relatives/friends place	19.4		
To pick and drop children	1.0		
Religious place	0.6		
Club	0.1		

Bus is the major mode of transportation used by around 35 percent of the respondents to reach their destinations. Although 25 percent cover the distance by foot, around 15 percent is dependent upon auto rickshaws and 8 percent use the metro. Overall around 86 percent use public modes of transportation available, while 14 percent move in their private vehicles.

4.2 Experience in Public Places

Figure 11: Experienced Harassment?



It is evident from the graph that as high as 98.6 percent respondents have reportedly faced harassment in public places of Delhi.

The respondents of in-depth interview also had similar experience about facing harassment in public places. Since they have to commute everyday most of

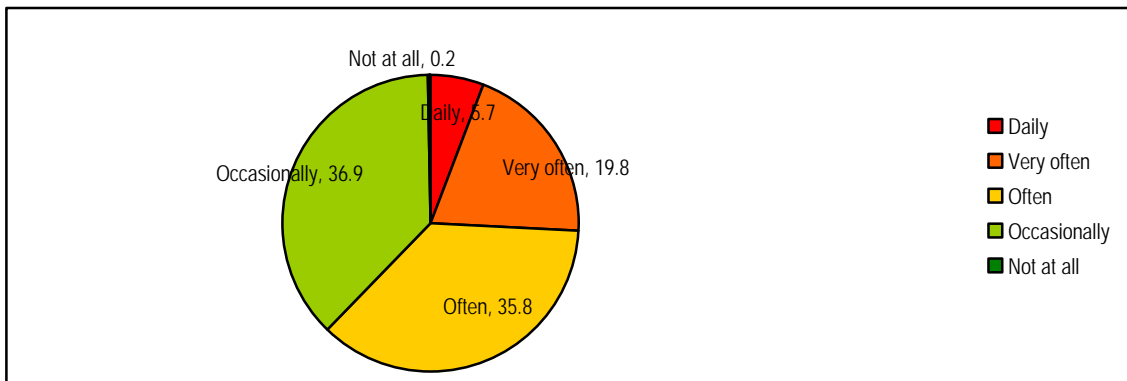
them reported facing physical, verbal and visual harassment in public places.

“Ek bar mai bus se ja rehi thi... kyuki office time pe auto wala bhi panga leta hai aur double charge karta hai, ye bhi ek type ka harassment hai. Ek din mai auto nehi milne ke karan bus se office ja rehi thi to a group of people mujhey tease kar raha tha. Mai un logo ko ignore kar rehi thhi lekin they again touched me ...aur bus ke ander jitney bhi log the koi kuch nehi bol rahe the. Dekh rahe they ki larke mere saath battamizi kar rahe hai, fir bhi kuch nehi bole. Fir mujhey gussa aya, maine ladke ka collar pakra aur bola nichey chalo police ke pass leke chalti hu. Maine driver ko bola roko ye bus ya sidhi police ke pass le chalo. Lekin driver ne bus nehi roki aour bola madam aap isko leke nichey utar jao, mai isse koi panga nehi lena chahta. Mai jab usko leke nichey ayi tab wo mera hath churake bhag gaya. Uske baad police ke paas jane ka to koi point hi nehi tha. 100 number me bhi call nehi kiya. Kyuki nobody wants to involve in that..... na conductor, na driver, koi interested nehi tha.”... IDI, Working Women

4.3 Frequency of Harassment

Only 0.2 percent of our respondents revealed that they do not face harassment now. However around 36 percent reported facing harassment often, while 6 percent face harassment daily.

Figure 12: Frequency of Harassment



4.4 Description of Harassment Faced (type, when, where)

The study documented the gestures or actions which are considered to be sexually offensive for women in public places. The respondents were asked to share their experience of harassment in public places and the locations where such cases happened. The findings have been tabulated below.

Table: 24 Type of Harassment Experienced in Public Places

Verbal	%
Passing comments	15.5
Singing provocative songs loudly	7.3
Whistling/offensive sounds	8.1
Forcibly offering offensive proposal	2.3
Unsolicited conversation	3.0
Laughing aloud standing beside	0.1
Making phone calls after getting phone no	0.1
Visual	
Offensive look	12.8
Showing obscene photograph	1.0
Winking	8.4
Flashing	2.2
Public masturbating	1.0
Molestation/Physical	
Physical touch/brushing	12.1
Pulling hands/clothes	5.0
Touching private body parts	6.0
Forcibly kissing	1.4
Stalking	10.5
Unsolicited photography	3.2

As evident from the Table 4.3, 15 percent reported receiving ‘comments’ and around 8 percent reported being subjected to whistling and offensive sounds and songs.

Around 13 percent reported getting offensive looks while 8.4 percent were exposed to winking.

Purposely body brushing was experienced by 12 percent of our respondent while 6 percent reported that the abuser touched their body parts in public.

While 10 percent reported being stalked, 2.2 percent reported being exposed to flashing.

When asked about the location where the incident had taken place the respondents listed down 148 locations across Delhi.. Around 11 percent named different locations while they were traveling in a bus. Around 5 percent named Chandni Chowk and 2.4 percent named Connaught Place as the site of the incidents.

Table 25: Time of the Event

	%
Morning	12.1
Afternoon	28.2
Evening	17.5
Late Evening	24.4
Night	13.1
Any time	4.6

Interestingly 28 percent of the respondents reported that the incident happened in the **afternoon**, higher than any other time of the day, particularly higher than ‘night’ or ‘late evening’. **The actual experience of the respondent does not match with the perception where afternoon vulnerability was perceived as substantially lower than that in night or late evening.** Late evening also reports

occurrence of nearly 25 percent.

“I was coming back from C.P. few days back, in an auto and it was 9:30 pm not very late..... I was at Kasturba Gandhi Marg. The auto stopped at a red light; there was a very nicely dressed man of hardly 25/26 years of age. He asked me ‘Do you want to go somewhere with me?’ in the best diction I have ever heard.”....IDI, Working Women

4.5 Reaction to the Incident

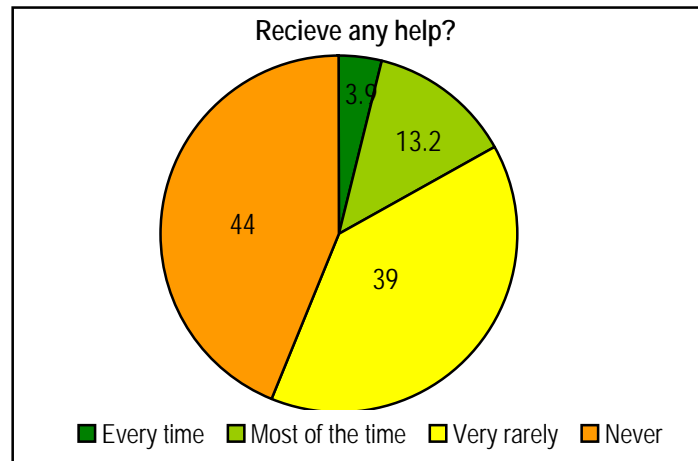
Table 26: Reaction to the Incident

	%
Remained silent	44.1
Protested	40.0
Sought help from others	3.1
Called/Went to police	4.1
Lodged an F.I.R	2.4
Went to the local leader/NGO	0.1
Shared with family	6.0
Told my friend	0.1
DK/CS	0.1

As seen in Table: majority of the abused respondents chose to remain silent. While 40 percent reportedly protested to the incident only 4 percent chose to go up to the police. However, only 2 percent reported lodging an FIR with the police.

The working women whom the survey interviewed also reported taking actions on their own. Knowing that people may not help or it is not worth going to the police they themselves “stamp the abusers feet strongly but silently” By this they add, the abuser gets a warning and also none of the co- passengers get to know about the case. Often creating a scene in the bus, protesting against the abuser does not help. The bus conductors, drivers and co passengers may not react the way the women want them to.

Figure 13: Received any Help from Public in Case of such Harassment?



The women respondents who reported facing harassment in public places also reported that they have received some kind of help or the other. What is important is that, 44 percent respondents reported that they never received any help from the people around when they were harassed by men in public places.

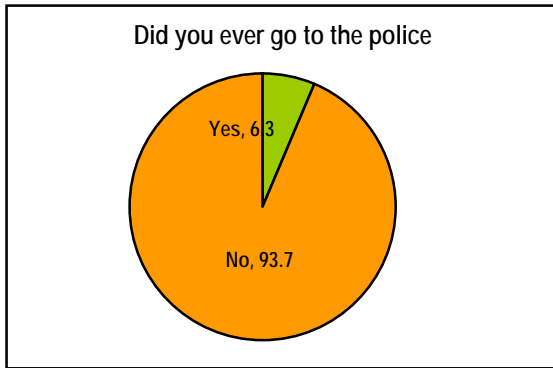
Table 27: What Kind of Help Received?

What Kind of Help? (N=349)	%
Few people caught him and made him apologize	42.4
The abuser was beaten up	26.1
Few people counseled him and send him back	23.5
People sympathized and helped	8.0

Among the ones who reportedly had received help from people after such an incident, about 42 percent said that the public caught the abuser and made him apologize. While 26 percent reported that

the public beat up the abuser another 23 percent said that they counseled the abuser and send him back home.

Figure 14: Did You Ever Go to the Police?



The respondents were specifically enquired whether they went up to the police to complain. Only 6.3 percent of those who reported harassment said that they went to the police, and 2.4 percent lodged an FIR.

Among them while a majority did not get much help from the police, only 18 percent said that police did help. (Table below)

Table 28: How did Police Help?

How did Police Help?	%
They didn't do anything	20.5
They didn't do enough	61.5
They did help me	17.9

“Once I was standing outside the gate of AIIMS trauma centre. The guard was also standing there. Suddenly few boys came on a bike and almost pounced upon me. They could not see the guard and I screamed and rebuked them. But they were so daring that they again came back. At that point I got a bit scared and called the guard.. I took down the bike number and gave it to the PCR van which stands there for 24 hours. I also requested them to chase the bikers and get hold of them. The police instead told me whether I will be able to identify them by their face as the boys can change the bike and escape. I was shocked to see their attitude. This is how our police is and our protection is these people’s responsibility!”...IDI, Working Women

Table 29: Why did You Not Go to the Police?

(Multiple response)	%
Police embarrass more than help	44.0
Do not trust police	43.8
Wasn't necessary	42.6
Solved the problem on my own	29.8
Was afraid of police	29.5
Shame (impact on honour)	19.0
Did not want to put family in trouble	3.3
Police only waste time	1.7
I did not have time	1.5
Police ask for bribe	1.2
Police share case with media	1.2

As presented in Table 4.8 more than 40 percent of the respondents felt that it was not necessary, that police would have embarrassed them more than helping and that they do not trust the police.

While around 30 percent said that they were afraid of the police and also reportedly managed to solve the problem on their own,

the rest of the answers indicate apathy towards the police and their capabilities.

“Ek to mere pas uska koi naam pata kuch nehi tha, aur dusra agar may complain karti to gharwalo ko bhi pata chal jata, fir wo log mujhey ye naukri chorne boltey, kuch restriction dal detey... aur police bhi kya karta, usko do thappar maar ke chor deta, nehi to bolega achcha agey se nehi karna.” IDI with Working Women

“Police me nehi complain karne ka wajey mainly tha ki police kuch nehi karega ... family pressure to baad me. Mai samjha bhi sakti thi ki wo log mujhse battamizi kar rahe the...lekin police agar koi action nehi leti to meri itni effort ka koi maine nehi rakhta” IDI, Working Women

Around 19 percent of our respondents still feel that going to the police is equivalent to bringing disgrace to one self and one’s society and it impacts ‘honour’. The respondents also detailed out reasons for not attempting to lodge an FIR with the police. The reasons were quite similar to the previous one but also brought out some more nuances of police behaviour.

Table 30: Why Did You Not Lodge a FIR?

(Multiple response)	%
Police just wastes time and troubles people	20.20
Did not feel FIR to be important	16.60
I have no faith on Police	14.60
I was embarrassed/scared	10.70
Police will investigate less but humiliate more	9.50
They take bribe	6.50
Did not want to trouble myself and my family	6.30
I am scared of Police	5.40
Police scare away those who want to lodge a complain	3.90
Police look down upon women who come with such complains	3.10
I had no time	2.20
Police did not take the complain	1.90
Did not want to take revenge by lodging FIR	1.50
Police take these as 'small events'	1.40
Police never help poor	1.00
My family would have restricted my mobility	0.80
I was alone	0.50
Police would have invited the media	0.20

Although 17 percent of the respondents did not feel FIR to be important, around one-fifth of the respondents said that police troubles the abused more and wastes time in the name of investigation. Around 15 percent said that they have no faith in police and their work, while 10 percent felt that they never investigate the case but embarrass women.

While around seven percent felt that police take bribes to

investigate around three percent said that police generally scare away those who try to lodge complains and look down upon those who want to complain. The other reasons listed down by the respondents for not lodging an FIR are also worth considering.

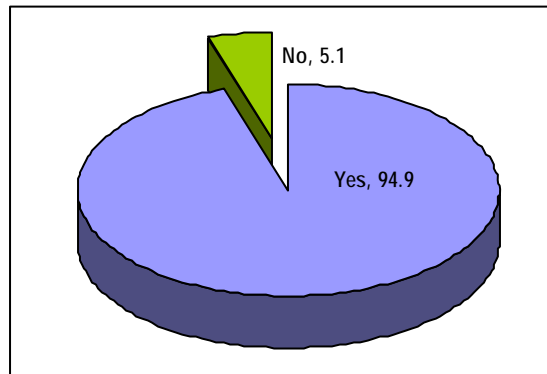
The working women’s group also had similar concerns. They all reported that either it is because of the fear of disgrace or to avoid more harassment from the police that the abused women rarely lodges an FIR.

“On top of everything the victim does not want to lodge the F.I.R. because of the fear of loosing family honour or her own reputation in her social circle, and also the fear of getting threats from the offender. Police do not do any thing against the offenders. They take bribe and they close down the case or they put it in such a manner that doesn’t prove the person guilty. In our Indian judiciary the clauses are so weak that the culprit takes advantage of it” ... IDI working women

“I did lodge an FIR probably four years back and there is supposed to be a court hearing also, but it has not progressed as yet. My FIR was not registered. So with the help of an NGO I met with DCP and he gave the order to the police station to lodge the FIR. When I went there for FIR the police asked me ‘madam aapko detail me batana parega usne aapke saath kya kiya. Usne aur kuch to nehi kiya?’ So probably that’s the reason why women don’t want to step forward” ... IDI working women

4.6 Impact of Harassment

Figure 15: Fear of Harassment Restricts Mobility



As can be seen from the figure, 95percent of respondents reported restricted mobility due to sheer fear of being harassed by men in public places.

Table 31: How is Mobility restricted?

	%
I am always scared of going out of the house	37.5
I avoid crowded bus	1.1
Come out before time	6.3
Always have to take someone along in case I need to go out	42.5
Come home before it is dark	8.1
Wear simple clothes/put on Burkha	1.5
I am anxious to reach home on time	2.8
DK/CS	0.2

37.5 percent of the women said that they are constantly afraid in public spaces. 42 percent of the women who feared harassment in public places said that they do not step out of the house unescorted. Others emphasized on the need to returning home early before it is dark, by compromising on whatever they were doing and try to come out before time, so as to reach home safely.

“My family is worried about my office timings because I often commute late. They ask me to choose a job nearby. It has happened several times that if I share my experience with my family they will immediately make me quit and sit at home”....IDI working Women

Chapter V- Summary Findings

In one of the first surveys of its kind on perception and experience of harassment relating to women in public places in the national capital city of Delhi, this study contacted 632 women respondents. In order to get 360 degree perspective towards developing an advocacy strategy, working women and young men were also included as respondents. Their opinion on ‘why men harass women’, what are the most notable causes, and how could such harassment of women in public places be reduced were gathered through qualitative focus group discussion and in-depth interviews. The study funded by CEQUIN was conducted in New Delhi/Delhi in the month of July-September 2009.

The respondents contacted for the survey were equally distributed by age and marital status and were mostly educated. While the study ensured representation from major religious groups, deliberately the study also covered almost an equal percentage of women from different occupation of students, housewife and working class.

The Key Findings:

- Sexual harassment in public places in Delhi is a very common phenomenon.
- Women’s vulnerability to harassment in public spaces crosscuts age, marital status and economic strata.
- Women are vulnerable in crowded spaces as well as lonely ones, during the day as well as in the night.
- Economic dependence, physical structure, and their inability to protest make women vulnerable.
- Deviant male behavior arises from flawed notions of ‘masculinity’.
- Response of the public is shockingly inadequate.
- There is very low awareness on laws and support mechanisms.
- Women do not have much faith in law enforcement agencies.
- Harassment in public spaces has a hugely negative impact on women’s mobility and access.

The respondents listed several verbal, visual and physical gestures which they considered as offensive in public places. Even while identifying unsafe time, unsafe public places, unsafe mode of transport, there is nothing called ‘safe time or place’.

Generally over-crowded city buses, metro, its stations, deserted streets, parks, subways, campus periphery were identified as unsafe and the reasons were spelt out. Riding in a personal car also offered no safety.

When attempts were made to make the respondents identify three localities in Delhi considered as most unsafe, this ended up in identification of every corner of the city as 'unsafe'. The 'lack of security' in all places whether crowded, deserted or dark was cited as the reason.

Significantly the respondents, the male groups or the working women group were of the same opinion; that the public in Delhi are UNRESPONSIVE to such instances. They ignore, do not get involved and additionally blame the woman who has been abused.

The respondents were almost equally divided on the issue of ideal reaction on the part of the abused to such instances. While some said that an abused woman should always seek help and protest, some said that it is better to be silent. The harassed girl should keep quite to avoid any disgrace that such incidents brings to the family.

Role of Police

Only 20 percent felt that the abused should report to the police. The reasons for not going to police ranged from 'ending up in paying bribe without any investigation' to 'avoiding being harassed by the police during interrogation'. Further majority of them felt that even if the police arrest the abuser, the latter easily comes out of custody through political connections.

'Why men harass women?'

The reasons cited were diverse. Unanimous verdict was that men harass women 'just for fun'. This could be because they want to prove their 'masculinity', because of their male ego of 'superiority' over women, sexual frustration, or the 'mindset'. While a group was of the opinion that 'women bring it on themselves' by wearing 'short or revealing clothes', the study observed 'positive deviants' arguing against such a theory. They said that 'short clothes' cannot be a reason as in most of the reported cases of harassment, women were found to be 'decently' dressed. What could explain 'burkha' clad women complaining of sexual harassment? This behaviour, according to them, was guided by the family background and values that one imbibes (gender bias).

The men harass women because they have rarely faced any 'protest' from the abused as well as from the public. The laws that exist are inadequate and not stringently enforced. Hardly anyone has been punished for such acts. The 'anonymity' provided by big cities, as opposed to small towns and villages where social, familial and peer pressures were at play, helps the abusers get away.

Steps to Counter

The list of steps suggested was large. Along with 'stereotypical' suggestions like restricting and controlling women's mobility and clothing, empowering women with lessons in self defense,

making them effective to protest against such incidents and bring about a change in the attitude towards women among the people in the society. The role of the police, to be pro-active, honest and compassionate was emphasized. 'Strict punitive action' against the abuser would make men think twice before harassing women. They identified the ideal role that parents, family, teachers and media should play in bringing down gendered violations in public places.

Not surprisingly, as high as 98.6 percent of the respondents reported being harassed in public places. Passing comments, whistling, casting offensive looks, winking, physical touch, stalking and touching private body parts were reported. The study brought out that it is not necessary that a woman is harassed when she is alone, but is vulnerable at all times. Quite similar to their perception, majority of the abused respondents preferred to remain silent as they felt protesting would only bring disgrace.

While few reported silently stamping the abusers feet, some gave a warning to the abuser in front of co- passengers. Only 17 percent reported receiving help from public in such cases, while around 83 percent rarely received any kind of support from the people present during the time of the incident. The reasons for not going to the police or lodging an FIR were quite similar to what they had said earlier in the perception section. While narrating their experience they once again highlighted the inaction and unresponsive attitude of police resulting in mistrust of the law and order enforcers.

The suggestions coming from the respondents point towards the long term need for behavior and mind set change of the perpetrators of harassment, sensitization of state machinery, pro-activeness of the public and empowerment of the women and girls. The short term measures are: encouraging girls and women to protest, building their confidence and equipping them with self defense strategies, putting in place preventive and redressal strategies for transporters, markets and other public spaces; taking serious note of gender based violations and related behavior and meeting it with security/vigilance measures and punitive action; awareness campaigns on laws and support services; as well as sensitizing the public to come forward to assist women facing harassment in public places All this should be synergized in a way that ensures 'freedom of movement' of women and girls and their access to basic services.
