Crime against Women and Children in Delhi
Analysis of Secondary and Empirical Data

SHIVANI SATIJA, AMRITA DATTA

This paper analyses crime against women and children in Delhi based on two data sources, the National Crime Records Bureau and an empirical data set of the Perceptions Survey of the *Delhi Human Development Report, 2013*. Using the NCRB data, the paper analyses trends in the rate and composition of crime against women and children from 2004–2006 to 2010–2012, including charge sheets and convictions. Results from the Perceptions Survey highlight the spatial nature of crime in the state, the differential experience of crime by social groups, as well as men and women. A key finding is the high vulnerability of children to crime in the city. What emerges from the comparison of secondary and primary data is the simultaneous existence of incidence of crime on the one hand and perception of crime and violence on the other. A combination of various data sources is important to capture both incidence and perception in order to gain a more holistic and in-depth understanding of crime and violence, a vastly under-researched topic in the social sciences.

Shivani Satija (*shivani.satija2014@tiss.edu*) is with the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai; and Amrita Datta (*datta.amrita@gmail.com*) is with the Institute for Human Development, New Delhi and International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

1 Introduction

Delhi is increasingly being perceived as the most unsafe city in India. The brutal gang rape of a medical student there on 16 December 2012 brought the issue of women's safety and security, and that of crime against women, in the forefront of public discourse (Philipose 2013). Newspaper and television reports point towards a trend of increasing crimes against women and children (Perappadan 2014), and emphasise the lack of safety in public spaces in the city. Despite being a vital component of human development, violence and crime remain an under-researched issue, and one of the key reasons for this is the paucity of reliable and relevant data (Dreze and Khera 2000).

The paper attempts to locate crime against women and children in particular within the context of overall crimes in Delhi, using both secondary and primary data sources. The first part examines data from the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) from 2004 to 2006 and from 2010 to 2012, and studies trends in, first, the overall crime rate in Delhi vis-à-vis other major cities in the country and the composition of crime within Delhi in this period; and second, the rate of crime against women and children in Delhi vis-à-vis other major cities, and the composition of crime against women and children in Delhi in the same period.

The second part uses data from a unique Perceptions Survey conducted by the Institute for Human Development, New Delhi for the *Delhi Human Development Report (2013)* from December 2012 to February 2013. This primary survey covered 8,029 respondents and is representative of the population of Delhi. While the scope of the survey was relatively wide, our interest here is on crime and safety, and the analysis of the survey results along the following issues: people's rating of personal safety in Delhi; safety of women in three domains of their lives: their localities, public transport and workplace; perceptions about increase or decrease in crime; the experience of crime, and the nature of these crimes; perceptions about the police, and steps that can be taken to improve safety in Delhi. In addition, we present the findings of focus group discussions conducted in selected settlements across the city, which highlight how spaces and people in the city are perceived; perceptions about gender-based violence, crime against children, and perceptions about the police. We also draw from interviews with police officers to understand their perceptions regarding safety in the city as well as the challenges and difficulties they face while performing their duties.

The paper concludes with the suggestion to study crime and violence in a holistic manner by employing both secondary and empirical data in order to understand prevalence, fear and experience of crime and violence. It also stresses responsible reporting by the media so as to facilitate empowerment and awareness.
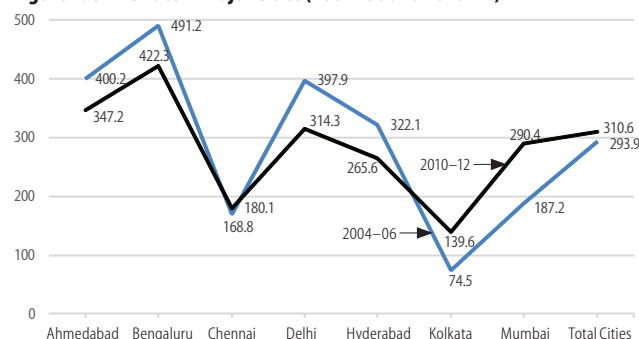
2 State of Crime

This section examines the crime profile in Delhi in comparison to other major cities, namely, Ahmedabad, Bengaluru, Chennai, Hyderabad and Kolkata. Based on NCRB statistics, the total cognisable crime rate,[1] crime rate against women[2] and crimes rate against children[3] (based on the Indian Penal Code (IPC))[4] as well as the composition of crimes in each of these categories have been analysed. This is followed by the status of police and court cases dealing with total crimes as well as rape and kidnapping cases in particular in Delhi as compared to the all-India figure.

Rate of Total Crime

The crime rates[5] have been calculated based on a three-year average crime rate for 2004–06 and 2010–12.[6] Delhi experienced a decrease in overall crime rate from 2004–06 to 2010–12 from 397.9 to 314.3. In both the time points, the highest rate of total crime was in Bengaluru, followed by Ahmedabad and Delhi. At the same time, all three cities display a decrease in total crime rates between the two time points, while Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai experienced an increase in total crime rate. The total crime rates for all major cities experienced a marginal increase from 293.8 to 310.6 per 1,00,000 population (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Crime Rate in Major Cities (2004–06 and 2010–12)

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

An analysis of the types of crime reveals that Delhi is reported to have the highest rate of violent crimes,[7] particularly murder, rape and kidnapping. The rate of rape and kidnapping is alarmingly high in Delhi as compared to the other cities as shown in Table 1. While rates of murder and rape have declined from 2004–06 to 2010–12, the rate of kidnappings

shows a steep increase from 9.5 per 1,00,000 in 2004–06 to 19.7 per 1,00,000 in 2010–12. A detailed analysis of kidnappings is presented in Table 10.

Composition of Total Crime

In terms of the percentage share of total crimes within each city, Delhi showed an increase in crimes against women from 6.7% to 9.5% from 2004–06 to 2010–12 while Hyderabad recorded the highest share of crimes against women at both points of time (close to 10%). An analysis of the percentage share of the types of crimes in Delhi between 2004–06 and 2010–12 shows the share of crimes against property to be the highest during both time points, while body crimes and crimes against women also recorded an increase from 6.8% to 9.9%, and 6.7% to 9.5%, respectively, during the same period.

The composition of total crimes against women to the total IPC crimes has increased from 5.7% to 6.7% over the period under consideration.

Table 2: Composition of IPC Crimes within Major Cities Based on a Three-year Average during 2004–06 (%)

| Types of Crimes	Ahmedabad	Bengaluru	Chennai	Delhi	Hyderabad	Kolkata	Mumbai	Total Cities
Body crimes	10.5	14.1	14.2	6.8	30.3	17.6	16.1	14.7
Crimes against women	5.8	2.1	3.0	6.7	9.8	5.6	3.4	5.7
Crimes related to property	36.3	39.0	21.5	38.2	35.9	32.9	49.6	35.1
Economic crimes	3.3	6.4	3.1	5.2	11.5	11.9	7.3	6.0
Crimes against public order	0.8	1.7	0.5	0.2	0.9	2.0	0.9	1.6
Other IPC crimes	43.2	36.8	57.8	42.8	11.6	30.0	22.7	36.9
Total IPC crimes	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

Table 3: Composition of IPC Crimes within Major Cities Based on a Three-year Average during 2010–12 (%)

Types of Crimes	Ahmedabad	Bengaluru	Chennai	Delhi	Hyderabad	Kolkata	Mumbai	Total Cities
Body crimes	8.5	13.8	16.0	9.9	25.8	16.9	16.5	13.9
Crimes against women	8.1	3.8	2.9	9.5	10.7	7.0	4.5	6.7
Crimes related to property	26.5	41.5	16.6	48.5	31.4	20.7	49.0	31.7
Economic crimes	2.6	10.8	4.7	5.2	12.9	10.8	8.0	6.7
Crimes against public order	0.8	1.4	0.6	0.2	2.5	1.7	1.3	1.7
Other IPC crimes	53.5	28.7	59.2	26.6	16.6	42.9	20.6	39.2
Total IPC crimes	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

3 Crime against Women

Research literature on crime and violence against women in the Indian context is scant. The findings from the "Safe Cities Free of Violence against Women and Girls Initiative," conducted by Jagori (2010a) reveal that two out of three women reported being subjected to sexual harassment more than once a year. Spaces like the roadside and public transport were considered very unsafe; this is corroborated by the findings in the Perceptions Survey discussed later. According to the *Delhi Human Development Report 2006*, public safety emerged as a

Table 1: Rate of Murder, Rape and Kidnapping in Major Cities during 2004–06 and 2010–12

Crime	Year	Delhi	Chennai	Kolkata	Mumbai	Bengaluru	Hyderabad	Ahmedabad	Total Cities
Murder	2004–06	3.0	1.6	0.3	1.4	4.0	2.2	2.0	2.7
	2010–12	2.9	1.9	0.5	1.2	3.5	1.7	1.6	2.4
Rape	2004–06	4.1	0.6	0.2	1.1	0.6	1.3	0.9	1.5
	2010–12	3.2	0.9	0.3	1.2	1.1	0.9	1.0	1.7
Kidnapping	2004–06	9.5	0.8	0.7	1.2	2.4	2.5	4.5	3.4
	2010–12	19.7	0.8	1.3	1.2	7.3	1.5	3.9	5.2

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

Figure 2: Crime Rates against Women in the Major Cities (2005–06 and 2010–12)
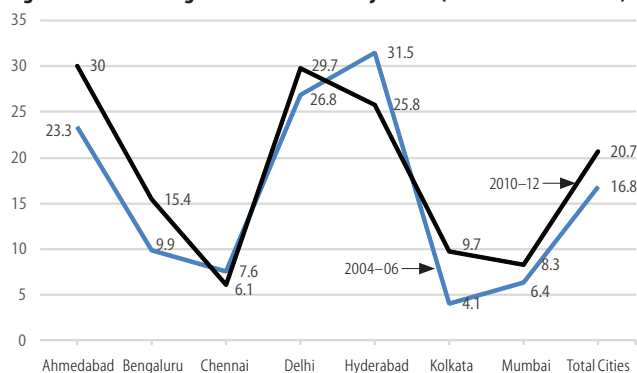
Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data, various years.

serious concern among the city's residents, with about 80% opining that the city was unsafe in general and half of these saying that the city was unsafe for women (Delhi Human Development Report 2006). Another study on understanding women and safety towards a gender inclusive city (2009–10) found that the most vulnerable groups identified were women below the age of 25 years, poor women in particular, shelter-less women, single women and Muslim women (Jagori 2010b).

Rate of Crimes against Women

Official data shows that in terms of rates of crimes against women, Delhi was second to Ahmedabad at 29.7 per 10,000. Ahmedabad had the highest crime rate at 30 in 2010–12. Crime rates increased in Ahmedabad, Bengaluru, Delhi, Mumbai and Kolkata, while it decreased in Chennai and Hyderabad. Overall in all the cities, crime rate increased from 16.8 to 20.7 per 1,00,000 between 2004–06 and 2010–12 (Figure 2).

The most important point to be noted is that in terms of the rates of different kinds of crime against women, Delhi reported the highest rate of rapes (4.1 per 1,00,000 in 2004–06 and 3.2 per 1,00,000 in 2010–12) as seen in Table 1. If the rates of crime against women are calculated as a proportion of the urban female population rather than of the total population as the NCRB has done in its latest report in 2012, then the indicator is found to decrease significantly from 58.2 to 49.8, between the years 2005–06 and 2008–09. However, between 2011 and 2012, the crime rate witnessed an increase to 63.6 per 1,00,000, thereby displaying a significant increase as compared to the 2005–06 level (Table 4).

Composition of Crimes against Women

Delhi has one of the highest shares of rapes (15.1% in 2004–06 and 10.8% in 2010–12) while kidnapping and abduction of girls constituted the highest share of well over one-third, followed by cruelty by parents and relatives in 2010–12. The share of

rape was found to be 6.1% in Bengaluru in 2004–06, and increased to 7.2% in 2010–12, while in Chennai, it increased from 7% to 14.6%, and in the case of Mumbai, it fell from 17.6% to 14.7%. Cruelty by husbands and relatives constituted over 75% of crimes against women in Ahmedabad and Hyderabad in 2010–12, while molestation constituted 37.2% of crimes against women in Mumbai and sexual harassment (eve-teasing) constituted over 19% of crimes against women in Chennai in 2010–12 (Tables 5 and 6).

Analysis of the victims of rape in Delhi and India according to age reveals that the share of rape cases of those under 18 years in Delhi during 2004–06 was almost 50% and increased to 59% in 2010–12. This was much higher than the total cities'

Table 4: Crime Rates against Women in Delhi*#

Crime Category	2005–06	2008–09	2011–12
Rape	8.3	5.6	6.9
Kidnapping and abduction	14.0	16.3	22.9
Dowry deaths	1.6	1.5	1.4
Cruelty by husband and relatives	22.2	17.5	22.3
Molestation	9.7	7.3	7.9
Eve-teasing	2.5	1.7	2.2
Importation of girls	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	58.2	49.8	63.6

* Based on an average of the years 2005–06, 2008-09 and 2011–12.
# The rate of crimes against women in 2012 was calculated as a proportion of the urban female population, unlike during the preceding years wherein it was calculated as a proportion of the total population. Table 4 presents the rates of crimes against women based on an average for the years 2005–06, 2008–09 and 2011–12, and on the urban female population projections, using data from the Census of India, 2001.
Source: Calculated as a proportion of the urban female population on the basis of Census of India, 2001, from the NCRB, various years.

Table 5: Composition of IPC Crime against Women within Major Cities Based on a Three-year Average during 2004–06　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(%)

Crime Category	Ahmedabad	Bengaluru	Chennai	Delhi	Hyderabad	Kolkata	Mumbai	Total Cities
Rape	3.8	6.1	7.0	15.1	4.1	4.7	17.6	8.8
Kidnapping and abduction	9.3	6.8	4.7	19.3	3.8	10.9	9.4	13.3
Dowry deaths	0.5	7.9	5.8	3.2	1.6	1.2	1.2	3.0
Cruelty by husband and relatives	78.2	47.5	41.2	40.6	69.1	46.5	29.0	47.6
Molestation	6.0	27.2	15.3	17.4	8.6	30.1	33.8	15.6
Sexual harassment	2.2	4.5	25.9	4.4	12.7	6.4	8.9	11.7
Importation of girls	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

Table 6: Composition of IPC Crime against Women within Major Cities Based on a Three-year Average during 2010–12　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(%)

Crime Category	Ahmedabad	Bengaluru	Chennai	Delhi	Kolkata	Hyderabad	Mumbai	Total Cities
Rape	3.4	7.2	14.6	10.8	3.6	3.4	14.7	8.3
Kidnapping and abduction	10.7	19.2	9.2	36.3	10.3	2.1	10.3	16.5
Dowry deaths	0.8	4.5	3.2	2.4	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.6
Cruelty by husband and relatives	79.9	39.7	39.8	34.5	44.9	78.0	24.8	49.5
Molestation	4.6	25.3	14.0	13.0	23.8	9.0	37.2	16.5
Sexual harassment	0.6	4.1	19.2	3.0	16.1	5.6	12.1	6.6
Importation of girls	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100.0	100	100	100	100

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

Table 7: Age- and Sex-wise Composition of Victims of Total Rape Cases in Delhi and India

Year		Up to 10 Years (%)	10–14 Years (%)	15–18 Years (%)	Above 18–30 Years (%)	31–50 Years (%)	Above 50 Years (%)	Total Cases (Number)
2004–06	Delhi	9.9	18.4	21.6	47.1	2.8	0.3	519
	All-India	7.5	12.4	22.9	46.8	9.9	0.4	1,639
2010–12	Delhi	10.3	14.8	33.5	33.9	7.0	0.6	484
	All-India	7.3	9.9	29.2	42.6	10.5	0.6	2,483

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data, various years.

share of 42.8% of total cases in 2004–06 and 46.4% in 2010–12. The proportion of victims under the age of 10 years constituted 10% of rape cases in Delhi during both the time points. The share of those between the ages of 15 and 18 years increased from 21.6% to 33.5%, while share of those from 18 to 30 years declined from 47.1% to 33.9% of the total rape cases from 2004–06 and 2010–12 in Delhi. While these trends suggest that young and adolescent girls are more unsafe than women in older age cohorts, at the same time, it is noteworthy that the share of rape of women from 31 to 50 years increased considerably from 2.8% to 7% and is vital in terms of law and policy.[8]

4 Crime against Children

Children are particularly vulnerable to crime and abuse. There is gross under-reporting of crimes against children such as trafficking, infanticide and rape; official data constitute a minuscule of the total crimes/violence committed against children (Government of India 2007). In Delhi, on an average, 14 children are reported missing daily according to the Crime in Delhi Report (Delhi Police 2012). The Delhi Police reports several incidents of children running away from their homes and the one principal reason cited is the desire to escape the intolerable conditions in their homes. A survey conducted by the Institute for Human Development and Save the Children among 50,000 children and a further in-depth study of 1,009 children revealed many crucial findings. A quarter of the respondents who reported having run away from their homes actually lived alone, and a majority of them continued to do so to escape abuse at home or were victims of kidnapping or trafficking, or had lost contact with their families; a significant proportion of children reported verbal and physical abuse (Institute for Human Development and Save the Children 2011). This is clearly indicative of the inability of the caregivers as well as the state to provide for children and protect them from violence and abuse.

Rate of Crimes against Children

In terms of rate of crimes against children, the NCRB data shows that the rate of overall crimes against children in all cities increased from 3.3 to 5.2 per 1,00,000 from 2004–06 to 2010–12. With the exception of Ahmedabad and Hyderabad, the rest of the cities experienced an increase in the rates of crimes against children during this time period. The rate of total crimes against children is reported to be the highest in Delhi with an increase from nineper 1,00,000 in 2004–06 to 22.3 per 1,00,000 in 2010–12 (Figure 3).

Upon analysing the rates of the different kinds of crime against children, we find that kidnapping and abduction of children

Figure 3: Crime Rates against Children in Major Cities (2004–06 and 2010–12)

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data, various years.
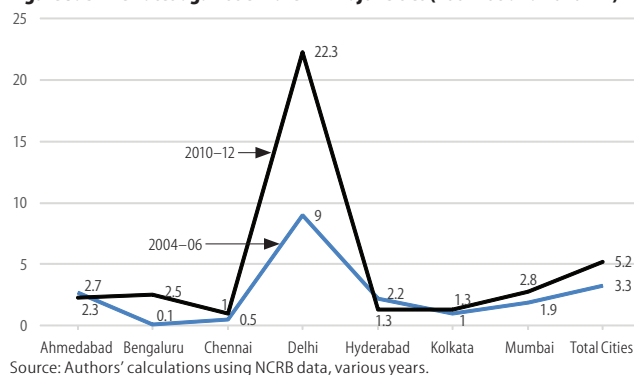
in Delhi increased significantly from 4.5 per 1,00,000 in 2004–06 to 18.3 per 1,00,000 in 2010–12, and remained the principal crime against children. This is keeping in view that some crimes against children such as foeticide, infanticide, abetment of suicide, and procurement of minor girls are known to be under-reported, while buying and selling of girls for prostitution may be incorrectly recorded under kidnappings and abduction (Tables 8 and 9).

Further analysis of the victims of kidnapping reveals that those below 18 years constituted a significant proportion of those kidnapped in 2004–06, and this share increased substantially in 2010–12, from 53% to over 90%, between the two time points. Moreover, an essential reading from these figures is the age- and sex-wise variation of this particular crime.

Table 8: Three-year Average of Category-wise IPC Crime Rates against Children in Major Cities during 2004–06

Crime Category	Ahmedabad	Bengaluru	Chennai	Delhi	Hyderabad	Kolkata	Mumbai	Total Cities
Murder	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Infanticide	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other murders	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rape	0.2	0.1	0.2	1.9	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.6
Kidnapping and abduction	0.3	0.1	0.1	4.5	0.5	0.3	0.2	1.1
Foeticide	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Abetment of suicide	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Exposure and abandonment	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.2
Procurement of minor girls	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Buying of girls for prostitution	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Selling of girls for prostitution	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other crimes	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.4	1.0	1.2
Total	2.7	0.1	0.5	9.0	2.2	1.0	1.9	3.3

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

Table 9: Three-year Average of Category-wise IPC Crime Rates against Children in Major Cities during 2010–12

Crime Category	Ahmedabad	Bengaluru	Chennai	Delhi	Hyderabad	Kolkata	Mumbai	Total Cities
Murder	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Infanticide	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other murders	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rape	0.1	0.2	0.5	1.9	0.3	0.2	0.8	0.5
Kidnapping and abduction	1.9	1.6	0.5	18.3	0.4	0.6	0.7	3.1
Foeticide	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Abetment of suicide	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Exposure and abandonment	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Procurement of minor girls	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Buying of girls for prostitution	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Selling of girls for prostitution	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Other crimes	0.0	0.3	0.0	1.5	0.4	0.3	1.1	1.3
Total	2.3	2.5	1.0	22.3	1.3	1.3	2.8	5.2

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

Among those below 10 years, the proportion of male children is found to be higher than that of female children, while the older age groups (15–18 years) comprised a larger proportion of females. In 2004–06, the percentage of male children below the age of 15 years was 14%, while in 2010–12 it increased significantly to 38%, female children in the same age group in 2004–06 constituted 17.4% and increased to 22.8% of those kidnapped. Among those between the ages of 15 and 18 years, males constituted 3.5% in 2004–06 and increased to over 11% in 2010–12, while females constituted 18% in 2004–06 and increased to over a quarter in 2010–12. It is clear that the kidnapping rates for younger males and females are much higher in Delhi when compared to the national figures. This trend reverses for male and female adults (over 18 years). This could be indicative of the presence of child trafficking in the capital and needs urgent legal and policy attention (Table 10).

From 2004 to 2006, kidnappings and abductions constituted 50% of the crimes against children in Delhi, while from 2010 to 2012, they increased to 82.1%. The share of kidnappings is high across cities like Ahmedabad, Bengaluru, Chennai and Kolkata.

It is thus clear from the official data that the crime rates against children in Delhi are among the highest, with rape and kidnappings being alarmingly high. These are crucial issues for the government, police, law and social policy. Children need to be afforded the highest priority, especially in terms of physical security (Tables 11 and 12).

Ranking Based on Crime Rate

In terms of ranking of crimes based on cognisable crime rates, Delhi seems to have improved in terms of total cognisable crimes from the previous year, although its ranking in terms of crimes against women has worsened between 2011 and 2012. Moreover, Delhi fares abysmally in terms of the total cognisable crimes against children, although the rank is not available for 2012 (Table 13).

Charge Sheets and Convictions

At the level of the police, the pendency rate shows a decreasing trend overall, although it increased from 43.7% to 51.9% from 2005 to 2007, and then decreased to 42% in 2012. The rate of charge-sheeting has remained more or less consistent from 2008 to 2011, to increase significantly from 55% in 2011

Table 10: Age- and Sex-wise Composition of Victims of Kidnappings and Abductions in Delhi and India

Year		Total Number of Cases Reported	Up to 10 Years (%)		10–15 Years (%)		15–18 Years (%)		Above 18 Years (%)		Total (%)	
			Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total Men	Total Women
2004-06	Delhi	1,414	8.0	5.9	6.1	11.5	3.5	18.0	15.5	31.4	30.7	66.9
	All-India	23,383	1.2	0.9	1.2	3.8	1.3	10.2	27.3	54.1	31.0	69.0
2010-12	Delhi	3,648	9.9	4.8	23.2	18.0	11.3	26.0	2.9	4.0	47.2	52.8
	All-India	43,565	1.6	1.1	2.9	6.5	2.1	21.7	15.2	48.9	21.8	78.2

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

Table 11: Composition of IPC Crime against Children within Major Cities Based on a Three-year Average during 2004–06 (%)

Crime Category	Ahmedabad	Bengaluru	Chennai	Delhi	Hyderabad	Kolkata	Mumbai	Total Cities
Murder	4.8	6.1	2.9	4.4	11.1	2.9	11.1	4.3
Infanticide	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Other murders	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rape	4.8	28.3	13.7	22.2	26.8	19.7	26.8	19.3
Kidnapping and abduction	23.6	30.3	22.7	50.0	37.9	46.4	37.9	29.3
Foeticide	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.6
Abetment of suicide	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2
Exposure and abandonment	51.5	0.0	3.5	4.7	18.3	1.3	18.3	7.3
Procurement of minor girls	5.5	5.6	2.2	0.0	3.3	0.5	3.3	0.7
Buying of girls for prostitution	0.0	1.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.6
Selling of girls for prostitution	1.2	3.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2
Other crimes	29.1	24.7	52.8	18.0	2.6	28.2	2.6	37.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

Table 12: Composition of IPC Crime against Children within Major Cities Based on a Three-year Average during 2010–12 (%)

Crime Category	Ahmedabad	Bengaluru	Chennai	Delhi	Hyderabad	Kolkata	Mumbai	Total Cities
Murder	0.0	3.6	8.2	0.9	3.1	0.6	2.9	2.4
Infanticide	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.2	0.2
Other murders	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rape	6.3	8.3	46.3	8.4	22.1	12.1	27.0	9.2
Kidnapping and abduction	81.1	66.9	44.7	82.1	27.5	48.6	26.3	59.4
Foeticide	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	1.9	0.0	0.3	0.4
Abetment of suicide	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.4	0.3	0.2
Exposure and abandonment	12.1	2.8	0.0	1.6	8.1	0.0	4.3	2.8
Procurement of minor girls	0.2	7.8	0.0	0.1	0.0	9.0	0.1	0.9
Buying of girls for prostitution	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.1	0.2
Selling of girls for prostitution	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.4	4.8	0.0	0.2
Other crimes	0.2	10.4	0.8	6.7	34.5	24.0	38.7	24.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

Table 13: Ranking of Different Cognisable Crimes in Delhi in 2011 and 2012

Rank	2011	2012
Total cognisable crimes	26	31
Total cognisable crimes against women	21	16
Total cognisable crimes against children	2	NA

Source: Authors' Calculations using NCRB data.

Table 14: Delhi — Status of Police and Court Cases Dealing with General IPC Crimes (2005 to 2012)

Years	Police Cases (%)		Court Cases (%)		
	Charge Sheet	Pendency	Conviction	Acquittal	Pendency
2005	56.3	43.7	8.9	5.5	85.6
2006	53.7	46.3	9.6	5.1	85.3
2007	48.1	51.9	9.7	5.3	85.0
2008	55.2	44.8	5.8	3.1	91.1
2009	52.6	47.4	5.4	3.9	90.7
2010	50.0	50.0	4.6	4.3	91.1
2011	55.0	45.0	5.3	5.7	88.9
2012	70.4	42.1	7.1	6.2	86.7

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

to 70.4% in 2012, which is a positive development. At the level of the courts, the conviction rate has been decreasing since 2005, although it increased marginally from 5.3 in 2011 to 7.1 in 2012. Pendency rate remains high, although it decreased from 88.9 in 2011 to 86.7 in 2012. The rate of acquittal increased slightly from 5.7 to 6.2 between 2011 and 2012 (Table 14, p 91).

In the case of rape cases, the pendency rate has been seen to be increasing since 2007 and reached 30.2% in 2012, which is cause for concern. Though the rate of cases of charge-sheeting increased between 2005 and 2010, it dropped significantly from 2010 to 69.8%. The conviction rate has increased since 2005 and has doubled in 2012. It is important to note that the figure is higher than the conviction rate of general crimes. However the pendency rate of court cases has also been seen to be increasing, while the acquittal rate has been decreasing (which could be attributed to the larger number of pending cases). It is important to note however that the rate of acquittal in rape cases is still much higher than that of the general IPC crimes (Table 15).

Table 15: Delhi — Status of Police and Court Cases Dealing with Rape from 2005 to 2012 in Delhi

Years	Police Cases (%)		Court Cases (%)		
	Charge Sheet	Pendency	Conviction	Acquittal	Pendency
2005	68.7	31.3	7.2	38.3	54.5
2006	91.8	8.2	8.2	24.5	67.3
2007	84.2	15.8	9.1	23.8	67.1
2008	87.6	12.4	6.8	15.5	77.6
2009	87.7	12.3	10.2	11.4	78.4
2010	86.0	14.0	7.8	14.6	77.6
2011	77.2	22.8	9.9	13.9	76.3
2012	69.8	30.2	14.8	15.2	70.0

Source: Authors' calculations using NCRB data.

Upon comparing the process of police investigation and court cases, it is seen that rape cases fare marginally better than general cases of crime. However there is not much cause for celebration. According to Shakil (2013), only one-third of the police complaints regarding rape were actually registered as first information reports. Of these registered complaints less than 60% were charge-sheeted, and of these less than 15% went to the courts, and finally less than a quarter of these saw conviction. Thus, the entire process of reporting till conviction is biased and reflective of the patriarchal norms that are entrenched in these state institutions.

5 Findings from the Perceptions Survey, 2013

This section uses the data set of the Perceptions Survey conducted by the Institute for Human Development, New Delhi for the *Delhi Human Development Report, 2013*.[9] While the survey collected information on a wide range of issues, the focus of this section is on information relating to various aspects of crime and safety of the population, in general, and of women, in particular. The broad areas of inquiry included:
(i) rating Delhi in terms of personal safety,
(ii) how safe/secure people felt living in their localities,
(iii) rating the security of women and girls in the city in three spaces apart from their homes, viz, the localities in which they resided, public transport and at the workplace,
(iv) perceptions of crime levels during the last three years,

(v) whether the respondents have experienced crime, and the nature of these crimes,
(vi) level of satisfaction with the police, in terms of their promptness or response and approachability, and
(vii) the steps that can be taken to improve people's safety/security in Delhi.[10]

The survey draws a representative sample of Delhi's population aged 15 and above in all the nine districts of the state. A three-stage stratified sample design was adopted. While the first two stages used pre-existing sampling frames from Census 2011, using the census urban wards and census enumeration blocks as sampling units, the third and the last stage sampling frame was developed by the survey, using sex, age and education as parameters. Sampling was done independently within each district and aimed to generate reliable district-level estimates. A total of 50,593 individuals were listed from 20,301 households and 8,029 respondents were finally surveyed for public perception. The survey was conducted from 19 December 2012 to 15 February 2013.[11]

Apart from the survey, qualitative research was carried out through focus group discussions (FGDs) in selected localities. In particular, the FGDs were conducted only with women in four locations[12] across the city to understand the issues that specifically concerned women's and children's safety. Interviews were also conducted with the police personnel in police stations at various locations in the city to better understand their perspective.[13] In the FGDs, the key points of discussions included identification of the areas considered most unsafe; the people who were most vulnerable to crime and violence; threats to safety of children, incidents of crime, perceptions about the police; coping mechanisms; gender-based violence; perceptions about the increase or decline in crime; the response of the state on the issue of crime; and, recommendations on how to make Delhi safe(r).[14]

5.1 Perceptions Regarding Personal Safety in the City

More than one-third of the respondents rated safety in the city unfavourably. Figure 4 reveals that 37.8% of the respondents rated levels of personal safety in Delhi to be poor (30.7%) or very poor (7.2%), while about 30% of the people reported that levels of personal safety were very good (0.8%) or good (28.8%) in the city.

When disaggregated by district and locality, a majority of respondents in New Delhi rated personal safety in the city–state as poor and very poor (56.3%). This was followed by the districts of South Delhi (49.7%), North-West Delhi (41.2%), Central Delhi (39.4%) and West Delhi (38.6%) where respondents rated levels of personal safety as lower than the all-Delhi average.

Figure 4: How Do People Rate Personal Safety in Delhi?

Do not know 1%
Very good 1%
Very poor 7%
Good 29%
Average 31%
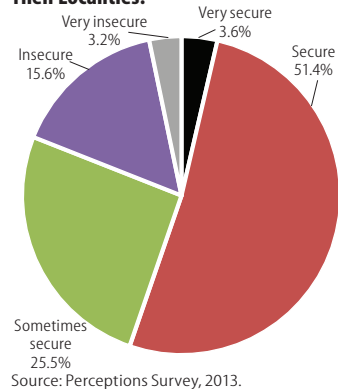Poor 31%
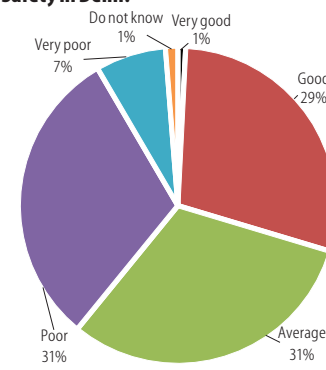
Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

It is interesting to note that residents of the posh localities rated personal safety in Delhi as most unfavourable, with 46.2% of these residents saying it was poor or very poor. This was followed by the walled city (41.9%), the *jhuggi jhopri* (JJ) clusters (40%), the authorised colony (39.9%), the JJ resettlement colony (36.9%), urban village (34.9%) and the unauthorised colony (31.0%). In other words, it appears that it is the residents of the "rich" localities who feel most that the city is unsafe. Perceptions regarding personal safety differed among men and women as well. In comparison with men (31.8%), far fewer women (26.8%) thought personal safety was good or very good. In fact the gender difference in overall perceptions of personal safety in Delhi was 5%.

The survey revealed caste-wise variations as well with the Scheduled Tribes (STs) rating Delhi most poorly among all caste groups;[15] less than one-fifth of the ST respondents felt personal security was good (18.9%) or very good (0.7%). On the other hand, perceptions of the upper castes, Other Backward Classes (OBC) and Scheduled Castes related to personal safety were more positive; 30.1, 29.7 and 29.6% found personal safety to be good or very good, respectively. At the same time, it is interesting to note that migrants across all caste groups rated Delhi much higher on personal safety than non-migrants. This can perhaps be read in conjuction with the fact that a majority of migrants in Delhi are from the relatively poorly governed states of Bihar, Jharkhand and Uttar Pradesh.

5.2 Perceptions Regarding Personal Safety within Localities

In response to the question as to how safe they felt while living *within* their localities, a majority of the respondents (51.4%) reported feeling secure (Figure 5). Another 26% felt secure

Figure 5: How Safe Do People Feel in Their Localities?

Very secure 3.6%
Very insecure 3.2%
Insecure 15.6%
Secure 51.4%
Sometimes secure 25.5%

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

sometimes, and overall less than 20% of the population felt insecure, or very insecure.

Across the districts, those living within the localities of New Delhi felt most secure with more than 70% of respondents from this district feeling secure or very secure, which is in contrast to the perception of New Delhi being the most unsafe among the districts. This could be reflective of the variable perceptions people have of the city and the residential areas they reside in. While respondents may feel unsafe in the city, they feel relatively safer in the localities they reside in which are probably gated and secured through private arrangements. As regards the other districts, the corresponding figures were Central Delhi, 61.8%, North-East Delhi, 70.0%, and North Delhi, 62.7%.
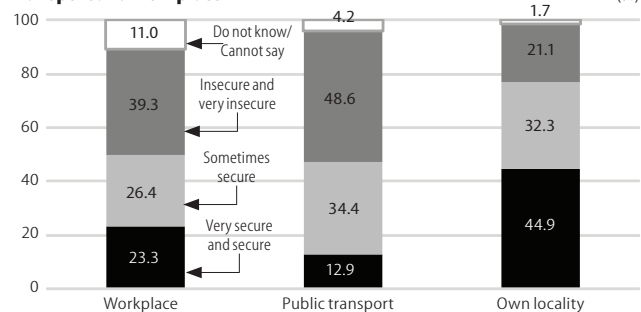
Interestingly, residents of the unauthorised colonies felt most secure in their localities (with more than 65% reporting

that they felt secure or very secure). This could potentially be linked to the sense of security one feels within the familiarity of one's own neighbourhood which could be attributed to a feeling of safety. This was followed respectively by respondents from the walled city (62.4%), authorised colonies (57.2%), urban villages (52.5%), posh localities (49.5%), JJ resettlement colonies (49.4%) and JJ clusters (40.8%). When disaggregated by age, senior citizens reported feeling relatively less secure (52%) in comparison to the aggregate (55.2%). In terms of caste, the perceptions followed the pattern of the overall city.

5.3 Perceptions Regarding Women's Safety

The survey asked respondents about their perceptions on women's safety in various spaces that they engaged in outside of their homes. These included the localities where they stayed, their workplace and public transport. Figure 6 presents perceptions on the safety of women in these three spaces. The Perceptions Survey results reveal that people expressed that women are most safe in spaces close to their homes — in their own localities. This is followed by their workplace, and while using public transport. Women are least secure while using public transport.

Figure 6: People's Perceptions of Women's Safety in Their Localities, Public Transport and Workplace (%)

Do not know/ Cannot say
Insecure and very insecure
Sometimes secure
Very secure and secure

	Workplace	Public transport	Own locality
Do not know/Cannot say	11.0	4.2	1.7
Insecure and very insecure	39.3	48.6	21.1
Sometimes secure	26.4	34.4	32.3
Very secure and secure	23.3	12.9	44.9

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

Most respondents felt that women were most secure within the localities they lived in. When this data was disaggregated by the locality of residence, the respondents from the posh colonies, JJ resettlement colonies and JJ clusters reported women to be least secure within their own localities, revealing that the "rich" and the "poor" localities were considered to be the most unsafe for women. On the other hand, the urban villages, unauthorised colonies and the walled city were rated as most secure by their residents. Through the FGDs, respondents mapped the unsafe areas within their colonies such as those around alcohol shops, isolated spaces, unlit roads and public toilets. Public toilets, in particular, were considered very unsafe due to the constant presence of men, and women had to resort to visiting toilets in groups or during the early or late hours of the day. One girl said, "When we go to the toilets, they harass us by teasing us and throwing stones at us." The lack of properly functioning, clean and safe public toilets poses serious health and safety concerns for women and girls who fear being harassed or assaulted while using these as highlighted in a report by Sheikh (2008) on slums and resettlement colonies in Delhi, indicating that poorer women and girls are most

vulnerable. Lack of street lighting and dark areas were perceived as unsafe. Incidents of chain snatching and sexual harassment were reportedly common near alcohol shops and parks. In August 2012, a survey conducted by the Delhi Police revealed over 1,500 areas in the city including areas near colleges, schools, residential areas and metro stations that were unlit and perceived as being unsafe (Anand 2012). In one FGD,[16] women reported, "Parks in the vicinity are unsafe as groups of men can be seen gambling. Stray incidents of chain snatching, especially by boys on motorbikes are common." In another FGD,[17] women said, "The railway *fatak* (level crossing) area is very dangerous. That is where the boys hang out. Girls have to cross that area to reach their school and these boys harass them. The need for more police presence and patrolling at night was highlighted.

Less than 25% of the respondents felt that the workplace was a secure space for women, with not too much difference between male and female respondents. This may be reflective of the gender biases and fear that prevails in big cities like Delhi which affect women's mobility and participation in the workforce. Disaggregated by religious groups, the data reveals that respondents from minority communities (Muslims and Sikhs) felt that the workspace was less secure for women vis-à-vis Hindus, which could also be reflective of the general sense of insecurity they might feel which gets projected at the workplace as well.

In terms of safety while using public transport, only 13% thought that public transport was very secure or secure for women. This perception emerged quite clearly in the FGDs too. Women felt that buses were the worst in terms of safety, and reported being regularly harassed. Additionally, perceptions regarding the safety of public transport for women decreased with increasing education levels, which could be potentially associated with increasing understanding of their rights and decreasing tolerance towards such behaviour.

5.4 Perceptions about the Incidence of Crime over Time

The Perceptions Survey revealed that all kinds of crime in the city had increased in the last three years and this trend was reflected in the FGDs as well, both among men and women. The FGD respondents felt that small crimes (such as sexual harassment, knifing, and stealing) had increased. However, these perceptions varied across districts. While more than 80% of the respondents in New Delhi felt that big crimes (murders, kidnappings, rape) had increased, and 15.0% felt that crime had actually declined, the corresponding figures for North-West Delhi were 97.7% and 0.7%, respectively. In the case of small crimes, the trend was similar, but the variation between districts was less. The relatively positive outlook on the overall crime scenario in the former case may be attributed to better policing and other infrastructure in the 'most important' district of Delhi due to its political significance.

5.5 Experiencing Crime

The Perceptions Survey revealed that close to one-tenth of the respondents or their family members had been victims of some crime or the other during the last three years. There was considerable district-wise variation in these perceptions, ranging from 2.8% in South-West Delhi to 17.3% and 17.5% in the Central and West Delhi districts, respectively (Figure 7).

Figure 7: District-wise Percentage of Respondents and Their Families Reporting Experience of Crime (during the Preceding 3 years)
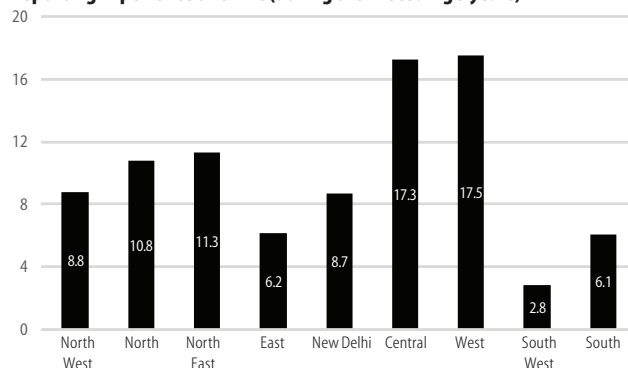
Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

In terms of locality, more than 18% of respondents from the posh colonies reported having experienced some form of crime as compared to the average rate of crime experienced in Delhi which was reported to be over 9%. On the other hand, the residents of authorised colonies, JJ clusters and the walled city reported experiencing crime rates less than the average for Delhi. In terms of religious communities, the minority communities reported experiencing crime more than the Hindus (8.9%). In particular, the Sikhs (17.6%) were most vulnerable, followed by the Muslims (11.0%).

5.6 Nature of Crime

The most common crimes reported by the respondents or their families were thefts (69.2%); robberies (16.7%); crimes against women which included sexual harassment (6.0%), family violence (2.4%), and sexual assault (0.7%); and other crimes (fraud 2.9%, vandalism, 1.6%, and others, 0.6%). With regard to the composition of criminal offences by income categories, it was found that thefts had more likely been experienced by those belonging to the lower-income groups, robberies by those in the higher-income groups, and the reporting of sexual harassment was also higher amongst the higher-income groups.

5.7 Perceptions Regarding the Police

The overall perceptions of the police were not satisfactory. In terms of the promptness of response, less than a quarter of the respondents reported being satisfied (Figure 8).

This lack of faith was expressed during the FGDs where people complained about the lack of promptness in acting and the fact that they had to take care of their safety themselves.

Figure 8: People's Rating of Promptness Displayed by the Police
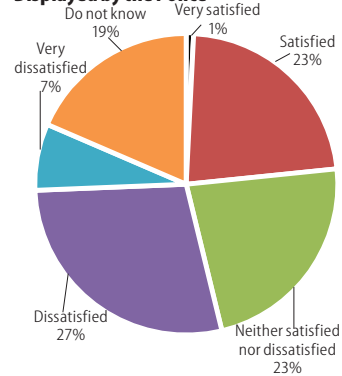
Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

Physical and emotional harassment by the police was also reported among the poor settlements. It emerges that religious minorities are the least satisfied with the promptness in which the police responds, with 35.9% Muslim respondents and 34.8% Sikh respondents reporting being "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" as compared to the all-Delhi average of 32.5%. Respondents belonging to the high-income category reported being the "most dissatisfied" with the police response in terms of promptness (39.1% reported being "dissatisfied" and another 11.2% reported being "very dissatisfied").

When the respondents were probed about the approachability of the police, a little less than a quarter of the respondents were satisfied with their interactions while 19% chose not to reply (Figure 9). In the FGDs, the respondents voiced the need for a larger police force, especially more female police personnel and for the police to treat citizens better.

Figure 9: People's Ratings about the Approachability of the Police

Do not know 19%
Very satisfied 1%
Very dissatisfied 7%
Satisfied 21%
Dissatisfied 25%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 26%

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

In response to the question as to the two most important measures that were needed to enhance safety and security in the city, the respondents to the Perceptions Survey offered some useful suggestions, such as increase in police patrolling coupled with immediate action against any crime, implementation of stricter laws for "safety for all," and improvements in police behaviour.

Discussions were held with police officers during the course of the Perceptions Survey 2013 to obtain their perceptions and the challenges and difficulties they face while performing their duties. Respondents felt that they and the nature of their work were not understood by the public. A female police officer said, "After the December 2012 gang rape case, women officers (have to) report for duty at night. Sometimes when we do not answer the phone the first time, people complain. It is not easy." They mentioned the shortage of police staff; in India, there is one police officer per 761 common citizens as compared to the ideal ratio of one police officer per 568 people (Bureau of Police Research and Development as cited by Mohan 2012 and DNA 2013). This is in stark contrast to the number of police officials available for the VIPs (three officials for one VIP). Delhi has 448 police officers per 1,00,000 persons (Mohan 2012) as compared to the ideal ratio of 176 per 1,00,000 persons and the ideal figure recommended by the United Nations of 222 police officials for 1,00,000 persons (DNA 2013). The interviews particularly threw light on the difficult conditions of work of police officers. Problems in their workspaces were also discussed. A male officer said, "There is no basic infrastructure here in the police stations, there is no regular water and the toilets are not cleaned. We can't go home. People expect us to do so much, but look at the way we function…" The discussion revealed poor morale

among the police. Another male police officer said, "People treat us like dirt; they do not have any respect for our authority. I sometimes feel fear when I go out, especially in my civilian clothes. I want to leave my job as I do not get any holiday to go back to my village."

5.8 Perceptions about the City and People: FGDs

The discussions held to understand what people thought of the city, which were the unsafe areas, who were the people most vulnerable to crime and who perpetrated violence showed that the areas around alcohol shops and gambling dens were perceived to be very unsafe. Dark spaces, such as parks, were also considered unsafe and susceptible to crimes, especially crimes against women. Apart from women, children were perceived to be most vulnerable in the city. There is a sense of fear and this was articulated in the FGDs. Parents discussed fears about the safety of their children, especially if they were unaccompanied while travelling or while at play. In particular, mothers said that they did not send young girls out of the house alone.

The FGDs with both men and women revealed that it was mostly men, particularly unemployed men who commit economic crimes. Women reported that it was generally older men who harassed women, especially in public transport. Many regarded the influence of Western culture reflected in women and girls wearing Western clothes to be the main reason for sexual harassment. The FGDs held with only men revealed that there was a general sense that if a woman is harassed while she is out of her home, it is usually her fault.

6 Summing Up

The Perceptions Survey reveals some interesting findings and paradoxes. In particular, there were spatial variations in perceptions of personal safety. While a majority of Delhi's population felt safe in the areas where they resided, namely their locality and their neighbourhood, they also felt that crime had increased over time and rated Delhi poorly in terms of personal safety. Thus there was a difference between the way people viewed their neighbourhoods and the way they perceived the overall city. Women found the city to be more unsafe than men. Among the socio-economic groups, STs rated personal safety most poorly, while migrants possessed a more favourable view of Delhi.

Minority communities, children and senior citizens emerged as groups vulnerable to crimes and violence which is corroborated by the media and other research studies. Senior citizens felt far more unsafe about their personal safety in their own localities, and also had less positive perceptions about women's safety in general. The fear for their children's safety emerged most strongly across the FGDs. Minority communities were more likely to experience crime, and to be involved in litigation which could be potentially explained in terms of the insecurity and social exclusion that many minorities experience in Delhi and other cities.

Perceptions about women's safety in the city, particularly public spaces and public transport were very poor and most
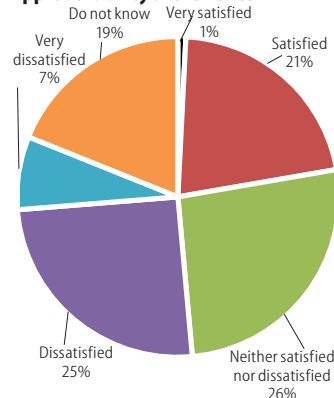
women experienced a fear of public spaces and potential sexual harassment on a daily basis. Perceptions regarding the police were mostly negative and there was a widespread understanding that a responsive police is the need of the hour.

Comparing these empirical findings with the NCRB data reveals some gaps and consistencies. Although in terms of *recorded* crimes against women, Delhi does not emerge as the most unsafe city, as it is perceived to be by people and the media, in terms of crimes against children, the fears and perceptions remain consistent with the NCRB data. However, the urgent issue of safety of children has not received enough media and policy attention. Delhi has reported the highest crimes against children, particularly kidnappings, much of which is a result of trafficking, given that Delhi is considered a trafficking hub. The role of the media could be essential in terms of spreading awareness and prioritising this issue as deserving immediate legal and policy attention. The role of the media[18] too needs to be assessed in the context of crimes against women, which have been its singular focus in terms of crimes and appears to have instilled constant fear and paranoia.[19] This not only stigmatises certain areas and people, it also restricts social mobility of women and girls causing them to drop out of school and work (Wasif 2011). This is not to say that the role of the media in spreading awareness is not appreciated, but responsible rather than sensational reporting could go a long way in creating a social atmosphere to empower and deal with violence against women. Much more space and priority need to be given to crimes against children which are currently disproportionate to the crime rate.

What emerges from this comparison of secondary and primary data is the simultaneous existence of *incidence* of violence and crime on the one hand and *perception* of crime and violence on the other. Both these components make for a holistic understanding of crime and violence. While crime records do offer a view on the prevalence of different kinds of reported crimes, it does not capture various unreported incidents of violence neither does it capture the fear and experience of violence.[20]

This paper suggests that a combination of various data sets[21] is important to capture crime and violence and that it will be useful thus to design a holistic methodology including in-depth victimisation surveys and conduct them regularly in addition to the documentation of crime records. People also need to be included in discussions on crime and safety in a broader way, which includes providing reliable and accurate information to the public, as well as building trust and approachability between the people and the criminal justice system through regular consultations in various platforms, such as websites, email and social media. The NCRB data should be assessed by various experts in order to improve data collection, categorisation as well as analysis.[22] Combination of these different kinds of data sets will facilitate understanding the perceptions, fears, actual incidence of violence and crime as well as people's relationship with the criminal justice system, which will go a long way in formulating more grounded laws and policies.

NOTES

1 The Indian Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) classifies crime into (a) Cognisable offence and (b) Non-Cognisable offence. In the case of the former, officers of the police are empowered to act without the permission of the magistrate, i e, without obtaining a court order; while in the case of the latter; the police must obtain a court order before arresting the person concerned.

2 Crimes against women include rapes, dowry deaths, kidnappings and abduction of women and girls, molestation, sexual harassment, importation of girls and perpetration of cruelty by husbands and relatives.

3 Crimes against children include rape, infanticide, kidnapping and abduction of children, foeticide, procurement of minor girls, buying and selling of girls for prostitution, abetment to suicide, exposure and abandonment.

4 IPC crimes include murders, attempt to commit murder, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, kidnappings, hurt, causing death by negligence, robbery, preparation and assembly for dacoity, robbery, burglary and theft, arson, riots, rapes, dowry deaths, kidnappings and abduction of women and girls, molestation, sexual harassment, importation of girls and cruelty perpetrated by husbands and relatives.

5 Crime per 1,00,000 population.

6 In 2004, the NCRB recorded crimes in 35 cities, while in 2011, crimes in 53 cities were recorded.

7 Violent crimes include crimes against the body like murders and kidnappings; crimes against women and children like rapes, dowry deaths, kidnappings and abduction of women and girls, perpetration of cruelty by husbands and relatives. This section will however focus on murders, kidnapping and rapes as the main forms of violent crimes.

8 An in-depth analysis of all (600) cases of sexual assault that came before the six district courts of Delhi in 2013 by reveals that 583 cases were tried in court, 40% of which involved elopement of the girl as alledged by the girl's parents, a quarter of these involved false promise to marry by the boy, and the remaining significant 27% involved young men assaulting children in poor settlements (Rukmini 2014).

9 The Perceptions Survey was supported by the government of NCT Delhi and UNDP; the *Delhi Human Development Report, 2013* and provides a comprehensive analysis of various aspects of human development in Delhi, including employment, livelihoods, educational opportunities, healthcare, basic services and amenities and public safety, relying on the latest statistics and information, as well as a large survey on the perceptions and aspirations of the people. This section is based on some of the results from the survey data set.

10 It needs to be noted that the Perceptions Survey, 2013, mainly addressed public safety issues. In relation to women, the survey was confined to probing about women's safety in public spaces. Women's security within their homes was beyond the scope of this survey.

11 For more details on the methodology of the aurvey, see Annexure 1.1, *Delhi Human Development Report, 2013.*

12 These were Mongolpuri in North East District, Harsh Vihar, Ashok Vihar, Satyavati Railway Colony and Sultanpuri in North West District, Patel Nagar and Raghuvir Nagar in West District, Paharganj in Central District.

13 These were Mongolpuri and Sultanpuri police stations.

14 It may be noted that the Perceptions Survey, 2013, was carried out soon after the incident of 16 December 2012, which is likely to have influenced responses.

15 The population of Scheduled Tribes in Delhi is much lower than the all-India average.

16 in Satyawati Colony, Ashok Vihar in district North West Delhi.

17 in Sultanpuri in district North West Delhi.

18 Warr (2000) presents an analysis of fear of crime and victimisation in the United States and suggests that the fear of crime could be debilitating as it is often based on inaccurate information. Therefore, the State and the criminal justice system should take responsibility in providing accurate and reliable information to the public about actual crime and the fear associated with the risk of being a victim of crime.

19 According to the British Crime Survey (1981 to 2005–06), readers of national tabloids were about twice as likely as those who read national broadsheets to think the national crime rate had increased a lot in the previous two years. See Jannson (2007) for details.

20 The National Family Health Survey is the only national survey which employs the victimisation component and approaches domestic violence from the perspective of health and well-being. However, it does not capture domestic does it capture the long term effects on the woman's agency.

21 Bowling (1993) while studying crime surveys on racial harassment says that events-oriented criminological research is unable to capture the multidimensional and systematic nature of victimisation and suggests that surveys be complimented with other methods of research to enable understanding socio-economic contexts in which racial harassment and crime occurs.

22 Suggested by Vrinda Grover, Human Rights lawyer, cited in *Hindu* (Rukmini 2013).

REFERENCES

Anand, J (2012): "Delhi's Underbelly: 1500 Dark Spots," *Hindustan Times*, 30 August, available at: http://www.hindustantimes.com/India-news/NewDelhi/Delhi-s-underbelly-1-500-dark-spots/Article1-922085.aspx, accessed on 30 January 2015.

Bowling, B (1993): "Racial Harassment and The Process of Victimization: Conceptual and Methodological Implications for the Local Crime Survey," *The British Journal of Criminology,* 33(2), 231–50.

Delhi Police (2012): "Crime in Delhi," available at: http:// www.delhipolice.nic.in/, accessed on 3 March 2013.

Dreze, Jean and Reetika Khera (2000): "Crime, Gender and Society in India: Insights from Homicide Data," *Population and Development Review*, 26(2).

DNA (2013). "Police to People Ratio: Three Cops for Every VIP but Just One for 761 Commoners," *Daily News and Analysis,* 25 August, available online http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-police-to-people-ratio-3-cops-for-every-vip-but-just-1-for-761-commoners-1879695, accessed on 29 January 2015.

Government of India (2007): "Study of Child Abuse: India 2007," New Delhi: Ministry of Women and Child Development.

Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi (2006): *Delhi Human Development Report*, New Delhi: Government of Delhi.

Institute for Human Development (2013): *Delhi Human Development Report 2013: Improving Lives Promoting Inclusion,* New Delhi: Institute for Human Development and Academic Foundation.

Institute for Human Development and Save the Children (2011): "Surviving the Streets," New Delhi: Institute for Human Development and Save the Children.

Jagori (2010a): "Safe Cities Free of Violence against Women and Girls Initiative," Report of the Baseline Survey Delhi 2010, New Delhi, available at: http://jagori.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Baseline-Survey_layout_for-Print_12_03_2011.pdf , accessed on 25 January 2015.

— (2010b): "Understanding Women's Safety towards a Gender-inclusive City: Research Findings (2009–10)," available at: http://www.endvawnow.org/uploads/browser/files/understanding_womens_safety.pdf, accessed on 24 January 2015.

Jansson, K (2007): *British Crime Survey-measuring Crime for 25 Years*, London: Home Office.

Mohan, Vishwa (2012): "Over One Fifth of Country's Police Force Just on Paper," *The Times of India*, 24 December, available online http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-12-24/india/35990966_1_vip-security-police-vacancy-police-force, accessed on 29 January 2015.

National Crimes Record Bureau, available online http://ncrb.nic.in/

Perappadan, Bindu Shajan (2014): "Crimes against Women, Children on the Rise in Delhi, Says Report," *The Hindu*, 30 November, available online http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/crimes-against-women-children-on-the-rise-in-delhi-says-report/article6648311.ece, accessed on 25 January 2015.

Philipose, Pamela (2013): "Anxieties in the Republic: Media Metamorphosis and Popular Protest," *Economic & Political Weekly*, 48(6): 20-22.

Rukmini, S (2013): "India Officially Undercounts All Crimes Including Rapes," *The Hindu*, 13 September, available online http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/india-officially-undercounts-all-crimes-including-rape/article5122220.ece, accessed on 25 January 2015.

— (2014): "The Many Shades of Rape Cases in Delhi," *The Hindu,* 29 July, available online http://www.thehindu.com/data/the-many-shades-of-rape-cases-in-delhi/article6261042.ece, accessed on 29 January 2015.

Shakil, Albeena (2013): "Rape and Honour Crimes: The NCRB Report 2012," *Economic & Political Weekly,* 48 (31).

Sheikh, S (2008): "Public Toilets in Delhi: An Emphasis on the Facilities for Women in Slum/Resettlement Areas," CCS Working Paper No 192, Centre for Civil Society, New Delhi, available at http://ccs.in/internship_papers/2008/Public-toilets-in-Delh-192.pdf, accessed on 24 January 2015.

Wasif, Sehrish (2011): "Violence against Women: Victims Raped Once, Violated Twice," *The Express Tribune with the International New York Times*, 5 April, available online http://tribune.com.pk/story/142952/violence-against-women-victims-raped-once-violated-twice/, accessed on 23 April 2014.

Warr, M (2000): "Fear of Crime in the United States: Avenues for Research and Policy," *Criminal Justice*, 4(4), 451-89.