Working Together for Girls' and Women's Safety in Public Spaces: Lessons from India

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3D Program
FOR GIRLS & WOMEN

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The 3D Program for Girls and Women advances gender equality and girls and women's empowerment by helping local governments work more efficiently across departments, and with civil society and the private sector, to increase economic opportunities for girls and women and address their health, education and safety needs. We call it good governance through convergent action: when government comes together across departments to develop a shared vision and accepts joint accountability for their policies and actions, the result is greater than the sum of its parts.

The 3D Program is currently working in Pune City and rural Pune District in Maharashtra, India to demonstrate a convergent approach to programming to meet the multiple, intersecting needs of girls and women. In a second phase, the 3D Program will move to two counties in Kenya. Drawing from lessons learned in India and Kenya, we will develop tools for global application for a scaled-up convergent response for gender equality.

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Abbreviations

ADR	Alternative dispute resolution
ATM	Atrocity tracking and monitoring
AWPS	All-women police station
BRAC	Broadcast Audience Research Council
CCTV	Closed-circuit television
CSR	Corporate social responsibility
FIR	First information report
GBV	Gender-based violence
GEMS	Gender Equity Movement in Schools
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IPV	Intimate partner violence
IVRS	Interactive voice response system
MoHFW	Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
MoWCD	Ministry of Women and Child Development
NCRB	National Crime Records Bureau
NGO	Non-governmental organization
POSH Act	The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act
PWDVA	The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act
RCT	Randomized controlled trial
RKSK	Rashtriya Kishor Swasthya Karyakram
SC	Scheduled caste
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SHG	Self-help group
SMS	Short message service
SRGBV	School-related gender-based violence
ST	Scheduled tribe
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
VAW	Violence against women
VAWG	Violence against women and girls
VIC	Violence in childhood
VPS	Virtual police station
WHO	World Health Organization

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Introduction

Eliminating all forms of violence against women and girls (VAWG) is critical to achieve gender equality and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).[1] The 1993 Vienna Declaration and Program of Action acknowledged that VAWG is "a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women … [it] is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position."[2] Due to the advocacy of feminist and human rights movements, the General Recommendations of the United Nations (UN) Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women recognize VAWG as a systematic form of discrimination, rather than as individual incidents or pathologies, and defines the standards for state obligations and public accountability in preventing and responding to VAWG.[3]

The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that one in three women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence (IPV) or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime. Worldwide, almost one third of women who have been in a relationship report experiencing some form of physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner, and as many as 38 percent of murders of women are committed by a male intimate partner. As many as 18 million adolescent girls aged 15-19 have experienced sexual abuse, and 55 million have experienced physical violence since the age of 15. Violence is the second leading cause of death among adolescent girls globally, with the vast majority of violent deaths of adolescent girls occurring in South Asia.[4]

There is increased awareness of the scope and impact of VAWG in public spaces because of advocacy on VAWG in private spaces. VAWG in public spaces hampers participation in public life and jeopardizes access to educational and livelihood opportunities, as well as promised services and entitlements across sectors.[5] There is also growing global advocacy on the value of public spaces as a public good and the need for public officials to work with civil society and the private sector to create safe and inclusive public spaces.[6]

In 2018, India was named the most dangerous country for women in the world, ranking first in sexual violence, human trafficking, and cultural, tribal and religious practices that endanger women.[7] VAWG in India manifests through universal behaviors, such as IPV and sexual assault, as well as through regional practices such as excess female child mortality due to son preference, child marriage, and honor crimes.[8] VAWG also compounds existing vulnerabilities caused by gender, caste, class, religion, ethnicity, sexual and gender identity, age, (dis)ability and other social stratifiers, and can be used as a weapon during communal violence.[9]

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[1] In 2015, the 193 member-states of the United Nations, including India, unanimously adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) - 17 goals with 169 targets aimed at transforming the world. Two SDGs directly address VAWG and others have targets that directly or indirectly address VAWG in both public and private spaces. See Appendix 1. Violence Against Women and Girls and the Sustainable Development Goals: Local Action Within a Global Framework for more details.

[2] Girls and women overwhelmingly experience and carry the burden of gender-based violence, and VAWG is overwhelmingly perpetrated by men, supported by constructions of masculinity rooted in gender norms. This report focuses on addressing those norms and other efforts to prevent and mitigate the impact of VAWG. However, it is important to note that boys and men experience gender-based violence, the costs of traditional masculinity norms can exceed their benefits for boys and men, and that male privilege is not equally distributed among men. Depending on their class, caste, religion, ethnicity, age, (dis)ability and location, political affiliation and sexual and gender orientation, many boys and men are subject to discrimination and violence. For more information on masculinities, see: MenEngage Alliance. (n.d.). Retrieved June 8, 2018 from http://menengage.org/; International Labour Organization. (2013). Men and Masculinities: Promoting Gender Equality in the World of Work. Gender, Equality and Diversity Branch Conditions of Work and Equality Department, Working paper, 3/2013; Ricardo, C., Eads, M. & Barker, G. (2011). Engaging Boys and Young Men in the Prevention of Sexual Violence: A systematic and global review of evaluated interventions. Sexual Violence Research Initiative and Promundo

[3] UN Women. (2018). Turning Promises into Action: Gender Equality in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. New York, NY: UN Women.

[4] World Health Organization.(2017). Violence Against Women [Key Facts]; Know Violence in Childhood: A Global Learning Initiative. (2017). Ending Violence in Childhood: Global Report 2017. New Delhi; Together for Girls. (n.d.). Retrieved July 13, 2018 from https://www.togetherforgirls.org/the-issue/; United Nations Children's Fund. (2014). A Statistical Snapshot of Violence against Adolescent Girls. New York, NY: UNICEF

[5] Work to address the public safety of girls and women has benefited from the strong and continued advocacy to address VAWG in private spaces and a greater understanding, because of this advocacy, of the shared underlying factors and responses to VAWG in both private and public spaces.

[6] For example, see United Nations. (2017). New Urban Agenda, Habitat III

[7] Thomas Reuters Foundation. (2018). Retrieved February 5 from http://poll2018.trust.org/. The Government of India Minister of Women and Child Development rejected the findings, stating that the Foundation used flawed methodology, relying on opinion poll data rather than official data. The Ministry of Tourism also rejected the findings and consequently launched a campaign through government's overseas offices to highlight that women are safe in India. See: Scroll Staff. (2018, July 27). 'Effort to malign nation': Centre rejects report that said India is the worst country for women. Scroll.in. and Banerji, A. (2018, July 12). India's tourism ministry launches campaign to show women safe in India. Reuters.

[8] Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group; and Chapman, J. (2014). Violence against Women in Democratic India: Let's Talk Misogyny. Social Scientist, 42, 9/10, 49–61. JSTOR

[9] See for example: Human Rights Watch. (2002). "We Have No Orders to Save You": State Participation and Complicity in Communal Violence in Gujarat. Human Rights Watch, 14, 3 (C), and Narula, S. (1999). Broken People: Caste Violence Against India's "Untouchables." Human Rights Watch

Since the 2012 'Nirbhaya' case, which made global headlines, there has been an increase in reports of VAWG in India. While there are still data gaps, government agencies, researchers and activists attribute this increase to improved processes and increased willingness of women to report cases.[10] National data on domestic violence indicate that rates seem to have stagnated, and in some states, declined significantly.[11] However, given the challenges in measuring VAWG (Box 1. Progress and Challenges in Measuring Violence), these data are unlikely to reflect the reality of VAWG in India. Activists and the media suggest that there has been an increase in VAWG and in the virulence of that violence. Backlash against women and girls, due to their engagement in empowerment programs and increased visibility in public spaces, may be a contributing factor.[12] However, the reality is that the lack of consistent population-based and representative data on violence in public spaces makes it difficult to assess trends in rates of VAWG in public spaces and despite high and growing numbers, the majority of incidents remain unreported.

Despite these challenges, existing data show alarming trends in India. For example, the 2016 National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) Report notes an increase of 12.4 percent in rape cases in India from 34,651 in 2015 to 38,947 in 2016.[13] In 2016, Maharashtra ranked third in the country in crimes against women, following Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, with 4,816 rape cases reported in 2016.[14] In 2017, crimes against women continued to rise according to the Crime Investigation Bureau. In Maharashtra, there were a total of 32,100 crimes committed against women, including 12,238 molestation cases, 4,356 rape cases (an estimate of 12 women raped each day), 7,113 kidnapping and abduction cases and 6,242 cases of cruelty by husbands and relatives.[15] Women from designated scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (SC and ST) face particular vulnerabilities, and notably, crimes against women constitute the majority of crimes recorded under the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act in five states.[16]

The more extreme cases of violence in public spaces make the headlines (see Box 2. Making the Headlines, Staying in the Margins). However, the UN's Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women's mission to India found that there was a general pervasive sense of insecurity for women in public spaces, whether

[10] One study found that the Nirbhaya case had a positive impact on reporting crimes in Delhi showing a 23 percent increase in the annual average reporting of rape cases and a 40 percent increase in reporting molestation and sexual harassment between 2013 and 2015. A 33 percent increase in reporting rape nationwide was recorded between 2013 and 2016. Following the case, regions close to Delhi had improved rates of reporting crimes against women in contrast to regions further away. National Crime Records Bureau. (2017). Crimes in India 2016, Statistics. New Delhi, India: Ministry of Home Affairs; Bandewar, S., Pitre, A., & Lingam, L. (2018). Five years post Nirbhaya: Critical Insights into the status of response to sexual assault. Indian Journal of Medical Ethics, 3, 3; and McDougal, L., Krumholz, S., Bhan, N., Bharadwaj, P., & Raj, A. (2018). Releasing the Tide: How has a Shock to the Acceptability of Gender-based Sexual Violence Affected Rape Reporting to Police in India? Journal of Interpersonal Violence.

[11] International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) & ICF. (2017). National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4), 2015-16. Mumbai, India: IIPS

[12] Mehra, R. & Shebi, K. (2018). Economic Programs in India: What Works for the Empowerment of Girls and Women. Washington DC: 3D Program for Girls and Women, and Dasra. (2019). Action Reaction: Understanding and Overcoming Backlash Against Girls' Exercise of Agency in India. Mumbai, India: Dasra

[13] National Crime Records Bureau. (2017). Crimes in India 2016, Statistics. New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs

[14] DailyBite. (2017, January 12). NCRB data 2016: India continues to be a terrifying place for women and children. DailyO

[15] Directorate of Economics and Statistics. (2018). Economic Survey of Maharashtra 2017 – 18. Planning Department, Government of Maharashtra

[16] Bhuyan, R. (2018, April 6). What Supreme Court's dilution of SC/ST Act means for Dalit women. liveMint, Politics; Gopinath, V. (2018, December 6). Who are the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, OBCs and EBCs? [Topic brief]. The quint; Irudayam, A., Mangubhai, J. P., & Lee, J. G. (2006). Dalit women speak out: Violence against Dalit women in India. National Campaign in Dalit Human Rights; National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights. (2017). Caste based discrimination in India: 27th session of the Universal Periodic Review of UN Human Rights Council (India UPR cycle – May 2017); National Commission for Scheduled Castes, Government of India. (n.d.). Annual report of the National Commission for Scheduled Castes 2016-17 (April to September 2016); National Dalit Movement for Justice. (2018, June 26). Atrocity tracking and monitoring system (ATM) - NDMJ, NCDHR [Video file]; Navsarjan Trust, All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch, & International Dalit Solidarity Network. (2014, June). Alternative report to the UN Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) for the examination of the 4th and 5th periodic reports of India at the 58 the CEDAW session in July 2014: Multiple discrimination against Dalit women. Retrieved from United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights website
For more information, see Appendix 4. Violence Against Women from Marginalized Communities in India.

Box 1. Progress and Challenges in Measuring Violence

VAWG is recognized globally as a persistent and widespread problem. However, this assessment is based on limited data and reporting. We know that data are incomplete, and we can assume that many cases are unreported. Stigma and fear of further violence make it difficult and dangerous for girls and women to disclose violence. These risks are compounded for women who are further marginalized by caste, class, religion, ethnicity, sexual and gender identity, (dis)ability and other social stratifiers. Measuring VAWG is challenging,[17] and most official statistics capture only the most severe cases.

There has been progress in creating standardized terminology and tools through international agreements and global, population-based surveys, such as the Demographic and Health Survey, resulting in valid and reliable data from different settings. Ethical guidelines to ensure that the process of data collection does not further traumatize or endanger survivors of VAWG are now in place.[18] Tools exist to get further clarity on experiences of VAWG, such as the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS-2)[19] which helps distinguish severe from less severe abuse, and the recently constructed Violence in Childhood (VIC) Index,[20] a composite measure of VIC based on reliable and representative indicators that can be used to score countries and regions on VIC, across age groups and in both public (schools, communities) and private (homes) settings.

Despite this progress, challenges remain. The VIC Index is limited by the lack of data on different forms of violence. Despite global tools and surveys, different terminology is used in different places to describe acts of violence, which makes it difficult to standardize measurement approaches. Questions and recording systems tend to decontextualize acts of violence, designating aggressive and defensive acts as equivalent and failing to capture patterns of violence. Careful wording, delivery and timing of questions are important to encourage disclosure of violence. Guidelines to ensure that the process of data collection does not further traumatize or endanger survivors of VAWG must be followed to ensure that data is ethically gathered. While research is underway to clarify how to measure emotional and psychological aggression across cultures, there is no clear threshold for defining the level and frequency of acts that would help establish the prevalence of 'emotional violence'.

Furthermore, many prevention and response interventions rely on self-reporting mechanisms to measure impact. Others fail to use a combination of standardized and contextually relevant indicators, as well as a mix of rigorous quantitative data and in-depth qualitative analysis to fully understand their impact, especially related to norm change.[21] There is also a gap in understanding the isolated effects of different program activities in multi-component interventions, making it difficult to identify which specific components are driving impact.

These challenges are compounded by challenges in data collection and weaknesses in public reporting systems. Finally, the perceived risk and threat of violence, which can be debilitating for girls and women as it hampers their mobility and freedom, can be difficult to measure and is not included in prevalence data.

[17] Ellsberg, M. & Heise, L. (2005). Researching Violence Against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists. Washington, DC: World Health Organization, PATH; Heise, L. & Hossain, M. (2017). STRIVE Technical Brief: Measuring Intimate Partner Violence. London, UK: London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine; and Know Violence in Childhood: A Global Learning Initiative. (2017). Ending Violence in Childhood: Global Report 2017. New Delhi

[18] For example, World Health Organization. (2016). Ethical and safety recommendations for intervention research on violence against women. Building on lessons from the WHO publication Putting women first: ethical and safety recommendations for research on domestic violence against women. Geneva, World Health Organization, and Child Protection Monitoring and Evaluation Reference Group (CP MERG). (2012). Ethical principles, dilemmas and risks in collecting data on violence against children: A review of available literature. Statistics and Monitoring Section/Division of Policy and Strategy. New York, NY: UNICEF.

[19] Straus, M. A., Hamby, S.L. & Boney-McCoy, S., & Sugarman, D. B. (1996). The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2). Development and Preliminary Psychometric Data. Journal of Family Issues, 17 (3), 283-316.

[20] Know Violence in Childhood: A Global Learning Initiative. (2017). Ending Violence in Childhood: Global Report 2017. New Delhi

[21] Overseas Development Institute. (2015). Changing gender norms: monitoring and evaluating programmes and projects; Department for International Development. (n.d.). Guidance on Monitoring and Evaluation for Programming on Violence against Women and Girls [Guidance Note 3]. Violence against Women and Girls: CHASE Guidance Note Series; Samman. E. (2019). Quantitative measurement of gendered social norms. Advancing Learning and Innovation on Gender Norms (ALIGN).

while using public transportation or sanitation facilities in urban settings or while collecting wood and water in rural areas.[22] Despite underreporting, safety audits and digital mapping across the country reveal the significant and relentless levels of violence girls and women face in public spaces.

Surveys conducted in Indian cities have found that women experience harassment and assault during the day and night, in secluded and crowded public spaces, and in low- and high-income areas. In Delhi, a staggering 90 percent of women reported experiencing sexual violence in public spaces.[23] Over 70 percent of respondents in two cities in Jharkhand reported experiencing verbal harassment and up to 43 percent had experienced physical assault.[24] Almost 80 percent of respondents in two cities in Kerala reported verbal and visual harassment in public spaces, almost 60 percent reporting physical assault, and only 5 percent reporting no harassment or assault at all.[25] Girls and women surveyed in towns in Haryana reported experiencing sexual harassment in public spaces that limited their mobility and presence in those spaces.[26] A study in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh found that 88 percent of respondents had experienced sexual comments while on public transport, and a survey among female commuters in Bengaluru, Karnataka revealed that two out of three faced regular harassment.[27] One study found the prevalence of physical, psychological and sexual violence among women in urban slums in Pune is as high as 62 percent, 73 percent and 65 percent, respectively.[28] The NCRB reports that in 2016, Delhi reported 33 percent of total cases of crimes against women, followed by Mumbai at 12 percent. A total of 4,935 rape cases were reported, 1,996 in Delhi, 712 in Mumbai and 354 in Pune.[29]

Survey and police data are validated by community safety audits. The non-governmental organization (NGO) SafeCity undertook safety audits in Mumbai and found that 50 percent of female respondents had experienced sexual harassment at street markets, and 75 percent had experienced sexual harassment at railway stations.[30] Safety audits by the NGO Safetipin and partners found that Pune rated low on four out of nine parameters of a safety audit index and that only 22 percent of Mumbai's streets are walkable, and only 31 percent are adequately lit.[31] Findings from safety

[22] UN Human Rights Council. (2014). Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Rashida Manjoo: Addendum, Mission to India

[23] Jagori & UN Women. (2011). Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative: Report of the Baseline Survey Delhi 2010. New Delhi: Jagori and UN Women, and Bhatla, N., Achyut, P., Ghosh, S., Gautam, A. & Verma, R. (2013). Safe Cities Free From Violence Against Women and Girls: Baseline Findings from the "Safe City Delhi Programme." New Delhi, India: UN Women and ICRW

[24] Jagori. (2016). Study on Violence Against Women in Public Spaces in Ranchi and Hazaribag, Jharkhand: A Synopsis. New Delhi: Jagori

[25] SAKHI Women's Resource Centre. (2011). Are Cities in Kerala Safe for Women? Research Findings of the Study conducted in Thiruvananthapuram and Kozhikode Cities, Kerala 2009-11. Thiruvananthapuram, India: SAKHI Women's Resource Centre

[26] Jagori & Safetipin. (2018a). A Rapid Study on Women's Safety in Public Spaces in Jhajjar, Haryana. New Delhi, India: Jagori, and Jagori & Safetipin. (2018b). A Rapid Study on Women's Safety in Public Spaces in Rohtak, Haryana. New Delhi, India: Jagori

[27] As cited in Shah S., Viswanath, K., Vyas, S., & Gadepalli, S. (2017). Women and Transport in Indian Cities. New Dehli, India: ITDP and Safetipin

[28] Ruikar, M.M. & Pratinidhi, A.K. (2012). Wife abuse in urban slum of Pune. Medical Journal of Western India, 41(1)

[29] National Crime Records Bureau. (2017). Crimes in India 2016, Statistics. New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs

[30] See Safecity Policy Project: Railway Stations Audit Report. (n.d.). Retrieved from May 26, 2018 Safecity website: http://safecity.in/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Safecity-Policy-Project-Railway-Stations-Audit-Report.pdf
and Safecity. (n.d.). Street Market Safety Audits. Retrieved April 26 from the Safecity website: http://safecity.in/start-a-campaign/street-market-safety-audits/

[31] Viswanath, K., Seth, S. & Mehra, R. (2015). How Safe is Your City? Safety audit report of 8 cities. Safetipin, and Safetipin. (2017, December 15). While 56% of Mumbai is rated good in terms of safety, only 31% of the streets are adequately lit and 22% is walkable. Chairperson, Maharashtra State Commission for Women launched Mumbai Safety Audit Report [Press Release].

audits are supported by crowdsourced data generated on safety apps, which highlight particular hotspots for VAWG.[32]

While most data on VAWG in public spaces is from urban centers, there is some emerging data on the risks and fears women and girls face in rural areas. Data released by Pune Rural Police in 2015 indicated a 44 percent increase in the number of molestation cases and a 20 percent increase in the number of rape cases reported.[33] A baseline study in 16 villages in Gujarat found that over 48 percent of adolescent girls and 40 percent of women reported experiencing sexual violence in public spaces in their lifetime, with 37 percent of adolescent girls and 26 percent of women experiencing at least one form of sexual violence in the last year.[34] Fear of violence can also be debilitating. Only one fourth of women respondents and one fifth of adolescent girls in the same study rated public spaces in their village as totally safe. Nearly 29 percent of women and 40 percent of adolescent girls reported fear of sexual violence if they go out during the day, and over two thirds of women and three fourths of adolescent girls were afraid of sexual violence if they went out at night.[35]

Following the 2012 brutal attack in Delhi, there has been renewed and new activism by women's organizations, youth and student groups, and other marginalized groups, including transgender groups; increased advocacy on VAWG, mobility and safe public spaces and services; significant legal and policy developments; and additional investments in programs and services in India.[36] Despite this, VAWG in public spaces persists, often with impunity. Responses around extreme cases and the focus on particular acts of violence have failed to address the daily aggressions girls and women face, and the risks that are embedded in their routines and contexts, as they navigate public spaces.[37] In fact, the range and impact of these violations tend to be normalized. Continued use of euphemisms by officials, such as "eve teasing," minimizes the real and perceived risk that girls and women experience from unacceptable and even criminal behavior by men in public places. As discussed below, many of the services in place to respond to VAWG are uncoordinated and are of poor quality, further traumatizing survivors of violence. More broadly, women are excluded from the planning and design of the very public spaces they have to navigate and find themselves at risk in. Finally, because these incidents happen in public spaces where lines of accountability are either undefined or dynamic, there are missed opportunities for public institutions, communities and individuals to effectively prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces.

[32] See for example, Safecity. (n.d.). Safecity crowdmap. Retrieved June 10, 2018 from Safecity website: http://www.maps.safecity.in/main and Safetipin. (n.d.). Retrieved June 10, 2018 from http://safetipin.com/myCiti

[33] Bankar, S., Kedia, S., Deshmukh, M., Verma, R. & Nowrojee, S. (2018). Empowerment of Girls and Women: A Landscape Analysis of Pune. Washington, DC: 3D Program for Girls and Women

[34] The most common forms include sexual jokes, comments, whistling, leering or obscene gesture followed by unwanted sexual touching and stalking.

[35] International Center for Research on Women & Society for Women's Action and Training Initiative (SWATI). kNOw Fear: Making Rural Public Spaces Safe for Women and Girls. A pilot intervention for addressing public spaces sexual violence against women and girls in rural areas [Project Brief]. Working Draft.

[36] Marat, E. (2019). Transformative Violence: Shaping Movements and Nations. Paper presented at the International Studies Association conference. Toronto; and Bandewar, S., Pitre, A., & Lingam, L. (2018). Five years post Nirbhaya: Critical Insights into the status of response to sexual assault. Indian Journal of Medical Ethics, 3, 3, 215 - 221.

[37] John, M.E. (2019, May 3). Sexual Violence 2012-2018 and #MeToo: A Touchstone for the Present [A Journal-Magazine on Contemporary Issues]

Box 2. Making the Headlines, Staying in the Margins[38]

Examples of severe cases of VAWG reported in the Indian and global print and digital media demonstrate how power imbalances rooted in social stratifiers, such as gender, caste, class, religion, ethnicity, political power, sexual and gender identity, (dis)ability, and age, drive VAWG, and how lack of accountability and complicity by officials can further traumatize survivors of violence. The sites of these vicious attacks – a bus driven through a major city, a Hindu temple, an upscale apartment complex, the Internet, and a network of government-supported shelter homes – in both rural and urban areas across the country, indicate the scope of the problem, begging the question - Where are girls and women safe?

- A physiotherapy intern, aged 23, was beaten, gang raped and tortured in a private bus by six men on the bus, including the driver (National Capital Territory of Delhi, 2012).
- A photojournalist, aged 22, was gang raped and photographed by four men and a juvenile when she was on assignment. Three of the men were later accused of raping a 19-year old telephone operator at the same location. Mumbai Police made the telephone operator undergo the invasive "two-finger test", or internal vaginal exam, despite a 2013 Maharashtra Government Resolution which characterized it as “degrading, crude and medically and scientifically irrelevant”. (Mumbai, Maharashtra, 2013).
- Two sisters, aged 23 and 15, from a Dalit family, were informed by their khap panchayat (unelected village council, made up predominantly of older men from dominant castes), that they would be repeatedly gang-raped as punishment for their brother eloping with a woman from a higher caste. (Baghpat, Uttar Pradesh, 2015).
- A 17-year old girl accused a governing-party Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) in the Uttar Pradesh State Assembly of raping her. The MLA was also accused of conspiring to kill her father after the family complained. The family claims the police falsified a report against the girl’s father (Uttar Pradesh, 2018).
- An 8-year old Muslim girl was kidnapped, drugged, gang raped and murdered by eight Hindu men in a village Hindu temple, an attack police say was devised to drive her Bakarwal Muslim nomadic community out of the area. A retired government official, four police officers and a minor are among the accused. (Kathua, Jammu and Kashmir, 2018).
- An investigative journalist who criticized powerful politicians in her writing was targeted by cyber violence, including having her account hacked and used to transmit provocative messages, receiving online threats and naked photographs of men, specifying that they were in response to her work, and the circulation of a pornographic video with her face superimposed onto the body of a woman in the video (online, Mumbai, Maharashtra, 2018).
- An 11-year old, hearing impaired girl was drugged, gang raped and threatened with exposure by 17 men, including security guards and maintenance workers, at an upscale apartment complex over the course of several months (Chennai, Tamil Nadu, 2018).
- 34 girls, aged 7 to 17, many of whom have speech impediments, were drugged, beaten and raped, at an NGO-run shelter home that received government funds. The attacks were led by the head of the home and the accused include a child protection officer and a member of the government’s social welfare department (Muzaffarpur, Bihar, 2018).

[38] These incidents were compiled from global and Indian digital media outlets. Burke, J. (2013, September 11). Delhi gang-rape: how India other half lives. Gulf News India; BBC. (2013, August 23). Mumbai photojournalist gang-raped on assignment. BBC; Strochlic, N. (2015, August 8). Indian Village Orders Gang-Rape of 2 Sisters. Daily Beast; Firstpost. (2018, April 11). Unnao rape case: Kuldeep Singh Sengar, BJP MLA accused of raping 18-year old, is a known political turncoat. Firstpost; Smith, L. (2018, April 13). Asifa Bano: Outrage spreads across India over rape of eight-year-old girl. Independent; International Federation of Journalists. (2018, April 30). Indian journalist subjected of harsh online harassment [Press Releases]. IFJ; and Thirumurthy, P. (2018, November 2). Chennai child rape case: Accused maligning 11-yr-old’s character, says lawyer [Child Abuse]. The News Minute

Methodology and Framework

This report aims to serve as a resource for our partners and stakeholders in government, civil society and the private sector in India. It offers a framework of the key domains through which stakeholders across diverse movements and sectors can prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces, and captures lessons learned from particular interventions in each domain. Finally, it offers overarching insights and recommendations on how stakeholders across thematic and functional sectors can work together to effectively prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces.

Methodology

This report is based on a review of literature on VAWG in both private and public spaces from a variety of disciplines and areas of advocacy, including VAWG, gender equality, health, legal and judicial reform, water and sanitation, and urban and infrastructure planning (see References). We prioritized recent systematic reviews and pursued additional literature cited in these reviews, as well as those recommended by experts. We conducted topic-oriented searches in specialized research and databases, such as those of the World Bank, the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), and United Nations agencies, including UN Women, UNFPA, UN-Habitat, UNICEF, the World Health Organization (WHO), and donors, such as the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID). We reviewed literature and resources from global and Indian initiatives focused specifically on violence against women and children and other vulnerable groups.[39] Finally, we focused on the advocacy and findings of women's organizations and NGOs in India. Our research and analysis were greatly enriched by experts working across sectors, who contributed information, resources, ideas and feedback (see Appendix 2. Experts and Reviewers).

We highlight findings on India, Maharashtra State and Pune District and City, the 3D Program's current program sites, including relevant global findings highlighting promising results or practices that could benefit our partners in government, civil society and the private sector in Pune. When possible, we include evidence on particular risks and interventions for women from marginalized communities, such as scheduled caste (SC) and scheduled tribe (ST) communities, informal workers and other vulnerable groups. We also identify differences in rural or urban locations.

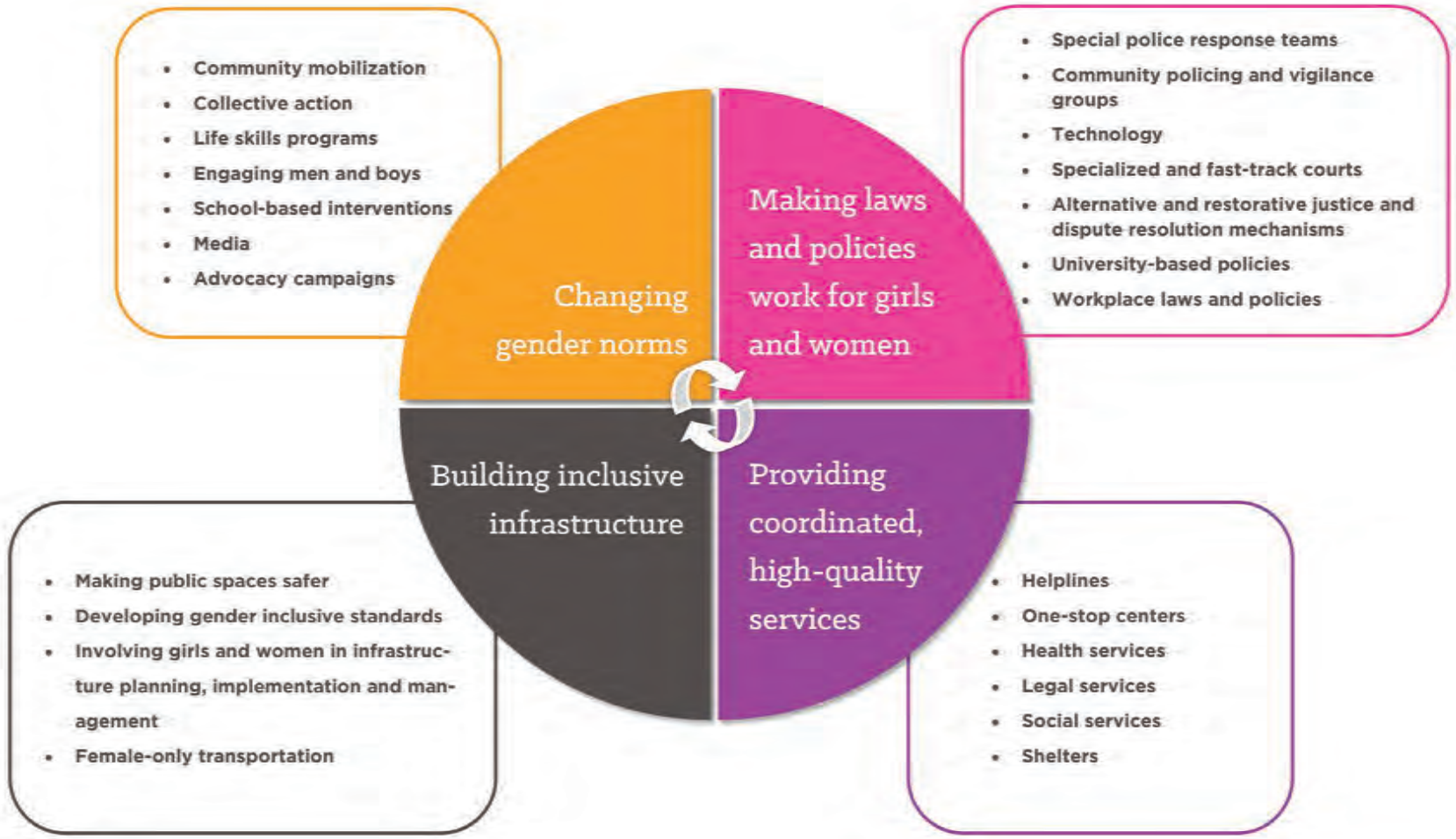
The literature on VAWG is vast and diverse in terms of scope, disciplines and rigor and includes technical research, community-based research and documentation, advocacy statements, frameworks for action, and legal documents, policies and protocol. With the mixed quality of evidence, and the different stages of interventions and advocacy, in most cases it is difficult to attribute concrete results to interventions. However, it is possible to highlight lessons learned and promising practices. While work on the public safety of girls and women has benefited from advocacy and action to address VAWG in private spaces, it is beyond the focus of this report to address IPV and domestic violence. Additionally, this report does not provide an exhaustive review on the literature on girls and women's public safety. Instead, we have highlighted particular interventions and outcomes as illustrative examples of what works and what could be strengthened to address the public safety of girls and women, and in doing so, derive insights and recommendations for stakeholders. The basis for analysis in this report is the convergent framework on preventing and responding to VAWG described below.

A Convergent Framework to Address VAWG in Public Spaces

Given the multiple factors underlying VAWG and the fact that the negotiation of public spaces necessitates movement across different jurisdictions, no one intervention and actor can effectively address VAWG in public spaces alone. Instead, the convergence of political, social and technical interventions across sectors is needed. Diverse stakeholders and actors must

[39] Such as, but not limited to, the Spotlight Initiative to Eliminate Violence Against Women and Girls, see https://www.un.org/en/spotlight-initiative/; What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women, see https://www.whatworks.co.za/; the Preventive Collaborative, see https://prevention-collaborative.org/; Know Violence in Childhood: A Global Learning Initiative, see http://www.knowviolenceinchildhood.org/; Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative, see http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/creating-safe-public-spaces; the Coalition of Feminists for Social Change (COFEM), see https://cofemsocialchange.org/; Together for Girls, see https://www.togetherforgirls.org/; the World Bank, Global Women's Institute & Inter-American Development Bank's Violence against Women & Girls (VAWG): Initiate, Integrate, Innovate: Resource Guide, see http://www.vawgresourceguide.org/; World Health Organization. (2019). RESPECT women. Preventing violence against women. Geneva: WHO

Figure 1. A Convergent Framework to Address VAWG in Public Spaces



converge across jurisdictions and issues to commit to a shared vision, contribute expertise and resources, and hold each other accountable.

Evidence shows that VAWG in both public and private spaces is entrenched in deeply rooted gender norms and that addressing them is critical for change at the individual, family, interpersonal, community and national levels.[40] Additionally, while laws and policies are increasingly in place to address VAWG, they are not always effectively enforced, and there is a lack of trust by girls and women in law enforcement officials and systems. There are considerable gaps in both the coordination and quality of services across sectors that hamper efforts to prevent and respond to VAWG. Finally, poor infrastructure and infrastructure investments that fail to take into the account the specific needs of girls and women result in public environments that can exacerbate risks and undermine access to services and opportunities. In assessing what kinds of interventions are necessary to effectively prevent and respond to VAWG, we therefore identified those with particularly promising results or practices that aim to impact four critical outcomes:

- Change gender norms
- Make laws and policies work for girls and women
- Provide coordinated and quality services
- Build inclusive infrastructure

Evidence and advocacy indicate that each set of interventions is critical and can be effective in addressing particular components of preventing and responding to VAWG in public spaces. However, when all four outcomes are not addressed, preventing and responding to VAWG in public spaces is not sustainable. Action on multiple fronts is required for maximum impact, and when combined, these four outcome areas or domains provide a framework through which to effectively and sustainably prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces (See Figure 1. A Convergent Framework to Address VAWG in Public Spaces).

A convergent approach, as promoted by the 3D Program for Girls and Women,[41] is particularly useful in addressing a complex issue like VAWG across public spaces, providing opportunities for diverse sectors and stakeholders to work together towards a common goal without overburdening them. The approach specifies that each stakeholder should contribute to their area of expertise within the framework of a shared vision and joint accountability. Everyone does not have to do everything. However, if stakeholders do not coordinate or work together at all, which is the current reality, individual efforts will be hampered and girls and women will continue to face substantial risks in public spaces.

The next section describes the rationale for addressing each of the four individual domains and lessons learned from interventions, highlighting key developments, achievements and gaps. The final section offers overarching recommendations, highlighting the benefits of learning and working across sectors.

[40] UN Women. (n.d.). Focusing on prevention to stop the violence. Retrieved January 2, 2019 from http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/prevention

[41] For more information on the 3D Program's convergent approach, see www.the3DProgram.org

Learning from Interventions

In this section, the four domains of the convergent framework to address VAWG in public spaces are elaborated. For each, we provide the rationale for its inclusion, lessons learned from particular interventions and conclusions.

Changing Gender Norms

Across all cultures, gender norms dictate what it means to be male and female and define appropriate roles and behaviors for each. These assigned roles impact the distribution of power, allocation of resources, and access to opportunities, typically creating an imbalance of power that favors men and all that is masculine.[42] Gender norms also tend to justify VAWG generally, as well as region-specific practices such as son preference, child marriage, honor crimes and dowry-related violence.[43] The unequal and harmful gender norms that underpin VAWG are perpetuated by our individual belief systems, within relationships, communities and institutions, and across societies.[44]

Almost universally, gender norms normalize VAWG and validate traditional constructions of masculinity that perpetuate male aggression.[45] Surveys in India indicate that 47 percent of boys aged 15-19, 52 percent of women and 42 percent of men believe a man is justified in beating his wife or partner if she burns the food, goes out without informing him, neglects the house or children, or refuses sexual relations.[46] A survey in Delhi revealed that 75 percent of male respondents believed that "women provoke men by the way they dress" and 30 percent agreed that "When a woman is raped, she usually did something careless to put herself in that situation". Over half the male respondents in that survey reported perpetrating at least one form of sexual violence against women and girls in public spaces in Delhi, a quarter having done so in the past six months.[47]

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[42] Heise et al. (2019). Gender inequality and restrictive gender norms: Framing the challenges to health. The Lancet Series: Gender Equality, Norms, and Health.

[43] UN Women, UNFPA & DFAT. (2016). Preventing violence against women and girls through social norms. Learning paper from the Asia-Pacific Forum on Preventing Violence Against Women and Girls: Evidence and Tools for Social Norm Change; Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group

[44] Remme, M., Michaels-Igbokwe, C. & Watts, C. (2015). What Works to Prevent Violence against women and girls evidence reviews. Paper 4: Approaches to scale-up and assessing cost-effectiveness of programmes to prevent violence against women and girls. What Works to Prevent Violence

[45] Examples of norms and related beliefs, include that men have the right to have sex with their wife whenever they want; physical violence is appropriate to resolve conflict; men are superior to women and should display dominance as needed. See: UN Women, UNFPA & DFAT. (2016). Preventing violence against women and girls through social norms. Learning paper from the Asia-Pacific Forum on Preventing Violence Against Women and Girls: Evidence and Tools for Social Norm Change. MenEngage Alliance. (n.d.). Retrieved June 8, 2018 from http://menengage.org; International Labour Organization. (2013). Men and Masculinities: Promoting Gender Equality in the World of Work. Gender, Equality and Diversity Branch Conditions of Work and Equality Department, Working paper, 3/2013; Ricardo, C., Eads, M. & Barker, G. (2011). Engaging Boys and Young Men in the Prevention of Sexual Violence: A systematic and global review of evaluated interventions. Sexual Violence Research Initiative and Promundo

[46] Know Violence in Childhood: A Global Learning Initiative. (2017). Ending Violence in Childhood: Global Report 2017. New Delhi; and International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) & ICF. (2017). National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4), 2015-16. Mumbai: IIPS; and Chandra, S. (2016). Intimate partner violence (IPV) in Pune, India: A comparison of male and female attitudes, and use of the WAST to measure IPV among Indian men as cited in Bankar et al. (2018). Empowerment of Girls and Women: A Landscape Analysis of Pune. Washington DC: 3D Program for Girls and Women

[47] Bhatla et al. (2012). Safe Cities Free From Violence Against Women and Girls: Baseline Findings from the "Safe City Delhi Programme." New Delhi: UN Women and ICRW

Violence, and even the threat of violence, can be used to punish those who challenge gender norms, including women working in the public sphere and girls whose aspirations challenge traditional gender roles. For example, village health worker Bhanwari Devi was raped by dominant patriarchs in her village in Rajasthan, who were enraged after she, a Dalit woman, stopped the wedding of a baby girl.[48] A study in India, Nepal and Pakistan found that over 60 percent of women do not dare participate in politics due to fear of violence, including character assassination based on sexual innuendo and threats of sexual violence and kidnapping. Over half the respondents in India believe that police do not respect women's right to participate in violence-free politics.[49] Another study found that adolescent girls who refuse to do chores and demand more time for schoolwork or refuse to marry and pursue a career are at risk of being beaten, denied food, forced seclusion or forced marriage.[50]

Like society at large, public spaces are shaped by existing power structures and norms. Experiences of, and access to, public spaces are shaped by various stratifiers, including gender, caste, class, religion, ability, age, race, ethnicity and even type of activity conducted in that space.[51] For girls and women, this means negotiating the norms that limit their mobility and presence in public spaces, regulating their behavior in those spaces, and often accepting violence against them.

In India, the domestic, private realm of home (*ghar*) is seen as the female domain, and external public spaces (*bahar*) are the domain of boys and men, even when social and economic realities make this division unrealistic.[52] While it varies across states, only 41 percent of women are permitted to go out alone to destinations such as the market or a health facility.[53] Mobility increases with age and household wealth but does not vary consistently with education.[54] Additionally, across most Indian communities, classes, castes and religions, girls and women embody family and community 'honor', and marriage within communities is a way to uphold that honor.[55] Girls and women are seen as requiring protection and control to minimize both the risk of violence to them and the reputational risks to their family and community that may be incurred through VAWG in public spaces.[56]

Female mobility in public spaces is therefore regulated by families and communities, and carefully justified and navigated by girls and women to try to 'prevent'

[48] After the perpetrators were released by the Rajasthan High Court, women's rights group Vishaka filed a public interest litigation in the Supreme Court, which released the 1997 Vishaka Guidelines, the precursor of the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) or POSH Act. For more information see: Nathan, A. (2018, October 22). Dalit woman's rape in '92 led to India's first sexual harassment law - but justice still eludes her, Dalit woman's rape in '92 led to India's first sexual harassment law - but justice still eludes her. Scroll.in

[49] Centre for Social Research (CSR) and UN Women. (2014). Violence Against Women in Politics: A Study Conducted in India, Nepal and Pakistan

[50] Dasra. (2019). Action Reaction: Understanding and Overcoming Backlash Against Girls' Exercise of Agency in India. Mumbai: Dasra

[51] Grundström, K. (2005). Gender and Use of Public Space. Housing, Development and Management, Lund University

[52] Datta, A. (2016). The intimate city: violence, gender and ordinary life in Delhi slums. Urban Geography, 37 (3), 323-342

[53] In Maharashtra, this rises to 52 percent.

[54] International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) & ICF. (2017). National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4), 2015-16. Mumbai: IIPS.

[55] Twamley, K. & Sidharth, J. (2018). Negotiating Respectability: Comparing the Experiences of Poor and Middle Class Young Urban Women in India. Modern Asian Studies, forthcoming

[56] Bankar et al. (2018). Contesting restrictive mobility norms among female mentors implementing a sport based programme for young girls in a Mumbai slum. BMC Public Health, 18 (1), 471; and Leach, F. & Sitaram, S. (2007). Sexual harassment and Abuse of Adolescent Schoolgirls in South India. Education Citizenship and Social Justice, 2(3), 257-277.

risky incidents.[57] Family members and neighbors 'police' the movements of young women, particularly in slum communities where there is little privacy. Young women carefully regulate their movements themselves, either conforming to or performing rituals of 'respectability', both to appease their families and to prevent further restrictions on their mobility. They may also take individual steps to defend themselves, such as learning self-defense techniques, or carrying pepper spray, chili powder or safety pins to use against perpetrators.[58] Some girls do not report the harassment they face on the way to school or college because they are afraid their parents will stop them from continuing their education.[59]

If they do engage in romantic relationships, young women are careful to do so in a way that does not jeopardize their 'respectability'. In socially liberal, middle class families, young women may have more freedoms, but still tend to self-regulate and conform to ideas of 'respectability'. In the liberalized Indian economy, education, work and consumption are generally approved activities that permit girls and women's presence in public spaces, within certain parameters of time, space, dress and behavior. Women from middle- and upper-income families move carefully, usually in private vehicles, between 'respectable' private and public locations of consumption, such as coffee shops and malls. Some working women and students conspicuously wear symbols, such as a briefcase or backpack, that clarify their status. Muslim girls and women may wear a *hijab* or a *burqa* to be perceived as 'respectable' as they transit through public spaces, even if they remove it once they are at school or work. Similarly, some Hindu women wear a *bindi* or a *mangalsutra* necklace to signify married status and 'respectability', even if they are not married.[60]

These tactics provide some protections to girls and women but do little to challenge the gender norms and power relations that foster VAWG. Continued high rates of VAWG in both private and public spaces confirm this. In fact, rather than preventing violence, they place the responsibility for preventing violence on women and girls. When incidents of violence do occur, girls and women are blamed for them; they must have done something wrong, worn something wrong, or been in the wrong place, at the wrong time.

Many activists argue that the focus and rhetoric on safety of girls and women is often rooted in the same paternalistic and protectionist norms that limit them and other citizens who may be deemed 'unsafe', from truly accessing public spaces freely - either for their 'own good' or the public good. They argue that this approach does not effectively prevent VAWG and carries considerable risks, including restrictions on freedom of movement and assembly, and increased surveillance and criminalization of citizens. Instead, in line with global urban visions,[61] they suggest a focus on the right to public spaces – which ultimately challenges gender-based restrictions and other social and

[57] Bankar et al. (2018). Contesting restrictive mobility norms among female mentors implementing a sport based programme for young girls in a Mumbai slum. BMC Public Health, 18 (1), 471

[58] Modi, A. (2017). Giving Girls Wings to Fly Tools to Empower Adolescent Girls in Rural Communities in India. Echidna Global Scholars Program Working paper. Center for Universal Education at Brookings Institution;Bhalla, N. (2013, January 22). Women take up self-defense, pepper spray after India rape. Reuters; Jagori & Safetipin. (2018). A Rapid Study on Women's Safety in Public Spaces in Jhajjar, Haryana. New Delhi, India: Jagori; and Jagori & Safetipin. (2018). A Rapid Study on Women's Safety in Public Spaces in Rohtak, Haryana. New Delhi: Jagori

[59] Twamley, K. & Sidharth, J. (2018). Negotiating Respectability: Comparing the Experiences of Poor and Middle Class Young Urban Women in India. Modern Asian Studies, forthcoming

[60] Phadke, S. (2005). 'You Can be Lonely in a Crowd': The Production of Safety in Mumbai. Indian Journal of Gender Studies, 12(1), Sage Publications

[61] See Appendix 5. Key International and Indian Frameworks on Inclusive Public Spaces and Infrastructure

legal controls on social behavior and access to public spaces.[62]

Schools play an important role in shaping gender norms. Children and adolescents learn about gender, social and behavioral norms in schools. Starting early to shape healthy relationships among boys and girls in schools, while also engaging with parents and teachers at scale, has the potential to foster sustainable change.[63] Schools provide a ready audience and can implement curricula to influence how children understand gender and VAWG and build skills to foster healthier gender relationships.[64] Unfortunately, schools are also often sites where VAWG occurs. A 2016 UNICEF review on school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) in low- and middle-income countries, examined physical, sexual and psychological violence that are rooted in norms and inequalities.[65] Girls are sexually harassed or assaulted on the way to school or abused by their male peers and teachers at school. As of 2012, approximately 60 million girls were sexually assaulted every year on their way to school or at school[66]. In some countries, girls have a higher chance of being sexually assaulted than becoming literate.[67] In India, there was a 50 percent increase in sexual harassment cases reported between 2015 and 2017 at colleges and universities across the country.[68] In 2017, the Maharashtra State Government established a committee to investigate the abuse and deaths of students in tribal schools in the state, following reports of neglect and physical and sexual abuses.[69]

Interventions

Many interventions and initiatives by government, civil society groups, activists, community leaders and change makers aim to challenge and transform the gender norms that underpin VAWG. Although the evidence on what works to change gender norms to prevent VAWG in public spaces is scant, there are important lessons to draw on from the available evidence, including evidence on initiatives to address other forms of violence, such as IPV.

Community mobilization efforts are multi-sectoral and multi-component interventions that aim to change gender norms by mobilizing communities and

[62] For example, the Why Loiter movement in Mumbai focuses on the right of young women to simply occupy a public space without having to justify why you are there), challenging the norms that reserve those spaces for boys and men. Similarly, 'Kiss of Love' protests by young people in Kerala challenge moral policing of public spaces, often the only places that young people can meet, as well as traditional norms of romantic behavior. For more information, see Phadke, S., Khan, S. & Ranade, S. (2009). Why Loiter? Radical Possibilities for Gendered Dissent. In Dissent and Cultural Resistance in Asia's Cities (Chapter 10). London and New York: Routledge; and Basu, T. (2014, November 18). The Politics of PDA in India: Why Young People are Taking to the Streets Just to Kiss in Public. The Atlantic; and Dharnidharka, P. (2014). From Friends to Romantic Partners: An Exploration of Non-Arranged Romantic Relationship Development among Urban Young Adults in India [Thesis, Master of Science]. Kansas State University. Retrieved September 12, 2018 from https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/33354518.pdf

[63] Global Women's Institute & Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (n.d.). School-Based Interventions to Prevent Violence Against Women & Girls [Evidence Brief]

[64] Fulu et al. (2015). What works to prevent violence against women and girls evidence reviews Paper 2: Interventions to prevent violence against women and girls. What Works to Prevent Violence

[65] Parkes, J., Heslop, J., Ross, F.J., Westerveld, R., & Unterhalter, E. (2016). A Rigorous Review of Global Research Evidence on Policy and Practice on School-Related Gender-Based Violence. New York, NY: UNICEF

[66] Global Women's Institute & Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (n.d.). School-Based Interventions to Prevent Violence Against Women & Girls [Evidence Brief].

[67] Global Women's Institute & Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (n.d.). School-Based Interventions to Prevent Violence Against Women & Girls [Evidence Brief]

[68] Gohain, M. P. (2018, March 20). 50% increase in sexual harassment cases on campuses in 2017: Minister. Times of India

[69] MN, P. (2017, January 18). Tribal schools of Maharashtra Part 3: Abysmal security, sexual assault cases remain an alarming concern. Firstpost; TNN. (2017, February 25). Committee to look into tribal school deaths. Times of India.

going beyond changing individual attitudes and behaviors.[70] They can take the form of educational programs and workshops, peer trainings, and advocacy and media campaigns, and are designed to challenge gender stereotypes and shift norms by engaging both men and women in communities. SASA![71] and Stepping Stones[72] are among the most well-known community mobilization programs. Like many interventions aimed at shifting gender norms, both were initially implemented to address risks related to violence and HIV. Both have been successful in shifting gender norms and related behaviors because of their long-term approach to creating positive alternatives to existing norms, addressing issues of power within relationships, and building healthy communication skills and dialogue about violence and norms among men, women, community leaders and structures.[73] Evidence indicates that community mobilization can be effective in changing norms that reinforce VAWG, because it engages multiple stakeholders at different levels of society and influences public discourse.[74] However, more investment is needed in monitoring and evaluation to understand which components of community mobilization efforts are transforming gender norms and driving impact.[75]

Collective action by girls and women can be an effective way to challenge gender norms, providing the solidarity and safety of numbers, while increasing agency and opportunity. For example, the Why Loiter? movement in Mumbai focuses on the right to simply occupy a public space without having to justify why you are there. Groups of young women deliberately loiter in public spaces, challenging the norms that reserve those spaces for boys and men.[76] The Parivartan program also uses collective action to contest restrictions on the mobility of young women. Implemented by the NGO Apnalaya in slum communities in Mumbai, the program trained young women to serve as mentors to adolescent girls and provide life skills and gender training, and coach them to play *kabaddi*, a contact team sport typically played by boys and men. Initially parents, family members and neighbors were opposed to having their daughters join the program because they were worried about their safety and reputations. The young women mentors had to build trust with their parents and their mentees' parents and deploy careful bargaining strategies. They argued 'valid reasons' to justify accessing public spaces, such as connecting this 'good work' with the strong responsibility they felt as mentors, to create opportunities for girls. They also first secured the support of mothers as a deliberate tactic to influence the family's decision. Despite harassment, anxiety of being assaulted and ridicule, the collective presence and visibility the mentors demanded improved their own confidence and individual agency, and the program was able to continue for the girls.[77] Although

[70] UN Women, UNFPA & DFAT. (2016). Preventing Violence against women and girls through social norm change. Learning Paper from the Asia-Pacific Forum on Preventing Violence Against Women and Girls: Evidence and Tools for Social Norm Change

[71] For more information on SASA!, see: Raising Voices. (n.d.). SASA! is a groundbreaking community mobilization approach developed by Raising Voices for preventing violence against women and HIV. Retrieved from the Raising Voices website: http://raisingvoices.org/sasa/

[72] For more information on Stepping Stones, see: Stepping Stones. (n.d.). Retrieved from the Stepping Stones website: https://steppingstonesfeedback.org/

[73] UN Women, UNFPA & DFAT. (2016). Preventing Violence against women and girls through social norm change. Learning Paper from the Asia-Pacific Forum on Preventing Violence Against Women and Girls: Evidence and Tools for Social Norm Change

[74] Ellsberg et al. (2015). Prevention of violence against women and girls: what does the evidence say? Lancet, 385 (9977), 1555-1566

[75] Overseas Development Institute. (2015). Changing gender norms: monitoring and evaluating programmes and projects. Retrieved from https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9815.pdf

[76] Phadke, S., Khan, S. & Ranade, S. (2011). Why Loiter?: Women And Risk On Mumbai Streets. Penguin Books

[77] Bankar et al. (2018). Contesting restrictive mobility norms among female mentors implementing a sport based programme for young girls in a Mumbai slum. BMC Public Health, 18 (1), 471

this study has promising results, the long-term impact on transforming gender norms in public spaces is unknown.

Life skills programs, typically administered in schools or as stand-alone programs, tend to be effective in challenging gender norms, resulting in delayed marriage and building self-esteem and self-efficacy among girls.[78] These programs provide a safe space for girls and focus on building skills through a range of activities including sexuality education, non-formal schooling, peer support, livelihoods training, sports and recreation. Some programs engage parents and community members to strengthen and sustain gender norm change. Key elements of successful life skills programs include long-term implementation, access to a safe space, exposure to new ideas and opportunities, and involving other stakeholders, such as parents, in the process of norm change.[79] For example, the Institute of Health Management-Pachod provides a life skills education program for unmarried adolescent girls with low self-esteem and self-efficacy in Maharashtra. It offers an adolescent girls club and leadership training for older adolescents and counseling for girls and their parents, separately and together.[80] The program committed to engaging the girls every day for a whole year to help them absorb the information, ideas and skills they were exposed to, and engaged with parents on a monthly basis, conducting behavioral change communication activities and counseling both individually and in small groups.[81] A pre-post case control evaluation of the program in Aurangabad District, Maharashtra showed a decline in the rate of early marriage from 81 to 62 percent and an increase in the median age of marriage from 16 to 17 in the treatment area, while showing no changes in the control area.[82]

Generally, the range of activities offered by life skills programs makes it difficult to ascertain which components or combinations of components are most effective in driving changes in gender norms, and the optimal length of life skills interventions to achieve impact.

Engaging men and boys to change norms related to masculinities that underpin VAWG is an integral part of preventing VAWG in both private and public spaces. Men and boys are not innately violent but violence is deeply rooted in masculine norms that define what it means to be a man, transmitted through messages, stereotypes, and social expectations. Changing these toxic norms not only benefits girls and women but also boys and men.[83]

Most evaluated interventions in South Asia that target men and boys focus on IPV, but provide valuable lessons to inform work on VAWG in public spaces. Some

[78] See more on life skills programs provided in safe spaces for girls and women in section on Inclusive Infrastructure; Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group

[79] Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group

[80] Institute Health Management Pachod (IHMP) & Girls Not Brides. (2015) Integrated project for empowering adolescent girls; Institute Health Management Pachod (IHMP) (n.d.b). Current Programmes. Retrieved January 30, 2019 from https://www.ihmp.org/news/life-skills-education/

[81] Institute of Health Management, Pachod (n.d.a). Retrieved March 4, 2019 from https://www.ihmp.org/news/life-skills-education/; IHMP & ICRW. (n.d.). Improving the Reproductive Health of Married and Unmarried Youth in India. Delaying Age at Marriage in Rural Maharashtra, India [Delaying Early Marriage]; Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group

[82] Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group

[83] Heise et al. (2019). Gender inequality and restrictive gender norms: framing the challenges to health. The Lancet Series: Gender Equality, Norms, and Health

interventions use community mobilization combined with group education sessions to transform masculinities and promote gender equitable norms. For example, the Yaari-Dosti program, adapted from Program H,[84] aimed to improve young men's attitudes towards equitable gender norms, reduce partner violence and HIV risk behaviors in urban slums in Mumbai and rural villages in Gorakhpur. The intervention used peer-led interactive group education sessions on topics such as gender and sexuality, HIV and sexually transmitted infection (STI) risk and prevention, partner, family and community violence, the reproductive system, the use of alcohol, and HIV-related stigma and discrimination. Role-playing, games and critical thinking were used to facilitate debate and discussion. The urban intervention in Mumbai included a lifestyle social marketing campaign promoting an alternative construction of masculinity rooted in gender equitable norms, using pamphlets, comic strips, community-based discussions and t-shirts. A quasi-experimental evaluation of the program found significant improvements in self-reported incidence of partner violence, increased communication with a partner regarding condoms, sex, STIs and HIV, and less support for stereotypical gender norms. The evaluation also found that having skilled facilitators and leaving time between sessions for participants to reflect on issues can potentially improve outcomes. Research is needed to corroborate the self-reported reduction of VAWG reported by men and boys.[85]

The Engaging Men project, part of the Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women (MASVAW) movement,[86] aims to transform gender norms among men at a larger scale by involving community leadership councils (*panchayats*) and challenging gender stereotypes within institutions. The project engaged male leaders from *panchayats* to promote gender equality and increase awareness on the consequences of VAW, using educational workshops and youth groups to facilitate discussions on masculinity, sexuality, gender and VAWG, as well as community outreach and advocacy campaigns. To hold *panchayats* accountable, the project deployed a campaign during local elections and had *panchayat* candidates sign a pledge to address VAW and increase women's participation in local government. A quasi-experimental assessment of the project found a decline in self-reported domestic violence and improved knowledge of laws and policies related to VAW in the intervention groups. Men and boys self-reported improvements in gender equitable attitudes, with men reporting that they participated more in household responsibilities and boys reporting that they advocate for their sisters' right to education. However, no significant gender equitable attitudes were observed at the community level and, according to key informants, the *panchayat* leaders failed to make gender equality a priority at the local level.[87]

School-based interventions are critical to change gender norms and address school-related gender- based violence (SRGBV). A promising approach identified by UNICEF is to facilitate discussion and reflection on gender, inequalities and the risk factors that lead to sexual violence among boys and girls separately and

[84] Program H is a group-based intervention that focuses on building knowledge and communication skills, risk awareness on violence and relationships, gender, HIV and action to mobilize the community. Significant reductions in IPV were documented after the intervention. The model was first implemented in Brazil, and has been replicated in more than 40 countries including India. Arango et al. (2014). Interventions to prevent or reduce violence against women and girls: a systematic review of reviews. Women's voice, agency, and participation research series; no. 10. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

[85] Verma, et al. (2006). Challenging and Changing Gender Attitudes among Young Men in Mumbai, India. Reproductive Health Matters, 14 (28), 135 – 143 in Mumbai, India; Verma et al. (2008). Promoting gender equity as a strategy to reduce HIV risk and gender-based violence among young men in India [Horizons Final Report]. Washington, DC: Population Council; Population Council. (2006). Yaari Dosti: A Training Manual. New Delhi, India: Population Council.

[86] MASVAW is a network with over 700 male activists in India that engages community leaders and local governance systems to increase awareness about gender norms and VAW through advocacy workshops and campaigns.

[87] Promundo. (n.d.) Engaging Men to Prevent Gender-Based Violence: A Multi-Country Intervention and Impact Evaluation Study

then bring them together to discuss these topics further. The Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS) in India uses this approach. A school-based intervention in Mumbai, GEMS facilitated discussions among 12-14-year-olds about gender, the body, and violence and included activities such as role-plays and critical reflection on issues such as delaying marriage, sharing household tasks, girls' education, and reducing GBV.[88] The program also facilitated discussion with teachers and parents, another promising way to address SRGBV, since authority figures and community leaders must also transform their own belief systems and values that perpetuate VAWG. Positive self-reported changes in attitudes towards gender and violence were identified. More girls reported opposing behaviors that promoted gender inequality and more boys reported doing chores at home and less abusive behavior towards girls. Both boys and girls reported they would take action against sexual harassment. Following this outcome, the Maharashtra State Government has implemented key elements of GEMS in the gender program in 25,000 public schools.[89]

Other school-based approaches engage coaches and male athletes to raise awareness on VAWG through discussions about gender norms and attitudes. The Parivartan program[90] in India, a collaboration between Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM) in the United States and ICRW, used cricket to raise awareness on abusive behavior, promote non-violent attitudes and gender equitable norms and build skills to intervene when witnessing harmful behavior.[91] An initial evaluation found encouraging positive shifts in participants' attitudes towards gender equity and VAW. However, it is yet to be determined if the intervention will lead to sustained behavioral change or impact participants' ability to intervene during violent acts. Notably, the smaller age gap and similar socio-economic status between students and mentors meant that mentors were able to influence the students more effectively than older school coaches who had rigid beliefs about gender, women's rights and equality. The need to transform the older coaches' deep-rooted beliefs about women and girls' mobility was identified in the evaluation.[92]

In Pakistan, Right to Play, uses sports and play-based activities to teach adolescents life skills and promote mental wellbeing, to prepare children to be agents of change in reducing violence in schools and beyond.[93] A clustered randomized controlled trial (RCT) evaluation of this program found notable reductions of violence among school children where the rate of violence experienced among girls went from 78 to 50 percent and for boys, it went from 92 to 82 percent. Patriarchal gender attitudes decreased by 10 percent among both boys and girls, and depression scores decreased by 10 percent among girls and 7 percent among boys.

[88] Achyut et al. (2011). Building Support for Gender Equality among Young Adolescents in School: Findings from Mumbai, India. New Delhi, India: ICRW; Achyut et al. (2017). Changing Course: Implementation and Evaluation of the Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS) program in specific sites – Vietnam, India and Bangladesh. New Delhi, India: ICRW; Thekkudan et al. (2016). Understanding Social Norms Underpinning Domestic Violence in India. Technical Background Paper for Oxfam India's Campaign on Elimination of Violence Against Women and Girls. New Delhi, India: Oxfam India.

[89] Thekkudan, et al. (2016). Understanding Social Norms Underpinning Domestic Violence in India. Technical Background Paper for Oxfam India's Campaign on Elimination of Violence Against Women and Girls. New Delhi, India: Oxfam India.

[90] Das et al. (2012). Engaging Coaches and Athletes in Fostering Gender Equity: Findings from the Parivartan Program in Mumbai, India. New Delhi: ICRW & Futures Without Violence

[91] Thekkudan et al. (2016). Understanding Social Norms Underpinning Domestic Violence in India. Technical Background Paper for Oxfam India's Campaign on Elimination of Violence Against Women and Girls. New Delhi, India: Oxfam India

[92] Thekkudan et al. (2016). Understanding Social Norms Underpinning Domestic Violence in India. Technical Background Paper for Oxfam India's Campaign on Elimination of Violence Against Women and Girls. New Delhi, India: Oxfam India

[93] What Works to Prevent Violence. (2018). Right to Play: Preventing violence among and against children in schools in Hyderabad, Pakistan [Evidence Brief].

Despite some impact, there are still gaps in understanding how to maximize school-based interventions. There are also gaps in knowledge on how school-based violence affects girls from marginalized communities, how to prevent and respond to it, and how to effectively scale up community-based interventions to shape national policies and practice.[94]

The media can serve as a powerful instrument, with broad reach to shape norms. India's Broadcast Audience Research Council (BRAC) found that 836 million Indians watch TV, making TV the most popular media outlet, followed by radio.[95] Large-scale media campaigns known as 'edutainment' are designed to change social and gender norms and behaviors, and often combined with community-level engagement to maximize reach. Important messages on gender roles and stereotypes, health, education, women's empowerment, masculinity, and laws and policies around VAWG are often transmitted through these channels, raising awareness and creating opportunities for discussion and points of action.

The Population Foundation of India (PFI)'s soap opera, *Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon* (MKBKSH) (I, A Woman, Can Achieve Anything) is one of the most popular edutainment initiatives in the world. MKBKSH has a strong female protagonist and addresses a range of topics related to gender norms. Over two seasons, the program engaged audiences with episodes, as well as an interactive voice response system (IVRS), social media and other activities.[96] The IVRS allowed viewers to place 'missed calls' and participate in surveys and quizzes, leave feedback and share stories.[97] An evaluation of the first two seasons reported 1.6 million calls from 400,000 unique phone numbers.[98] Data from the IVRS showed that the key themes discussed by callers included women's empowerment (47 percent) and GBV (34 percent). Season one had 58 million viewers, including both women (52 percent) and men (48 percent). The show impacted knowledge, attitudes and practices on various issues, including child marriage and violence. After watching the show, fewer men (22 percent less than the baseline) believed that a woman should be beaten on suspicion of unfaithfulness.[99] PFI leveraged MKBKSH and partnered with the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MoHFW) to launch the peer education SAATHIYA Resource Kit and program, as part of the national Rashtriya Kishor Swasthya Karyakram (RKSK)/National Adolescent Health Programme which addresses adolescent health issues, including violence.[100]

Media can also be used to reach women who are illiterate, live in rural and remote areas, or come from marginalized communities with little access to information. Community radio has been particularly effec-

[94] Global Women's Institute & Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (n.d.). School-Based Interventions to Prevent Violence Against Women & Girls [Evidence Brief].

[95] Tandon, S. (2018, July 28). What Netflix? Indians are still glued to the idiot box. Quartz India; Ahluwalia, H. (2018, February 7). Radio emerges as second most accessed media, outpaces social networking: report. Livemint

[96] Wang, H. & Singhal, A. (2017). Unfurling the VoiceBook of Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon: Real-Time Audience Engagement, Rising Fandom, and Spurring of Prosocial Actions. New Delhi: Population Foundation of India

[97] A missed call is a telephone call that is deliberately terminated by the caller before being answered by its intended recipient. Missed calls were used as a strategy by PFI to provide viewers with a free yet personalized connection and to generate interactive call-backs with viewers to collect feedback and data.

[98] Wang, H. & Singhal, A. (2017). Unfurling the VoiceBook of Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon: Real-Time Audience Engagement, Rising Fandom, and Spurring of Prosocial Actions. New Delhi: Population Foundation of India.

[99] Muttreja, P. (2017). Changing social norms though entertainment education: The case of a soap opera in India. OECD Development Matters

[100] Population Foundation of India. (2017, November 10). Population Foundation of India (PFI) presents Saathiya Resource Kit at World Congress on Adolescent Health; and Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. (2017, February 20). Press release: Health Secretary launches 'SAATHIYA' Resource Kit and 'SAATHIYA SALAH' Mobile App for Adolescents. 'This Resource Kit and Mobile App connect the RKSK with the adolescents': Shri C.K Mishra. Press Information Bureau, Government of India

tive in amplifying the voices of marginalized groups, enabling them to share information and mobilize around issues such as VAWG. One study to ascertain the impact of Puduvai Vaani community radio had on women in Pillaichavady village in Puducherry found that 87 percent felt their education and health knowledge improved, 64 percent improved their nutrition and 50 percent stated improved attitudes, but the study did not specify which attitudes.[101]

Some media campaigns partner with celebrities to leverage their platforms and extend their reach. A digitally evaluated campaign called *Bas Ab Bahut Ho Gaya* (Enough is Enough) by PFI, in collaboration with actor and director Feroz Abbas Khan and MARD (Men Against Rape and Discrimination), uses film, to highlight statistics, case studies and real-life examples to challenge attitudes on women's rights and VAWG. It also generates content that celebrities can endorse for greater impact, including three celebrity and three non-celebrity films and a celebrity concert, which was watched on Facebook Live by 4.8 million viewers.[102] The campaign mobilized both male and female college students through a contest to produce a two-minute film on VAWG. A total of 1,700 entries were received from 600 colleges across India. The top three films were shortlisted and one was awarded the viewer's choice award, and all are posted on the campaign website.[103] Although there are few rigorous evaluations of media platforms available, levels of viewership and listenership indicate the power of media campaigns, particularly when linked strategically to celebrity platforms. Campaign evaluations suggested that both the celebrity and non-celebrity films were equally effective in terms of changing knowledge and attitudes, but celebrity films were more likely to be shared on social media.

Some NGOs use a combination of mass media channels, advocacy or activism, community mobilization and partnerships across sectors and stakeholders to spread their message to a wider audience. Women's rights NGO Breakthrough's *Bell Bajao* ('Ring the Bell') campaign in India aimed to reduce domestic violence by involving men and boys to be part of that change, and removing the stigma that surrounds women living with HIV.[104] A pre/post evaluation of this initiative indicated increased knowledge about women's rights and laws on domestic violence and increased action taken against domestic violence.[105]

Advocacy campaigns to challenge attitudes and beliefs rooted in gender norms have had a positive impact in addressing VAWG. Oxfam's regional We Can Campaign reached 50 million individuals across South Asia, reducing social tolerance of gender-based discrimination and VAWG.[106] The campaign actively engaged multiple stakeholders from government, the private sector, universities and civil society, as well as individual allies. This gave stakeholders ownership over the message and carrying it forward. Regional and country-specific implementation ensured sustainability and empowered local stakeholders. Local languages were used and close collaboration and

[101] Nirmala, Y. (2015). The role of community radio in empowering women in India. Media Asia, 42, 1-2, 41-46; Siva Balan, K.C. & Norman, S.J. (2012). Community Radio (CR) – Participatory Communication Tool for Rural Women Development – A Study. International Research Journal of Social Sciences, 1(1), 19-22

[102] #BasAbAbhutHoGaya (n.d.). Retrieved February 13, 2019 from https://basabbahuthogaya.in/

[103] #BasAbAbhutHoGaya (n.d.). Retrieved February 21, 2019 from https://basabbahuthogaya.in/viewers-choice-awards/

[104] Breakthroughinsights. (n.d.). Breakthrough's Bell Bajao! A Campaign to Bring Domestic Violence a Halt

[105] Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group

[106] Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group

sharing of lessons learned were fostered among staff members, donors, and marketing members. However, the campaign was limited to changing individual attitudes and beliefs and did not attain the collective social change needed to impact norms.[107]

UNICEF's Meena Campaign in Bangladesh, Nepal, and India and Plan International's Let Girls Be Born campaign in India address excess female child mortality through messages promoting the rights of girls and encouraging equal opportunities for all children. These campaigns have had some success in creating normative change. However, due to the qualitative method of evaluation used to measure campaign impact, it is hard to say if the change is solely the result of the campaigns. This is the case with most advocacy campaigns as efforts generally target different levels of society and multiple sectors to change norms. In the absence of a rigorous evaluation, it is difficult to understand what exactly drives impact.[108]

Conclusion

The interventions described above demonstrate that stakeholders across sectors accept the need to address gender norms to effectively prevent and respond to VAWG in both public and private spaces. Without norm change, critical investments in legal, policy, service and infrastructure interventions will be undermined.[109] The interventions and existing evaluations further indicate the key ingredients of interventions to challenge gender norms. For example, since norms are socially constructed and maintained and norm change requires the buy-in and actions of all members of society, casting a wide net, and including boys and men, parents, and communities at large can be effective. At the same time, important gaps remain in research, implementation and accountability. There is a need to invest in both rigorous quantitative and in-depth qualitative evaluations to better understand which programs or components of programs are effective in transforming gender norms and to assess their long-term impact on rates of VAWG in public spaces. Additionally, girls and women require concrete support and resources as they engage in the risky business of challenging norms designed to control and subjugate them. This includes opportunities to come together through collective action and in safe spaces, as well as skill building and support to foster agency, resilience to backlash, and access to opportunities.

[107] Thekkudan et al. (2016). Understanding Social Norms Underpinning Domestic Violence in India. Technical Background Paper for Oxfam India's Campaign on Elimination of Violence Against Women and Girls. New Delhi, India: Oxfam India

[108] Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group

[109] UN Women, UNFPA & DFAT. (2016). Preventing Violence against women and girls through social norm change. Learning Paper from the Asia-Pacific Forum on Preventing Violence Against Women and Girls: Evidence and Tools for Social Norm Change

Making Laws and Policies Work for Girls and Women[110]

- **Special police response teams**
- **Community policing and vigilance groups**
- **Technology**
- **Specialized and fast-track courts**
- **Alternative and restorative justice and dispute resolution mechanisms**
- **University-based policies**
- **Workplace laws and policies**

Making laws and policies work for girls and women is critical to preventing VAWG, providing much needed justice to survivors, and ensuring that the criminal justice system works for everyone. In India, there are progressive, comprehensive laws and key institutional responses in place, which have led to investments to strengthen legal responses to VAWG. However, a lack of trust in law enforcement, reinforced by ineffective enforcement of laws and policies, reduces their effectiveness in preventing and responding to VAWG.

The broad menu of laws and policies currently in place signals an acknowledgement of the scope of VAWG and the Government of India's recognition over time of the need for a comprehensive legal framework to address VAWG. Institutional responses to prevent and respond to VAWG, such as National and State Commissions on Women, and the inclusion of VAWG prevention and mitigation measures in various government schemes[111] are further evidence of the government's commitment to address VAWG (see Appendix 2. Violence Against Women and Girls: Law and Policy Framework in India).

However, despite the setting of standards and establishment of institutional frameworks, critical gaps remain, most notably the continued reluctance to criminalize marital rape and the lack of clear accountability for sexual harassment in public spaces. Additionally, while horrific incidents have led to expedited legal responses, these responses do not address the core issues behind the attacks. Following the 2012 gang rape and murder in Delhi, the Justice J.S. Verma Committee led a consultative process resulting in a measured and wholistic amendment to the Criminal Law which addressed the range of atrocities women face, including those in public spaces, and enhanced the accountability of public officials.[112] In disappointing contrast, in response to the 2018 gang rape and murder in Jammu, the government, leveraging public anger, unilaterally proposed the death penalty for those convicted of the rape of a child aged 12 and under. This response was protested by many human rights, child and women's advocates, given the lack of evidence that the death penalty acts as a deterrent to rape and the fact that such a response detracts from the complex issues at hand, including the need to ensure the certainty of punishment not its severity, and to address the gender norms underpinning the existing rape culture and the challenges girls and women already face in reporting violence.

[110] This section focuses on interventions aimed at improving law enforcement and legal responses to VAWG in public spaces. Legal services and interventions to increase legal literacy are covered in the next section on providing coordinated, high-quality services.

[111] For example, the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare's adolescent health scheme Rashtriya Kishor Swasthya Karyakram (RKSK) and the Ministry of Women and Child Development's Integrated Child Protection Scheme and Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao campaign.

[112] Verma, J.S., Seth, L., Subramanium, G. (2013). Report of the Committee on Amendments to Criminal Law. Retrieved from https://www.prsindia.org/uploads/media/Justice%20verma%20committee/js%20verma%20committe%20report.pdf

Lack of trust in law enforcement and other public officials is undermining legal and policy responses in India. Surveys conducted in five cities found that women rarely report harassment or violence to the police, turning instead to friends, family or even bystanders. Women expressed a lack of confidence in the police, citing instances of apathy, trivializing or dismissing the incident, corruption and being blamed.[113] Testimonies of women and their families in the states of Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan documented inadequate responses by police to survivors of violence, ranging from apathy to threats and violence, which reinforce the lack of trust women have for police in their communities.[114] In some high profile cases, public officials have either delayed condemning perpetrators, did not condemn them strongly enough, or even supported them.[115]

Despite this, most stakeholders agree that advocacy and legal responses have led to an increase in registered incidents of rape. However, conviction rates remain disturbingly low. For example, in 2016, National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) data indicated an 82 percent increase in registered incidents of rape against children compared to 2015. In contrast, overall conviction rates for rape of women were as low as 19 percent in the same year.[116] As with all laws and policies, the challenge lies in their swift application and effective implementation. Under Indian law, it is mandatory for police officers to register sexual assault complaints. The law also outlines the process through which this should be done, specifying that, in cases of sexual assault or attempted sexual assault, a trained female police officer should gather testimony from the survivor, videotape her statement, and have her statement recorded by a judicial magistrate as soon as possible. A 2014 study in Delhi and Mumbai found that most offenses are not reported to the police, and that when they are, police often fail to register FIRs (first information reports) or properly investigate the crimes.[117] Testimonies gathered across four states revealed inconsistent application of laws and procedures, and traumatic experiences of survivors at the hands of police, ranging from refusal to register complaints to pressuring survivors and their families with violence or threats of violence to withdraw their complaint if the perpetrator is from a powerful community.[118] A 2016 study found that attitudes of police, many of which are rooted in gender norms, led to non-registration of crimes. For example, women reporting crimes were reprimanded for speaking loudly and arguing with police, and many police did not find the use of physical force by men against women problematic. The study also documented police bias against women survivors of violence and witnesses and support for perpetrators from influential communities.[119] There is also evidence of delayed filing of FIRs, registration of counter cases against atrocity

[113] Jagori. (2016). Study on Violence Against Women in Public Spaces in Ranchi and Hazaribag, Jharkhand: A Synopsis. New Delhi: Jagori; SAKHI Women's Resource Centre. (2011). Are Cities in Kerala Safe for Women? Research Findings of the Study conducted in Thiruvananthapuram and Kozhikode Cities, Kerala 2009-11. Thiruvananthapuram, India: SAKHI Women's Resource Centre; and Suri, S. N. (2011). Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative, A Draft Strategic Framework for Women's Safety in Delhi 2010. New Delhi: UN Habitat, UN Women Jagori, Department of Women and Child Development, Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi; Jagori & UN Women. (2011). Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative: Report of the Baseline Survey Delhi 2010. New Delhi, India: Jagori and UN Women, and Bhatla et al. (2013). Safe Cities Free From Violence Against Women and Girls: Baseline Findings from the "Safe City Delhi Programme." New Delhi, India: UN Women and ICRW

[114] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

[115] Dutt, B. (2018, April 11). Hindu 'Nationalists' Defend Accused Rapists and Shame India. The Washington Post

[116] National Crime Records Bureau. (2017). Crimes in India 2016, Statistics. New Delhi, India: Ministry of Home Affairs

[117] Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative. (2015). Crime Victimisation and Safety Perception: A Public Survey of Delhi and Mumbai. Delhi: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative

[118] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

[119] Rao, U.N.B, & Tiwari, A. (2016). A Study on Non-registration of Crimes: Problems and Solutions [Revised and Final Report]. Mumbai: Tata Institute of Social Sciences

cases, long-delayed investigations, and negligence on the part of police officers, all of which impede access to justice for individuals from SC communities.[120]

Interventions[121]

Despite these shortfalls, there are initiatives across India that aim to engage and empower the police, judicial officers, advocates, NGOs, universities, corporate entities and other stakeholders, including girls and women themselves, to better apply and enforce laws related to VAWG and serve girls and women more effectively. Most of these initiatives emerged in response to public pressure following particularly virulent cases of VAWG. While there is little evidence yet on how effective these interventions are, they signal a willingness by stakeholders to invest and, often, to innovate.

Special police response teams are being deployed across India, including all-women police stations (AWPS), teams and mobile squads. AWPS employ only female officers specialized in sensitively handling crimes committed against women, such as domestic violence and rape. Some offer other services, such as training for girls and women in self-defense and counseling. According to the Bureau of Police Research and Development, by 2017, there were 613 AWPS in India. Tamil Nadu has the most AWPS, with 203. However, some states, including Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Assam, do not have any. Some AWPS, such as the one in Chandigarh,[122] work closely with other departments, such as the SC/ST Cell, to address violence against women from marginalized communities.

Mobile all-women squads in specially marked vans or on motorcycles aim to increase police presence on the street and quick responses.[123] Mixed-gender, quick-response teams focused on sexual harassment, map and monitor hotspots near schools, colleges, cinemas and bus stops, and apprehend offenders.[124] These include *Nirbhaya* Teams and *Damini* Squads in some districts of Maharashtra, including Pune. When *Nirbhaya* Teams were launched in 2016, they announced they would engage professionals through the Maharashtra State Commission for Women to provide counseling to survivors of sexual assault and harassment.

The effectiveness of special response teams can be hampered by deeply ingrained gender norms. For example, law enforcement remains a traditionally male-dominated profession, so some 'all-women squads' actually include men. Additionally, when women do join the police force, there is evidence that, to fit in and advance professionally, they adopt the attitudes of their male counterparts, including adhering to restrictive gender norms.[125] One study found that AWPS led to a 22 percent rise in reports of crimes against women, primarily kidnapping and domestic

[120] National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights. (n.d.). Joint stakeholders' report on caste based discrimination in India. Retrieved from International Dalit Solidarity Network website: https://idsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Stakeholders-report-_UPR-III-V2-1.pdf

[121] This section benefited tremendously from documentation and analysis in: Daruwala, M. & John, A. (2018). Brief on Various Police Initiatives for Better Responses to Women's Safety. Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative. Unpublished manuscript; and Jain, K. (2018). Report on Public Safety in Purandar Block, Pune District. Pune: 3D Program for Girls and Women and MASUM. Unpublished manuscript.

[122] Women Police Station. (n.d.). Retrieved from the Chandigarh Police website: http://chandigarhpolice.gov.in/women_police_station.html

[123] These include All Women Police Control Room vans in Delhi and the the 600-motorcycle all-women Raftaar squad (which has the added benefit of easily accessing narrow lanes). SHE TEAMS deployed across Hyderabad focus on hotspots to prevent and respond to VAWG, and track and follow up with offenders. The Veeranana (women warriors) team in Guwahati, Assam is trained in 'silent drills' and martial arts, as well as motorbike and horse riding, the use of lethal and non-lethal weapons, and on women's legal rights. The Pink Police Patrol in Kerala and Pink Hoysala team in Bengaluru offer a visually conspicuous deterrent to offenders and quick responses.

[124] For example, Operation Romeo in Uttar Pradesh and Operation Durga in Haryana

[125] Rao, U.N.B, & Tiwari, A. (2016). A Study on Non-registration of Crimes: Problems and Solutions [Revised and Final Report]. Mumbai: Tata Institute of Social Sciences

violence, and that survivors tend to use AWPS rather than general stations. Increases in self-reported use of support services and marginal improvements in measures of police deterrence, such as arrest rates, were also found.[126] However, other studies indicate that most cases are registered at regular police stations. Some police, including women, believe that women should be able to register complaints at any police station and that female personnel should be integrated across all units, which should be trained to address VAWG. An independent audit questioned the effectiveness of all-women units in improving women's safety, cautioned against further marginalizing VAWG with stereotypically female branding, such as using the color pink and names like 'She' to brand all-women squads, and questioned the capacity of police departments to provide additional promised services, such as counseling.[127]

Community policing and vigilance groups operate on the premise that local security requires partnerships across sectors and joint problem-solving by police and the communities they serve. They can increase trust and the effectiveness of police in preventing and responding to VAWG. There is some anecdotal evidence that these efforts improve engagement between police and communities, and that community safety improves when communities play a role in planning, implementing and monitoring security solutions.[128] Community policing and vigilance platforms are in place at the district, block, village, ward and municipal levels across India. For example, in Pune District, Women's Vigilance Committees work under the police department, with the ambitious mandate to improve safety, raise awareness, and provide legal and medical assistance and safe spaces. The committee is replicated at the block and village levels as *Dakshata* committees. *Police Mitra* (Friend of Police) is a civil society community policing body, that works closely with police on various issues, including VAWG, and citizens can volunteer to serve via an app.[129] The *Gram Rakshak Dal* (village security group) is another citizen policing group and includes women and girls.[130]

The Parivartan Program was designed by the New Delhi Police in collaboration with civil society organizations and human rights activists to improve safety and security for women in the city.[131] An internal assessment reported an 11 percent reduction in VAW in Delhi[132] and improved information exchange between women and female police officers strengthened crime prevention.[133] The NGO Jagori, which served as the implementing partner for the global Gender

[126] Amaral, S., Bhalotra, S. & Prakash, N. (2018). Gender, Crime and Punishment: Evidence from Women Police Stations in India. Center for Labour and Demographic Economics, ifo Institute, CESifo

[127] Kumar, S. V. (2018, August 28). All Women Station, An Outdated Concept. The Hindu; and Daruwala, M. & John, A. (2018). Brief on Various Police Initiatives for Better Responses to Women's Safety. Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, Unpublished manuscript.

[128] Jewkes et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3], 21 - 23. What Works to Prevent Violence; and UN Women (2011b, December 29). Community-based policing. UN Women Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence Against Women and Girls. Retrieved from December 13, 2018 from http://www.endvawnow.org/en/articles/1095-community-based-policing-.html

[129] Police Mitra Maharashtra. (n.d.). Retrieved December 20, 2018 from https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.mrp.policemitramaharashtra&hl=en_SG

[130] Jain, K. (2018). Report on Public Safety in Purandar Block, Pune District. Pune: 3D Program for Girls and Women and MASUM. Unpublished manuscript.

[131] It involved deploying women police officers, community awareness raising activities, women's safety committees, motivating women and girls to report sexual assault, organizing self-defense classes and sensitizing male police.

[132] Delhi Police. (n.d.) Parivartan: A Campaign for the Safety of Women in Delhi. Retrieved December 13, 2018 from http://www.delhipolice.nic.in/parivartan/parivartan.htm

[133] UN Women. (2011a). Case Study: Parivartan - A Programme for the Safety of Women and Children by the New Delhi Police (India). Security Sector Module, UN Women

Inclusive Cities Programme in India, convened women's groups, government officials and the police to strengthen community-based responses to VAWG. As a result, the Delhi Police increased the number of female beat constables and station house officers available, increased police vigilance at night, and established help desks in unsafe areas. The Delhi Government also piloted the Awaz Uthao program in 15 low-income communities, to build multi-stakeholder collectives to address women's safety at the local level.[134]

Similarly, the NGO Aangan mobilized women and adolescent girls into 230 community safety groups in rural villages and urban slums across six states in India to engage government officials and build safety systems for girls. Girls collected data through a child safety app, story-telling, and generating lists of stakeholders who they saw as accountable for keeping them safe. They then engaged police and other officials to identify and track children at risk, measuring progress on increasing the safety of vulnerable children.[135]

Technology is increasingly used to improve law enforcement. Police departments across India are using mobile apps as a prevention and response mechanism on VAWG, particularly in public spaces.[136] The apps are integrated with police control rooms and linked to the nearest police station or patrol to reduce response time. Some apps enable the user to let contacts, including police, know if they are in distress, and others enable police to send updates to users after the incident. The Delhi Police's Dark Spots App, in collaboration with the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, alerts the New Delhi Municipal Council of city areas where there are no street lights or those in place do not work.[137] Data on hotspots and attacks from apps developed by NGOs, such as Safetipin and SafeCity, are accessible to police departments to inform beat routes and responses. WhatsApp groups are being used by the police to prevent and respond to VAWG.[138]

Other technology is being used to prevent, report, track and respond to VAWG. There has been a rise in the use of closed-circuit television (CCTV) by local governments, police departments and private companies across India.[139] The Atrocity Tracking and Monitoring (ATM) system is a virtual national platform housed on a website, created by the National Dalit Movement for Justice, to report and record crimes

[134] Women in Cities International. (2011). Tacking Gender Exclusion: Experiences from the Gender Inclusive Cities Programme

[135] For example, they worked with Gram Panchayats in four villages to help over 800 children get identity documents, creating a way to identify and track missing, runaway or trafficked children; and help them access state services and file police complaints. In a slum in Mumbai, 40 children were linked to a foster care scheme and went back to school. Based on safety audits and mapping done by girls, police increased the number of patrols in 28 locations in Uttar Pradesh, and distributed their phone numbers and flashlights to improve security for girls in public spaces in a community in Bihar. For more details, see: Aangan. (2018). Women & Girls Powered by Data: A New Way to See, Solve and Speak Up about Old Problems. Mumbai: Aangan

[136] For example, the Himmat Plus app in Delhi. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.dp.himmat&hl=en_US; the Hawk Eye app in Hyderabad, Hyderabad City Police. (n.d.). Hawk Eye – Empowering Public to be Citizen Police. Retrieved from https://hyderabadpolice.gov.in/HawkEye.html; and the Suraksha in Karnataka, Suraksha – Bengaluru City Police. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.trinity.bnglrpolicesos&hl=en_US

[137] Daruwala, M. & John, A. (2018). Brief on Various Police Initiatives for Better Responses to Women's Safety. Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, Unpublished manuscript.

[138] In Pune, the police-initiated group BuddyCop enables working women to join by registering at the nearest police station, providing immediate access to police. Within six months of its launch in 2017, over 100,000 women, primarily those working in IT and call centers, were registered and 750 groups were formed. A similar group Police Kaka (uncle) was launched for students in schools and colleges in Pune and is supported by police outreach on campuses.

[139] Sachitanand, R. (2018, October 30). Sales of surveillance cameras are soaring, raising questions about privacy. The Economic Times; and Barman, S.R. (2018, June 25). State of Surveillance: Who controls the data collected from CCTVs in the capital? The India Express; and Yadav, V.K. (2018, October 27). 5,000 more CCTVs to help make Mumbai safer. Hindustan Times

against SC and ST community members, track progress of legal processes, and increase momentum for timely and fair investigation and judicial processes under the SC/ST Act.[140] The Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI)'s Virtual Police Station (VPS), is a training tool for the police and an empowerment tool for citizens. Created with the Rajasthan Police, the VPS allows police and citizens to enter and move around a computerized police station, click on police equipment and personnel, revealing videos and text boxes with details on related legal procedures, including what FIRs are and how to file one.[141]

These technological innovations provide a valuable option for women and girls, vulnerable communities, advocates and police and officials, to document and respond to incidents of VAWG. New features and improvements can efficiently be added as needs emerge. They are also generating much-needed data on VAWG and can serve as effective accountability mechanisms.[142] However, their impact is generally limited to those with access to technology. While smartphones are increasingly accessible in India, economic and gender gaps persist in both access to and use of mobile technology.[143] Only 29 percent of India's Internet users are women and only 28 percent of Indian women own a cell phone, compared to 43 percent of Indian men, and women are one-third less likely than men to benefit from information technology.[144] The ATM system can be accessed via short message service (SMS) and landline and SafeCity has created an alternative call-back response system for women without smartphones. These options increase the potential for use, but do not provide an immediate response mechanism. Technical difficulties, language barriers and burdensome registration processes have led to low use of some police apps. While CCTV has successfully reduced certain types of crimes, such as vehicle thefts from public car parks, there is evidence that CCTV does not impact crimes that fall under VAWG, and that the video surveillance may cause discomfort and increased fear among women. Industry experts and civil liberty advocates highlight the potential for misuse of CCTV data. Like most technology, it appears to be more successful when combined with investments in human resources and infrastructure.[145] Finally, technology will only be as effective as the police response following each incident.

Specialized and fast-track courts can expedite VAWG cases, improve the experience of survivors and their families, increase coordination among relevant actors, and improve the effectiveness of the court system in protecting women and conviction rates. Globally,

[140] CivicTech4Democracy. (n.d.). Atrocity tracking and monitoring system - An interactive web-based tool for human rights defenders in accessing justice; Jha, J. (2015, February 12). Web-based tool Atrocity Tracking and Monitoring System launched; National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights. (2017). Caste based discrimination in India: 27th session of the Universal Periodic Review of UN Human Rights Council (India UPR cycle - May 2017); National Dalit Movement for Justice. (2018, June 26). Atrocity tracking and monitoring system (ATM) - NDMJ, NCDHR [Video file]

[141] Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative. (n.d.). Virtual Police Station

[142] For example, the National Dalit Movement for Justice, reports that notifications of incidents through the ATM have compelled police to act promptly in registering FIRs, conducting spot inspections, arresting the accused, and submitting charge sheets. FIRs have been registered for 261 of the 406 cases recorded, and survivors have been compensated with a total of 12.7 million rupees as a result of the ATM. See: National Dalit Movement for Justice. (2018, June 26). Atrocity tracking and monitoring system (ATM) - NDMJ, NCDHR [Video file]

[143] Rowntree, O. (2018). Connected Women: The Mobile Gender Gap Report 2018. GMS Association; and Girls Effect & Vodafone Foundation. (2018). Real Girls, Real Lives, Connected. A Global Study of Girls' Access and Usage of Mobile, Told Through 3,000 Voices

[144] Housing and Land Rights Network. (2018). India's Smart Cities Mission: Smart for Whom? Cities for Whom? New Delhi: Housing and Land Rights Network

[145] College of Policing. (n.d.) Crime Reduction Toolkit [CCTV]. Retrieved February 6, 2019 from https://whatworks.college.police.uk/toolkit/Pages/Toolkit.aspx; International Centre for the Prevention of Crime 2008 study, as cited in Suri, S. N. (2011). Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative, A Draft Strategic Framework for Women's Safety in Delhi 2010. New Delhi: UN Habitat, UN Women Jagori, Department of Women and Child Development, Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi; Sachitanand, R. (2018, October 30). Sales of surveillance cameras are soaring, raising questions about privacy. The Economic Times; and Phadke, S., Ranade, S. & Khan, S. (2009). Why Loiter? Radical Possibilities for Gendered Dissent. In Dissent and Cultural Resistance in Asia's Cities (Chapter 10). London and New York: Routledge

most specialized courts or tribunals (and studies of them) have focused on sexual violence in conflict and humanitarian settings.[146] However, there are special courts focused on VAWG in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and South Africa. In 2018, the Government of India announced it would establish over 1,000 'fast-track special courts' for swift justice in cases of rape of children and women, adding to over 500 courts already in place in Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The goal is to expedite cases and ease the experience of survivors and their families. The time limit for investigation of rape cases is two months, with a six-month time limit for the disposal of appeals. The initiative also aims to strengthen the physical infrastructure and prosecution machinery, including the provision of the required number of judicial officers for lower courts, an additional number of public prosecutors, dedicated investigators and special forensic kits.

It is too early to assess the impact of these courts as a deterrent against VAWG or on justice outcomes for girls and women in India. However, there is evidence that structural constraints undermine the efficacy of fast-track courts, including considerable backlog and judicial vacancies.[147] Some women participating in special tribunals on sexual violence in conflict settings felt that their risk of further violence was reduced because they participated in a process that explicitly focused on sexual violence as a crime and held perpetrators accountable. Other studies found that women found the process of testifying traumatic and were subject to retaliation or ostracized after doing so. One evaluation found significantly lower rates of re-arrest among defendants in a specialized domestic violence court in the United States. An assessment of a Sexual Offences Courts in South Africa found conviction rates were nearly twice that of other courts. Fast track or specialist domestic violence courts in England and Wales had improved referrals to both court or other support services, increased victim's participation in and approval of the criminal justice system, and increased advocacy and information-sharing on VAWG.[148]

Alternative and restorative justice and dispute resolution mechanisms were established to compensate for failures or delays of the formal legal system. Survivors of violence may access alternative justice processes if they do not trust the formal system or fear further traumatization.[149] Some women simply may not have access to official judicial systems and are forced to rely on community-based mechanisms. Alternative approaches include a broad spectrum of mechanisms, such as arbitration, in which an impartial arbitrator determines a binding outcome, and consensual processes, such as collaborative law, mediation, conciliation, or negotiation, in which the parties attempt to reach an agreement with the help of a neutral third party. They can exist within the formal legal system or as part of informal systems.[150]

Lok Adalats or people's courts are an alternative dispute resolution (ADR) system, made up of members who serve as statutory conciliators to settle disputes outside the courts, based on compromises or settlements. The members are mandated to assist the parties in an independent and impartial manner to reach

[146] Such as in Rwanda and countries of the former Yugoslavia.

[147] For more on the justice system and gender justice in India, see: Seth, L. (2014). Talking of Justice: People's Rights in Modern India. New Delhi: Aleph Book Company

[148] Jewkes et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3], 21 - 23. What Works to Prevent Violence

[149] Jewkes et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3], 21 - 23. What Works to Prevent Violence

[150] For more information and an assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of different alternative approaches, see: Arora, S. (2015, April 5). Formal and Informal Dispute Resolution. Academike: Articles on Legal Issues and: 150 Orlando, A. (n.d.). Advantages and Disadvantages of Dispute Resolution Processes. Blaney McMurtry LLP

an amicable settlement. *Lok Adalats* deal with a range of issues, such as matrimonial disputes, civil cases, property, and land and labor disputes.[151]

In India, women's collectives provide ADR, dispensing justice through 'women's courts'.[152] Some ADR collectives emerged from self-help groups (SHGs) and other collectives set up by NGOs, based on the need to address the domestic violence experienced by tribal women.[153] Those considered successful are known for having clear rules and regulations and being able to work well with other stakeholders in the community. Women's collectives in the *Mahila Samakhya* program, including *Shramajibee Mahila Samity* in Bengal, *Sahara Sangh* and *Nari Adalat* in Uttar Pradesh, and *Nari Adalat* and *Mahila Panch* in Gujarat, engage effectively with men, *panchayats* and government departments, have transparent operations and adhere to clear rules and regulations.[154] For example, *Nari Adalat* operates within strict guidelines to ensure that every woman is treated with respect and is not further traumatized. An evaluation found that *Nari Adalat* clients reported decreased violence at home, improved household relations, improved confidence and a better understanding of violence. Additionally, over time, the program has gained more acceptance in the broader community, indicating a shift in norms, whereby lower-caste women are recognized for their leadership potential and VAW is increasingly rejected and reported.[155] Government initiatives also use women collectives to form networks with elected women representatives and lobby to increase the focus on women's issues, including violence, during *panchayat* meetings.[156] Although there has been some progress in addressing VAW at *panchayat* meetings, it is often deemed irrelevant and unsuitable for public and political discourse.[157]

There is debate about whether alternative justice processes are ethical, appropriate and adequate to address VAWG, particularly severe cases. The United Nations recommends the explicit prohibition of mediation in all cases of VAW before and during legal proceedings.[158] The 2011 Council of Europe Conven-

[151] National Legal Services Authority. (n.d.). Lok Adalat. Retrieved from https://nalsa.gov.in/lok-adalat

[152] Vatuk, S. (2013). The "women's court" in India: an alternative dispute resolution body for women in distress. The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law, 45:1, 76-103

[153] For example, The Women's Resource Centers run by Seva Mandir in tribal belts of Udaipur District in Rajasthan, provide an ADR mechanism for tribal women who could not access conventional platforms. The Saurashtra-Kutch Group on Violence Against Women in Gujarat has women's justice collectives with well-trained staff that are well-connected with judicial organizations, policy makers, and international workers. The International NGOs Partnership Agreement Program (IPAP) has women's dispute resolution collectives to serve survivors of violence, mobilize the community against VAWG, and engage law enforcement officials and policy makers to make services accessible. Other examples exist across India, many under the Mahila Samakhya Program, such as the Shramajibee Mahila Samityin Bengal, the Sahara Sangh and Nari Adalat in Uttar Pradesh, and the Nari Adalat and Mahila Panch in Gujarat. See Pande et al. (2017). Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in South Asia: Evidence for Interventions in the Health Sector, Women's Collectives, and Local Governance Mechanisms. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women

[154] Pande et al. (2017). Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in South Asia: Evidence for Interventions in the Health Sector, Women's Collectives, and Local Governance Mechanisms. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women.

[155] Beyond Borders, Center for Domestic Violence Prevention (CEDOVIP) & ICRW. (2016.) Whose Justice, Whose Alternative? Locating Women's Voice and Agency in Alternative Dispute Resolution Responses to Intimate Partner Violence.

[156] The Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government of India and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) instituted a capacity building project in 10 Indian states for Elected Women Representatives (EWRs) elected under the 73rd and 74th amendments that reserve at least one-third of local government body seats for women. This project was established to mitigate the challenges EWRs face in fully participating in governance, due to lack of training, entrenched social and gender norms, class and caste restrictions, and lack of knowledge on political entities. Several existing women's collectives and new groups were used to form networks between the women's groups and EWRs to improve the performance of EWRs, strengthen mechanisms for setting the women's agenda and mobilize around issues.

[157] ICRW & UN Women. (2012). Opportunities and Challenges of Women's Political Participation in India: A Synthesis of Research Findings from Select Districts in India and Government of India and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) India. (n.d). From Reservation to Participation: Capacity Building of Elected Women Representatives and Functionaries of Panchayati Raj Institutions.

[158] United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for the Advancement of Women. (2010). Handbook for Legislation on Violence against Women. New York, NY: United Nations

tion on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence prohibits mandatory ADR processes, including mediation and conciliation, in relation to all forms of violence covered by the convention.[159] South Africa limits the jurisdiction and cases that can be pursued via traditional informal courts. In India, while women's collectives are seen as viable alternatives, *khap panchayats* or caste-based councils, which serve as extrajudicial authorities in response to perceived infractions of caste rules or caste-based conflict in states such as Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, have had their decisions rendered illegal by the Supreme Court due to perceived abuses under the law.[160]

There is limited and conflicting evidence on the impact of alternative justice interventions on VAWG reduction, mostly from small studies and high-income countries. The literature highlights significant risks to women, including revictimization and blaming the victim. In India, assessments found positive outcomes, but those were related to increased awareness of VAWG, increased use of police and the legal system, and an appreciation of the process, rather than reductions in VAWG or improved outcomes for girls and women.[161] A qualitative evaluation in Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat found that both men and women preferred informal mechanisms due to their women-centered approach, the openness to the discussions, timeliness of judgements and the way they embed the mediation in the larger community.[162]

University-based policies and bodies increased their focus on sexual harassment following the 2012 Nirbhaya incident. The University Grants Commission (UGC) established a task force in 2013, "to ensure the freedom, safety and security of girls and women in particular and of the youth population in general". Open forums revealed the extent of sexual harassment on university campuses. The task force released the Saksham Report, which recommended gender sensitization workshops for all members of university communities, with a focus on rights and normative change, and the need to institutionalize zero-tolerance policies for gender-based discrimination and violence. The report also highlighted the role of educational institutions in combating norms that sustain gender inequality and injustice. This led to the creation of regulations in 2016 that focus more on establishing complaints committees, rather than addressing the root causes and consequences highlighted in the report, such as power dynamics between professors and students, poor infrastructure, and the ongoing risk of women students having their mobility and access to higher education restricted if they do complain.[163]

Workplace laws and policies can serve as catalysts in both the implementation of formal laws and in shaping the normative environment related to VAWG, particularly sexual harassment. This is evident in the implementation of the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 (POSH Act)[164] and the impact on workplace,

[159] Thomas, C., Young, L. & Ellingen, M. (2011). Working with the Justice Sector to End Violence against Women and Girls. The Advocates For Human Rights and UN Women.

[160] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch and Anwar, T. (2018, February 7). 'We will not let girls be born or let them study' say Khaps. NewsClick

[161] Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group

[162] Jewkes et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3], 21 - 23. What Works to Prevent Violence.

[163] University Grants Commission. (2014). Saksham: Measures for Ensuring the Safety of Women and Programmes for Gender Sensitization on Campuses, Working Paper, eSocialSciences, and John, M.E. (2019, May 3). Sexual Violence 2012-2018 and #MeToo: A Touchstone for the Present [A Journal-Magazine on Contemporary Issues].

[164] The foundation of the POSH Act is the Vishakha Guidelines, a set of procedural guidelines issued by the Supreme Court in 1997, to prohibit, prevent and redress sexual harassment at the workplace. For further details, see Appendix 3. Violence Against Women and Girls: Law and Policy Framework in India.

and by extension, social dynamics.

The Act requires workplaces with more than ten employees to establish an Internal Complaints Committee to document and address cases of sexual harassment. Any woman, whether an employee or not, either working in the organized or unorganized sector, subjected to sexual harassment at the workplace can seek protection under this Act. This includes temporary or daily workers, volunteers and trainees, and covers incidents occurring at corporate locations, as well as on transportation, and when visiting vendors or other sites on business.

Under the Act, corporations are establishing committees, developing materials, and are working with NGOs to provide training to increase awareness of sexual harassment and workplace issues. An evaluation of the effectiveness of the Act is currently underway,[165] but some initial impressions are emerging. Some corporate and NGO leaders suggest that the Act has had a spillover effect on overall workplace and social interactions, particularly in urban India, with women speaking out more about workplace harassment. They suggest there is an increased awareness and reporting of sexual harassment, and better understanding of appropriate codes of conduct and protections under the law. In companies with a clear zero tolerance policy for harassment, training and other activities organized under the Act have the potential to deter harassment and serve as a preventive measure.[166]

The implementation of the POSH Act is not limited to the private and formal sectors. The Act mandates that every district must have a Local Committee[167] to address complaints in establishments with less than ten workers or against employers individually, including cases involving informal workers. This is important because 75 to 95 percent of workers in India are employed in establishments with less than ten workers, and 95 percent of women workers are engaged in the informal sector. Most women in the informal sector are economically vulnerable, and most are unaware of the law, making it difficult for them to speak out when they are sexually harassed. The Local Committees are therefore critical mechanisms for the success of the Act. However, there are several states in which committees were not formed without pressure from civil society, and many that are in place remain inaccessible.[168]

Building on the Safe Cities program, UN Women collaborated with the corporation Unilever to develop A Global Women's Safety Framework in Rural Spaces, informed by experiences in the tea sector in India and Kenya. The framework is the basis for a forthcoming practical guide to support women's safety in the agricultural sector.[169] The framework fills an important gap in resources to address VAWG in work and public spaces in rural areas. It advocates for a multi-pronged, multi-sectoral approach that includes building the capacity of agricultural managers, supervisors and workers to better understand and leverage existing corporate and legal resources to prevent and ad-

[165] The evaluation is being conducted by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

[166] P. Kibe, Head, POSH Committee, Forbes Marshall Ltd (Pune), personal communication, February 14, 2019

[167] The LC is chaired by a woman with experience in social work, and its members should include a woman working in local government, two NGO representatives (at least one of whom should be a woman), and the district social welfare or WCD officer as an ex officio member. Of these members, at least one must belong to an SC, ST or minority community.

[168] Cheria, A. (2019). Acting on India's POSH Act. Institute for Human Rights and Business. Retrieved April 26, 2019 from https://www.ihrb.org/focus-areas/anti-discrimination/commentary-acting-on-indias-posh-act, and Martha Farrell Foundation. (2018, May 18). Women in Informal Sector most Vulnerable to Sexual Harassment at Workplace [Press Release]

[169] UN Women. (2018). A Global Women's Safety Framework in Rural Spaces: Informed by Experience in the Tea Sector, New York, NY: UN Women

dress VAWG; awareness-raising activities to foster a zero-tolerance work environment; establishing grievance and redress mechanisms; engaging women in the design, implementation, monitoring and assessment of workplace safety strategies; engaging men as champions of gender equality and prevention of sexual harassment in the workplace; and providing inclusive and safe infrastructure in and around work settings.

Conclusion

The initiatives described above demonstrate a commitment and investments by national, state and local government, the police, NGOs, universities, corporate entities, communities, and women and girls themselves to effectively prevent and respond to VAWG through laws and policies. Most have been successful in raising awareness of VAWG and related laws and policies; creating alternative platforms and systems to compensate for systemic weaknesses; and strengthening capacity to engage those platforms and systems. Many are innovative, building on the potential and successes of existing technological, legal and advocacy platforms. However, most law and policy interventions continue to be hampered by gender norms and structural weaknesses in law enforcement and judicial systems. Anecdotal evidence suggests that both police and community squads often engage in moral policing and harassment, blaming and threatening girls and women for being in public spaces and chastising young people for being together in public, leading to police abuses rather than effective prevention or responses. Finally, while some legal and policy interventions include the provision of other services or referrals, most could benefit from more explicit and accountable linkages to services to ensure continuity in services for survivors.

Providing Coordinated, High-Quality Services

- **Helplines**
- **One-stop centers**
- **Health services**
- **Social services**
- **Legal services**
- **Shelters**

All girls and women who experience violence - whether in private or public spaces - require a range of health, social and legal services to address the trauma and impact on their physical and mental wellbeing, and help them seek justice. Ideally, services should cover multiple needs, be easy to access and navigate, and the care provided should be of a high quality. This requires service providers to be well-trained and suported. Several frameworks exist that inform and support high quality, multi-sectoral, client-centered approaches to service provision (see Box 3. Client-centered Frameworks for High Quality Services). Often, however, lack of coordination and accountability prevents survivors from being able to easily access the range and quality of services they need[170] and persistent gaps in health, social and legal services can further traumatize survivors.[171] Additionally, service providers often face increasing responsibilities, without the support of requisite training, guidelines, remuneration, and systems of accountability.

[170] Bandewar, S., Pitre, A., & Lingam, L. (2018). Five years post Nirbhaya: Critical Insights into the status of response to sexual assault. Indian Journal of Medical Ethics, 3, 3

[171] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

These limitations can lead to survivors avoiding services altogether. Globally, the World Bank estimates that only 40 percent of survivors of VAWG have ever sought either formal or informal support.[172] WHO found that 55 to 95 percent of physically abused women have never sought help from services or community leaders.[173] The percentage of women who formally even report violence in India is as low as 2 percent.[174] Despite the increase in reported sexual assault cases in India,[175] NFHS-4 data indicates that 90 percent of survivors have never sought help.[176] Less than one percent of women reporting marital violence have ever approached the health system.[177]

In 2014, the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MoHFW) in India established a comprehensive medico-legal protocol that grants survivors of sexual violence access to healthcare and quality services, with a focus on survivor safety, non-discriminatory treatment, privacy, dignity and fostering a non-threatening environment.[178] The protocol includes guidelines for provider conduct, instructing doctors to tailor examinations according to the needs of individual survivors and officially eliminating the invasive and inconclusive "two-finger test" or internal vaginal examination. It instead calls for a tailored full-body examination and a conversation to understand each survivor's experience and needs, recording the time lapse and activities of the survivor (for example, bathing or changing clothes) between the incident and when medical treatment is eceived, accounting for forensic evidence that could have been lost. Similarly, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013, added legal measures to punish public servants who refuse to document FIRs for crimes against women, including holding public and private hospitals accountable for refusing to offer free medical aid for survivors of rape and acid attacks.[179] However, state governments are not legally bound to adopt any mandates from the Central Government and as a result, only nine states, including Maharashtra, have adopted the 2014 MoHFW Guidelines so far.[180] The Kerala Government dropped a number of the progressive provisions in the guidelines and adopted their own version for their healthcare system.[181] Additionally, the absence of any policy guidance and monitoring system for the guidelines further undermines effective implementation, hampering the delivery and quality of critical services for survivors.

Interventions

Effectively responding to VAWG requires quality and coordinated, multi-sectoral responses from actors in the health, social services, legal and security sectors

[172] World Bank, Global Women's Institute & Inter-American Development Bank. (2014). Violence against Women & Girls (VAWG): Initiate, Integrate, Innovate [Final GBV Toolkit]. Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Resource Guide; Palermo T, Bleck J, & Peterman A. (2014). Tip of the iceberg: reporting and gender-based violence in developing countries. American Journal of Epidemiology, 179(5), 602-12

[173] Heise, L. (2011). What works to prevent partner violence: An evidence overview. STRIVE, Tackling the structural drivers of HIV

[174] World Bank, Global Women's Institute & Inter-American Development Bank. (2014). Violence against Women & Girls (VAWG): Initiate, Integrate, Innovate [Final GBV Toolkit]. Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Resource Guide

[175] Bandewar, S., Pitre, A., & Lingam, L. (2018). Five years post Nirbhaya: Critical Insights into the status of response to sexual assault. Indian Journal of Medical Ethics, 3, 3

[176] Deosthali-Bhate et al. (2018). Role of the Health Sector in Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in India: A Synthesis Report. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women.

[177] Population Council. (2017b). Feasibility of screening and referring women experiencing marital violence by engaging frontline workers: Evidence from rural Bihar [Policy Brief]

[178] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

[179] Jaising, I. (2015). Status of Law Relating to Violence Against Women & Due Diligence Obligation: Duty to Prevent, Protect & Respect

[180] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

[181] Bandewar, S., Pitre, A., & Lingam, L. (2018). Five years post Nirbhaya: Critical Insights into the status of response to sexual assault. Indian Journal of Medical Ethics, 3, 3

Box 3. Client-Centered Frameworks for High-Quality Services

Responses designed in a way that puts the survivor at the center of the service typically have more potential for successful outcomes in preventing VAWG and in referring survivors to additional services.[182] This box includes examples of frameworks that place girls and women at the center of service provision.

The **United Nations Joint Global Program's "Essential Services Package"** for girls and women, developed in partnership with UN Women, UNFPA, WHO, UNDP and UNODC, highlights the need to provide a coordinated set of essential, accessible and quality multi-sectoral services that meets the needs of every woman and girl survivor of violence. The Essential Services Guidelines Framework identifies essential services across three sectors: health; justice and policing; and social services administered by national and local actions.[183] The Framework highlights the need to have accessible services that are adaptable and can address the different and individual needs of girls and women; prioritize safety through risk assessment and safety planning; promote effective communication that empowers women to seek help; continuously gather and use data to improve services; and refer and link survivors to other services and agencies. It also specifies principles related to quality and care that should underpin service provision, including providing services through a rights-based and survivor-centered approach, in a way that advances gender equality and women's empowerment, is culturally appropriate and sensitive, prioritizes the safety of girls and women, and assists the survivor in holding the perpetrators accountable when possible.[184]

The **Population Council's Quality of Care Framework**,[185] originally designed in 1990 to assess family planning services, still offers a useful framework to assess quality from the client's perspective and presents three vantage points to make quality more practical and individualized, including assessing the structure of the service, the service-giving process itself, and the outcome of care measured in terms of the individual's gained knowledge and attitude and satisfaction with services rendered.

The **3D Program for Girls and Women's Quality of Service Index**,[186] developed in partnership with Leadership for Equity in Pune, is based on a conceptual framework that evaluates the quality of services across sectors from the perspective of girls and women. While noting that women's experience of services will be impacted by various stratifiers, such as their socioeconomic status, caste and age, the framework highlights five dimensions of quality that can be applied across sectors - Availability, Accessibility (which includes safety), Affordability, Acceptability and Accountability.

[182] World Bank, Global Women's Institute & Inter-American Development Bank. (2015). Violence against Women & Girls (VAWG): Initiate, Integrate, Innovate [Health Sector Brief]. Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Resource Guide

[183] National level actions include law and policy making, inclusive strategies to coordinated responses, allocation of resources and capacity development for policy makers on coordinated responses, and monitoring and evaluation of coordination at the national and local level. Local level action is focused on implementation and creating formal systems to institutionalize and govern service coordination.

[184] UN Women, UNFPA, WHO, UNDP & UNODC. (2015). Essential services package for women and girls subject to violence. Module 1: Overview and Introduction.

[185] Bruce, J. (1990). Fundamental Elements of the Quality of Care: A Simple Framework. Studies in Family Planning, 21 (2), 61-91

[186] Sebastian, R. & Poornima, I. (2018). A Framework for a Multi-Sectoral Index on Quality of Services: Women's Perspectives. Washington DC: 3D Program for Girls and Women

and the active engagement of NGOs, activists and citizens in the community, including girls and women.[187] There is little evidence on services responding to VAWG in public spaces. Most evaluations focus on services addressing VAWG in general or those focused on IPV.[188] However, lessons can be derived from these evaluations to strengthen services that serve girls and women who experience violence in public spaces. This section focuses on first responders, multi-sectoral services, and stand-alone services in the health, social and the legal sectors.

Helplines can serve as the first point of service for survivors of violence, providing timely information to the survivor or her support person to help them deal with the immediate repercussions of violence and plan for next steps. Available 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and staffed by trained volunteers or professionals, helplines can be stand-alone services or operate within other service points such as hospitals or police stations.

In 2015, under the Nirbhaya Fund, the Indian Ministry of Women and Child Development (MoWCD) launched the toll-free Universalization of Women Helpline Scheme, assigning a single, short national number (181) for all states and union territories to use. By 2017, 22 out of 29 states had implemented the scheme, with plans to link the helplines to one-stop centers.[189] Some helplines are not used at all and some are called later rather than immediately after a violent incident. One study found that 80 percent of women experienced violence for considerable periods of time before calling the Bihar 181 helpline. Helpline service providers indicated that the delay was due to women's reluctance to discuss violence, their inability to leave the house, fear of repercussions and their lack of awareness about the service. When asked themselves, 67 percent of women stated that the violence 'was not so bad' to warrant outside assistance, 60 percent feared for their family's honor and 59 percent had not been aware of the helpline or how to access it.[190]

Other examples of helplines include the Child Helpline Desk in Varanasi, launched by the NGO Aangan with partners, including the Varanasi Police and Child Protection Unit, which offers access to multiple services including police, legal services and shelter for children at risk of abduction and violence, and information about safety threats and how to access support.[191] Prior to the launch of the Women Helpline Schemes, the 24-hour Raipur helpline in Chhattisgarh was recognized as providing well-trained counsellors who assisted thousands of callers, including homosexual and transgender callers, addressing a range of issues, including HIV, sex education and psychological problems.[192]

There is little evidence on how effective helplines are in preventing or responding to VAWG, and more specifically violence that occurs in public spaces. However, their impact can be tracked by the number of people accessing the service. For instance, the Ut-

[187] World Bank, Global Women's Institute & Inter-American Development Bank. (2014). Violence against Women & Girls (VAWG): Initiate, Integrate, Innovate [Final GBV Toolkit]. Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Resource Guide

[188] These can include primary prevention interventions which aim to prevent violence, secondary prevention interventions which aim to identify survivors through screening and respond to their individual needs, and tertiary prevention interventions which aim to prevent further victimization and respond to the negative consequences of the violence.

[189] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

[190] Population Council. (2017a). Acceptability and effectiveness of helpline services: Perspectives of women in distress and service providers [Policy Brief]

[191] For more information, see: http://aanganindia.org/

[192] Drolia, R. (2013, October 4). Helpline for transgender people launched in Chhattisgarh. The Times of India (Raipur).

tar Pradesh government established the UP Police Women Power Line 1090, a 24-hour toll-free helpline staffed by mostly women police, to report and address harassment, stalking, and phone-related abuses and harassment.[193] Between 2012 and 2015, approximately 446,235 cases related to harassment and violence were registered through the helpline by the UP police and most (438,185) were resolved during that time frame.[194]

Finally, the quality of services provided by helplines in India is impacted by a lack of personnel, helpline staff not receiving their salaries on time or regularly, a lack of adequate training for staff on available services and relevant laws and policies.[195]

One-stop centers (OSCs) provide access to multiple services - health, social, police, legal and referrals - in one place. They can be located in police stations, hospitals or courts or exist as stand-alone entities.[196]

In 2015, the Government of India approved the One-Stop Center Scheme under the Nirbhaya Fund. Fully funded by the central government and implemented by the MoWCD, the scheme was launched to provide access to a range of services including medical aid, legal aid, police assistance, psychosocial counseling, and temporary assistance for women affected by violence in both private and public spaces. These OSCs are being established across the country in phases. As of 2017, 186 centers were approved, of which 166 are operational.[197]

There are several examples of well-designed OSCs in India and South Asia that leverage the resources of various sectors, such as legal, medical and social services. For example, the Special Cell for Women and Children in Maharashtra State, located in police stations and staffed by social workers, provides legal and medical aid as well as counseling and support in identifying shelters for survivors of violence. The first Special Cell for Women and Children was established in 1984 as a strategic collaboration between the Bombay Police and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), linking the police system with women's organizations and social service providers to leverage the authority of the government to prevent violence and facilitate coordinated responses to address the needs of survivors. The Special Cell also conducts advocacy and training to build the capacity and sensitivity of the police. In 2005, the Maharashtra MoWCD began funding Special Cells, in collaboration with the Home Department, with TISS serving as the coordinating, monitoring, part-implementation and technical support agency. The TISS Resource Centre for Interventions on Violence against Women was then founded in 2008 to support the Cells and serve as a resource on VAW. Special Cells currently operate as a scheme

[193] Daruwala, M. & John, A. (2018). Brief on Various Police Initiatives for Better Responses to Women's Safety. Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, Unpublished manuscript; Kapoor, G. (2017). Role of women power line: 1090 in women empowerment. International Journal of Academic Research and Development, 2 (4), 593 - 599

[194] Kapoor, G. (2017). Role of women power line: 1090 in women empowerment. International Journal of Academic Research and Development, 2 (4), 593 - 599

[195] Kaul, K. & Shrivastava, S. (2017). Safety of Women in Public Spaces in Delhi: Governance and Budgetary Challenges. New Delhi: Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability (CBGA) and Jagori; Jewkes, R., Hilker, L.M., Khan, S., Fulu, E., Busiello, F. & Fraser, E. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3] What Works to Prevent Violence.

[196] Jewkes et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3]. What Works to Prevent Violence.

[197] Government of India. (n.d.a). One Stop Centre Scheme. Ministry of Women and Child Development. Retrieved July 26, 2018 from https://wcd.nic.in/sites/default/files/OSC_S.pdf; Government of India. (2016). One Stop Centre Scheme. Implementation Guidelines for State Governments/UT Administrations. New Delhi: Ministry of Women and Child Development

of the State Government, with over 100 cells implemented across the state by TISS and local NGOs.[198] The model has been replicated in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Delhi, Odisha and Andhra Pradesh.

NGOs have also been influential in creating OSCs. The Dilaasa Model, initiated by the NGO CEHAT in Mumbai, is one of the first hospital-based crisis centers and has been replicated due to its success.[199] The model was strategically designed as a collaboration between an NGO and a public hospital to leverage the comparative advantages of both. It offers an integrated response to VAWG by leveraging the existing responsibilities of health professionals and adding crisis counseling, legal counseling, litigation support and shelters.[200] An external evaluation found that having the center located at a public hospital was key to getting women the help they need, enhancing early detection of VAW and increasing access to other services. Another strength of the model is its investment in training service providers, with a focus on WHO guidelines when responding to sexual violence.[201] Significantly, the model explicitly addresses gender norms underpinning VAWG and biases that doctors and other providers may have.[202] In Pune, the NGO MASUM supports the implementation of the government's Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act by providing survivors of violence with several services in one location, addressing their emotional, legal, and health needs, while also providing referrals to shelters and women's organizations.[203]

Evaluations of government OSCs, carried out by both government ministries and NGOs, include inputs from service users and revealed several challenges. These include lack of coordination between OSC staff, police and hospital services and lack of staff training and preparedness. Many OSCs do not have adequate resources and infrastructure. They also have gaps in implementation, which one study linked to not consulting local rights groups and NGOs on the design and setup of services. Finally, many girls and women are not even aware that OSCs exist.[204]

Health services are often the first point of in-person professional contact for many women and girls experiencing violence.[205] According to WHO, survivors of sexual violence require comprehensive care to address a range of critical medical issues (including physical injuries, pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections, HIV and Hepatitis B) and arrange for follow-up consultations and tests.[206] Women and girls

[198] Tata Institute of Social Sciences. (n.d.b). Special Cell for Women and Children, Maharashtra. Retrieved April 5, 2019 from http://www.tiss.edu/view/11/projects/all-projects/special-cell-for-women-and-children-maharashtra/ and Tata Institute of Social Sciences. (n.d.a). RCI-VAW: Resource Centre for Interventions on Violence against Women. Retrieved April 5, 2019 from http://www.tiss.edu/view/11/projects/rci-vaw-resource-centre-for-interventions-on-viole/

[199] Solotaroff, J.L. & Pande, R. (2014). Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank Group

[200] Deosthali-Bhate et al. (2018). Role of the Health Sector in Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in India: A Synthesis Report. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women; Pande et al. (2017). Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in South Asia: Evidence for Interventions in the Health Sector, Women's Collectives, and Local Governance Mechanisms. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women

[201] Deosthali-Bhate et al. (2018). Role of the Health Sector in Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in India: A Synthesis Report. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women.

[202] Pande et al. (2017). Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in South Asia: Evidence for Interventions in the Health Sector, Women's Collectives, and Local Governance Mechanisms. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women

[203] Bankar et al. (2018). Empowerment of Girls and Women: A Landscape Analysis of Pune. Washington DC: 3D Program for Girls and Women.

[204] Deosthali-Bhate et al. (2018). Role of the Health Sector in Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in India: A Synthesis Report. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women; Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

[205] World Health Organization. (2016). Global Plan of Action: Health systems address violence against women and girls [Booklet]

[206] World Health Organization. (2003). Guidelines for medico-legal care of victims of sexual violence. Geneva: WHO

in India who experience rape have the lawful right to seek medical treatment free of cost, and doctors are obliged to provide first-aid assistance. Denial of treatment to rape survivors is punishable under section 166B of the Indian Penal Code with imprisonment for up to a year. Doctors are also duty-bound to report all sexual offenses to the police, including cases where women and children approach them only for treatment, whether or not the survivor wants to report the case.[207]

Survivors of VAWG may not readily reveal violence but well-trained health care providers can screen for violence and provide critical referrals. There is evidence that screening and referrals within health services in India require improvement.[208] The 2014 guidelines specify that health professionals must provide therapeutic care that addresses the sexual, reproductive and mental health of survivors, not just collect forensic evidence. However, one study found that most rape survivors did not receive any counseling or individualized care.[209] Overall, the lack of guidance on how to adequately implement policies, such as the MoHFW medico-legal protocol, is a major obstacle to implementation. Most states operate based on guidelines that are outdated and lack the necessary accountability mechanisms that put girls and women first.

Trained service providers are a key component of quality of care, with clear benefits for survivors of VAWG.[210] There are examples of training programs for providers addressing IPV in India. While these do not focus on violence in public spaces, they shed light on the importance of provider training. For example, the MoHFW provides ASHAs with a handbook on different forms of violence and how to screen for violence and attend to the needs of individual women, as well as advocacy strategies such as community mobilization and building partnerships with other health committees.[211] The Population Council's *Do Kadam Barabari Ki Ore* (Two Steps Towards Equality) project in Bihar, provides frontline workers, including ASHAs and helpline workers, with a three-day training on how to use a screening tool, provide information on women's rights and IPV, and provide service referrals. An evaluation of the training found that health workers report being more proactive in screening, counseling and helping clients and encouraging them to talk about their experience. The study also found that the clients who discussed marital violence with frontline health workers were more likely to seek further help.[212]

Despite training, harmful gender norms continue to impact the quality of health services. The belief systems of service providers, whether ASHAs in communities or doctors in hospitals, often reflect dominant gender norms, undermining their ability to effectively address the needs of their clients. One study in Karnataka found that 87 percent of ASHAs believe that a husband is justified in beating his wife if she cheats on him and 78 percent agree that a woman should tolerate domestic violence for her family's sake.[213] Doctors continue to use the "two-finger test" despite it being

[207] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

[208] Population Council. (2017b). Feasibility of screening and referring women experiencing marital violence by engaging frontline workers: Evidence from rural Bihar [Policy Brief].

[209] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

[210] Jewkes, R. et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3] What Works to Prevent Violence.

[211] Deosthali-Bhate et al. (2018). Role of the Health Sector in Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in India: A Synthesis Report. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women.

[212] Deosthali-Bhate et al. (2018). Role of the Health Sector in Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in India: A Synthesis Report. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women.

[213] Pande el al. (2017). Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in South Asia: Evidence for Interventions in the Health Sector, Women's Collectives, and Local Governance Mechanisms. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women

outlawed and reference the sexual history of survivors, including personal opinions in medical reports that blame the survivor and can impact the outcome of legal proceedings.[214]

Social services are essential to address the trauma and mental health needs of survivors of VAWG. WHO estimates that globally, women who experience IPV are twice as likely to experience depression than women who have not.[215] Other psychological challenges faced by survivors of violence in India include post-traumatic stress, anxiety disorders and suicide attempts, and sleep and eating disorders.[216] Under the Family Counseling Center Scheme, women and children survivors of any atrocities, social ostracism and other trauma can access counseling services and referrals to other support services in India.[217] Most counseling services provided by the government are located in institutions that offer other services such as hospitals, police stations, and shelter homes. NGOs, such as MASUM in Pune District and Sahyogini, also provide counseling services in conjunction with other support services.

Dilaasa's counseling program has been recognized as a key strength of its OSC.[218] Guided by principles, which highlight not blaming the survivor and understanding the broader context and structural factors that impact VAW, counselors aim to establish a good rapport with clients and provide individually tailored emotional support, safety plans and referrals to shelters and legal aid services. In-depth interviews indicate that clients are satisfied with the quality of care they receive and feel that the referrals they received improved their overall mental and physical health.[219] There is evidence that when screening for violence is combined with psychosocial support it can lead to a decrease in violence.[220] An RCT in Hong Kong provided a 30-minute "empowerment intervention" for pregnant women who screened positive for IPV and results show significantly less psychological abuse and minor physical violence post-partum at six weeks and significantly reduced postpartum depression, compared to the control group which received the routine standard of care for women experiencing abuse.[221]

There is also evidence however, that suggests a general lack of attention to therapeutic care and counseling in India. Survivors of VAWG are often not encouraged or referred to seek counseling, and when they do, they encounter services which suffer from a lack

[214] Pande et al. (2017). Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in South Asia: Evidence for Interventions in the Health Sector, Women's Collectives, and Local Governance Mechanisms. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women

[215] USAID & Interagency Gender Working Group. (n.d.). Violence against women is a human rights violation and global pandemic [PowerPoint Slides]. Retrieved from https://assets.prb.org/pdf18/Violence-Against-Women.pdf

[216] World Health Organization. (2017, November 29). Violence against Women: Key Facts [Fact sheets].; Sagar, R. & Hans, G. (2018). Domestic violence and mental health. Journal of Mental Health and Human Behavior, 23 (1), 2-3

[217] Government of India. (n.d.b). Scheme of Family Counseling Centre. Central Social Welfare Board: Ministry of Women and Child Development. Retrieved February 11, 2019 from http://cswb.gov.in/sites/default/files/Scheme_of_FCC_eng.pdf

[218] Pande et al. (2017). Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in South Asia: Evidence for Interventions in the Health Sector, Women's Collectives, and Local Governance Mechanisms. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women

[219] Deosthall, P., Maghani, P., & Malik, S. (2005). Establishing Dilaasa: Documenting the challenges. Mumbai: Centre for Enquiry into Health and Allied Themes (CEHAT)

[220] Jewkes et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3] What Works to Prevent Violence; Arango, D., Morton, M. Gennari, F., Kiplesund, S, & Ellsberg, M. (2014). Interventions to Prevent and Reduce Violence Against Women and Girls: A Systematic Review of Reviews. Women's Voice, Agency, and Participation Research Series (No.10). Washington, DC: World Bank.

[221] Arango et al. (2014). Interventions to Prevent and Reduce Violence Against Women and Girls: A Systematic Review of Reviews. Women's Voice, Agency, and Participation Research Series (No.10). Washington, DC: World Bank.

of coordination, funding, capacity and infrastructure, human resources, gender analysis and training.[222] A key failing of counseling services is the strong focus on reconciliation rather than prioritizing the individual needs of survivors. For example, the evaluation of *Do Kadam Barabari Ki Ore* in Bihar found that 71 percent of counselors focused more on reconciliation than survivor needs. About 15 percent of women were informed during counseling that if their husband or his family was not present, the counselor could not address their case. Up to 10 percent of women were told to adjust to the family's needs and 2 percent were informed that counselors could not intervene in court cases or any property disputes.[223] While this evidence is not immediately relevant for survivors of VAWG in public places, it does illuminate how the biases of critical service providers can impact the quality of services, with serious repercussions for survivors.

Legal services can help girls and women understand their rights, access legal representation, navigate the legal system, and secure justice for the crimes committed against them.

Under the government OSC Scheme, the Ministry of Law and Justice and the National, State and District Legal Services Authorities offer a list of dedicated lawyers and paralegal volunteers to provide legal aid to survivors of VAWG and to serve as liaisons with OSCs.[224] The Delhi Commission for Women (DCW), a statutory body of the government, instituted a rape crisis cell that offers survivors free legal services and supports prosecutors in opposing bail applications of the accused, facilitating recording of statements, and other services needed.[225] Working in collaboration with the NGO Action India and other NGOs, the DCW also established *Mahila Panchayats*, or women's councils which aim to empower women at the community level, providing training on laws related to crimes against women and the legal system and dispute redressal mechanisms for cases that do not end up in court.[226]

Technology has been used to increase access to legal services. For example, iProbono is an online platform that connects the pro bono community globally and in India, and mobilizes its network of lawyers and students to defend human rights and advocate on behalf of marginalized groups of people. iProbono offers free legal assistance to individuals, NGOs and social businesses in need of legal assistance. In India, iProbono cases have addressed child sexual assault, cybercrime against children and sex trafficking.[227]

Additionally, there are paralegal programs to train and provide community-based paralegals to help women who have experienced abuse navigate legal and judicial systems and alternative justice mechanisms. The Integrated Development Program of Women's Cooperatives to Reduce Gender-Based Violence in Nepal was designed to foster legal empowerment of women and children, enable early detection of gender-based

[222] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

[223] Population Council. (2017a). Acceptability and effectiveness of helpline services: Perspectives of women in distress and service providers [Policy Brief].

[224] Government of India. (n.d.a). One Stop Centre Scheme. Ministry of Women and Child Development. Retrieved March 26, 2019 from https://wcd.nic.in/sites/default/files/OSC_S.pdf

[225] Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi. (2014, October 17). Rape Crisis Cell.

[226] Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi. (2014, March 23). Mahila Panchayats; Kaul, K. & Shrivastava, S. (2017). Safety of Women in Public Spaces in Delhi: Governance and Budgetary Challenges. New Delhi: Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability (CBGA) and Jagori

[227] For more information, see iProbono. (n.d.). Retrieved April 9, 2019 from https://i-probono.com/about-us

violence, and provide referral and follow up services to survivors.[228] While the presence of paralegals or advocates for women is no substitute for well-functioning law enforcement and justice systems, there is evidence that they can increase knowledge of the law and access to justice and reduce re-abuse of women in the short-term.[229]

Improving legal literacy can increase knowledge of legal rights and resources and strengthen applications of the law. Training on gender-based violence is provided to judicial officers at the National Judicial Academy and at state judicial academies. The training is part of the curriculum of the academies, and may be provided by senior judge and lawyers, academics or NGOs.[230] For example, the Women's Study Center of the Indian Law Society's Law College, Pune conducts training across Maharashtra to sensitize judicial officers, advocates and other stakeholders to provide gender perspectives and support the effective implementation of laws such as the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA) and the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) or POSH Act. They also conduct training sessions for police and NGOs on the proper implementation of laws related to sexual harassment.[231]

NGOs across India offer legal literacy training, often addressing VAWG through a feminist or human rights perspective that highlights the role of gender and other restrictive norms. For example, Jananeethi in Kerala delivers programs to address violence, corruption and discrimination, targeting survivors and stakeholders. Jagori in Delhi builds collectives of survivors of VAWG, investing in their legal and rights literacy. Majlis Legal Centre in Mumbai provides training on legal literacy to community-based organizations and educational institutions; on gender sensitization to police, judges and government officials; on legal skills and strategies to lawyers and social workers; and, following Supreme Court guidelines, on the POSH Act. MASUM in Pune District provides training on rights-based frameworks rooted in international law, as well as training on gender-based violence, minority and Dalit rights, child rights, and the implementation of the PWDVA and POSH Act.

NGOs also play an important role in holding government accountable and advocating for the rights of women and girls in accessing justice. For example, the Human Rights Law Network of lawyers and social activists works to advance legal rights and the proper implementation of laws across many states in India. Their Women's Justice Initiative (WJI) provides legal aid and counseling services to women, including those from poor and marginalized communities, including domestic violence cases, sexual harassment, rape, acid attacks and dowry-related crime. The initiative also trains social activists, paralegals, law students, police and lawyers on women's issues within a broader human rights perspective, and collaborates with grassroots women's organizations and other organizations pursuing justice for girls and women across India.[232] Similarly, Majlis improves women's access to legal representation and justice, supporting

[228] Jewkes et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3]. What Works to Prevent Violence; and Pande et al. (2017). Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in South Asia: Evidence for Interventions in the Health Sector, Women's Collectives, and Local Governance Mechanisms. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women

[229] Jewkes et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3]. What Works to Prevent Violence

[230] For more information, see websites for National Judicial Academy (http://www.nja.nic.in/) and state judicial academies.

[231] For more information visit the ILS Law College library website: https://ilslaw.edu/college-library/

[232] Human Rights Law Network. (n.d.). Women's Justice Initiative. Retrieved April 8, 2019 from https://hrln.org/initiatives/womens-justice/

women and children referred by the police, the local Child Welfare Committee, children homes, and other NGOs to engage in the legal process and seek justice.[233] Majlis was also instrumental in campaigning for the establishment of the 2013 *Manodhairya* Scheme. Implemented by the Maharashtra WCD, the scheme provides financial assistance and other support services such as legal, medical, psychological and vocational support to survivors of acid attacks and sexual assault.[234]

An analysis of 199 studies on legal empowerment initiatives found positive impacts, including increases in knowledge and agency among the women who participated. Other positive outcomes included legal remedies, effective conflict resolution, and when linked to other sectors, improvements in health and education outcomes.[235] Increases in legal knowledge, however, are not enough to overcome the structural inequalities that underpin legal structures and processes,[236] but when legal literacy services were provided within the context of collectives, including women's collectives, it led to successful organizing and outcomes for those communities.[237]

Legal services in India face challenges with implementation, accountability and quality. Two decades after the Supreme Court ruled that all rape survivors be provided with legal assistance at police stations, India has yet to institutionalize a program that links police stations directly with legal aid services, with the exception of the DCW. A qualitative review of the DCW's rape crisis cell, however, found that it does not always comply with legislative, judicial and executive guidelines and is not adequately monitored.[238] There are additional barriers to accessing legal aid. A recent report found that about 14 percent of funds allocated by the government to state legal services remain unused, and in Bihar and Uttarakhand, less than 50 percent of allocated funds were utilized.[239] As of 2011, only approximately 4 percent of those who accessed government Legal Services Authorities were members of SC communities.[240] There is also evidence that legal aid service providers have heavy caseloads, are not aware themselves of the specific rights of sexual assault survivors, and do not provide their clients with regular updates.[241]

Shelters can provide a safe refuge and prevent survivors of violence from resorting to further harmful measures such as suicide and homelessness. They offer temporary housing, food, clothing and some of-

[233] Majlis. (n.d.a). Retrieved March 15, 2019 from http://majlislaw.com/en/top/about-us/ideology/; Majlis. (n.d.b). Majlis Manch Narrative Report 2017 – 18. Retrieved March 15, 2019 from http://majlislaw.com/file/Majlis_Annual_Report_2017_18.pdf

[234] Bankar et al. (2018). Empowerment of Girls and Women: A Landscape Analysis of Pune. Washington DC: 3D Program for Girls and Women; NGO Impact. (n.d.). Majils Manch. Retrieved February 10, 2019 from http://ngoimpact.com/Partners for Law in Development. (n.d). Towards Victim Friendly Responses and Procedures for Prosecuting Rape: A study of pre-trial and trial stages of rape prosecutions in Delhi (Jan 2014 – March 2015). ngos/majlis-manch

[235] Goodwin, L & Maru, V. (2017). What Do We Know about Legal Empowerment? Mapping the Evidence. Hague Journal on the Rule of Law, 9 (1), 157–194

[236] Hasan, F. R. (1994). Limits and Possibilities of Law and Legal Literacy: Experience of Bangladesh Women. Economic and Political Weekly 29 (44), WS69-S76

[237] Goodwin, L & Maru, V. (2017). What Do We Know about Legal Empowerment? Mapping the Evidence. Hague Journal on the Rule of Law, 9 (1), 157–194

[238] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch and Partners for Law in Development. (n.d). Towards Victim Friendly Responses and Procedures for Prosecuting Rape: A study of pre-trial and trial stages of rape prosecutions in Delhi (Jan 2014 – March 2015).

[239] Bagga, R., Abbas, S. & Mishra, A. (2018). Hope Behind Bars? Status report on legal aid for persons in custody [Volume-I]. New Delhi: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative

[240] National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights. (n.d.). Joint stakeholders' report on caste-based discrimination in India. Retrieved from International Dalit Solidarity Network website: https://idsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Stakeholders-report-_UPR-III-V2-1.pdf

[241] Bajoria, J. (2017). Everyone Blames Me: Barriers to Justice and Support Services for Sexual Assault Survivors in India. Human Rights Watch

fer counseling and information on employment, access to healthcare, and advocacy campaigns.[242] While shelters should be open to all survivors, there is little available data to indicate whether they serve as a resource for girls and women who have experienced violence in public spaces. There is evidence, however, that some girls and women who leave home due to domestic violence and find themselves on the streets or in makeshift shelters in public spaces, are vulnerable to more violence, including sexual, verbal and physical abuse and trafficking.[243] The use of shelters can lead to a reduction of violence for some women experiencing IPV and offering additional services during shelter stays can also help reduce violence in the long run.[244] However, most government shelters in India and elsewhere in the region operate from a welfare, rather than a rights-based perspective and are unable to meet the needs of survivors of violence in an empowering way. They are also ill-prepared or unwilling to meet the needs of diverse groups of women, including migrant, lesbian and transgender women and women and girls with disabilities. Many shelters also suffer from inadequate resources, facilities, and well-trained staff.[245] Already vulnerable survivors of violence also suffer further trauma in shelters.[246] For example, an audit revealed that almost all the 110 government-funded shelter homes in Bihar are in direct violation of their mandates and the Juvenile Justice Act, and systematic sexual and physical abuse of 34 disabled girls in the Muzaffarpur Shelter home was documented (see Box 2. Making the Headlines, Staying in the Margins).[247] While illuminating, these types of studies, unless government-commissioned, are rare, creating key data gaps on the experiences of women survivors of violence in state, private, or NGO-funded shelters.[248]

Conclusion

Much of the evidence on the services described above comes from initiatives designed to respond to IPV. However, there are still important lessons to learn for services for survivors of VAWG in public spaces, particularly related to coordination, quality, accountability and the need for gender analysis. Most interventions, even sector-specific services, confirm the

[242] Jewkes et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3]. What Works to Prevent Violence. Government-run shelters are available in India under the Shelter Homes for Destitute Women, Teenage Mothers, Women who are Victims of Atrocities (Age Group 16 to 60 years) Scheme. The Swadhar Greh Scheme established one shelter in every district to accommodate about 30 women and provide shelter, food, clothing, medical treatment, legal aid, counseling and economic and emotional guidance for rehabilitation to help the women lead their lives with dignity. In Pune, there is only one shelter home in Kondhava.

[243] For more information on shelters, see: Action India, Jagori & Nazariya. (2019). Beyond the Roof: Rights, Justice and Dignity. An action-research study on women survivors of violence and shelter homes in Delhi. Delhi: Jagori, and Neralu,L.C. (2019) . Time for Overhauls: Report Of National Consultation On Services in and around State-Run and Funded Shelter Homes for Girls, Women and Other Vulnerable Populations. Delhi: Jagori. Retrieved from http://www.jagori.org/sites/default/files/publication/TIME%20FOR%20OVERHAULS.pdf

[244] Researchers also argue that conducting RCTs among women who need to access shelters is unethical and in the absence of rigorous analysis, they rely on self-reporting data, which leaves gaps in understanding the impact of shelters. Jewkes et al. (2015). What Works To Prevent Violence Against Women and girls [Paper 3]. What Works to Prevent Violence

[245] For more information on shelters, see: Action India, Jagori & Nazariya. (2019). Beyond the Roof: Rights, Justice and Dignity. An action-research study on women survivors of violence and shelter homes in Delhi. Delhi: Jagori, and Neralu, L.C. (2019). Time for Overhauls: Report Of National Consultation On Services in and around State-Run and Funded Shelter Homes for Girls, Women and Other Vulnerable Populations, Delhi: Jagori. Retrieved from http://www.jagori.org/sites/default/files/publication/TIME%20FOR%20OVERHAULS.pdf

[246] Neralu,L.C. (2019) . Time for Overhauls: Report Of National Consultation On Services in and around State-Run and Funded Shelter Homes for Girls, Women and Other Vulnerable Populations. Delhi: Jagori. Retrieved from http://www.jagori.org/sites/default/files/publication/TIME%20FOR%20OVERHAULS.pdf

[247] India Today Web Desk. (2018, August 3). Bihar shelter rape case: How it unfolded. India Today; India Today Web Desk. (2018, August 6). Abuse at Bihar shelter homes: What TISS report says. India Today; India Today Web Desk. (2019, March 30). Muzaffarpur shelter home case: Charges framed against 21 accused, trial to start from April 3. India Today.

[248] Action India, Jagori & Nazariya. (2019). Beyond the Roof: Rights, Justice and Dignity. An action-research study on women survivors of violence and shelter homes in Delhi. Delhi: Jagori

need for both a range of services and high quality services for survivors of violence. The need to build capacity and convergence among key stakeholders, including government service providers and NGOs, is important to fill gaps and leverage resources for infrastructure, technology, and training to strengthen response mechanisms for survivors of VAWG.[249] The interventions also confirm the importance of addressing the gender attitudes of service providers. Finally, the lack of clear implementation guidelines undermines the effective implementation of progressive laws, policies and protocols established by the Government of India. To strengthen accountability, there is also a need to monitor, evaluate and report on the progress of protocols designed to improve both the range and quality of services.

Building Inclusive Infrastructure

- **Making public spaces safer**
- **Developing gender inclusive standards**
- **Involving girls and women in infrastructure planning, implementation and management**
- **Female-only transportation**

Public spaces and the infrastructure within them are hubs of activity, interaction and opportunity that should benefit individuals, communities and overall development. The quality and structure of the built environment has a significant impact on social capital and inclusion, and on feelings of safety for both individuals and communities.[250] There is growing international agreement on the benefits of safe and inclusive public spaces (see Appendix 5. Key International and Indian Frameworks on Inclusive Public Spaces and Infrastructure). For example, SDG 11 on sustainable cities and communities includes the following target by 2030, 'provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, particularly for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities'. Additionally, safe, accessible public spaces are important to achieving other SDGs, including SDG 3 on good health and wellbeing, SDG 5 on gender equality, SDG 6 on water and sanitation, SDG 8

[249] Bandewar, S., Pitre, A., & Lingam, L. (2018). Five years post Nirbhaya: Critical Insights into the status of response to sexual assault. Indian Journal of Medical Ethics, 3, 3

[250] Wood, L., Shannon, T., Bulsara, M., Pikora, T., McCormack , G., & Giles-Corti, B. (2008). The anatomy of the safe and social suburb: An exploratory study of the built environment, social capital and residents' perceptions of safety. Health and Place, 14(1), 15-31

on decent work and economic growth, and SDG 13 on climate action.[251]

To be beneficial, public spaces must be accessible, safe, inclusive and responsive to the needs of all citizens, including girls and women. This includes spaces that provide goods, services and opportunities, and those that serve as transit routes. Additionally, accessibility involves both physical accessibility and social accessibility, or the way that people perceive public spaces, their willingness to access them and whether they are permitted to occupy and enjoy them. Accessibility is shaped by social and economic privilege and vulnerabilities.[252] Inequalities related to gender, race, caste, economic and occupational status and other social markers play out in public spaces, and vulnerabilities can be exacerbated by the ways in which public spaces are accessed and used.

Safe community spaces such as parks, neighborhood common areas, pathways and other connecting spaces are critical to the empowerment of girls and women, both as important transit points as they go about their lives, and as places in which to foster social connections and capital. However, when women in Delhi, for example, were asked where they felt unsafe, 80 percent identified streets and almost half identified parks.[253] This indicates that public infrastructure is failing women. A key reason for this is that across sectors, women are generally excluded from decision-making related to planning, building and access to public infrastructure. Public spaces and infrastructure are designed primarily with men in mind, using the male experience as the default experience.[254] Infrastructure that does not take into account the particular needs of girls and women can compound the risks that girls and women face and contribute to feelings of insecurity, as well as actual violence and social exclusion.[255] Practical components of infrastructure, such as poor lighting at bus stops or railway stations, and public toilets without adequate privacy, security or lighting directly increase physical risks.[256] Strategic components of infrastructure, such as poorly timed bus schedules or lack of proper disposal facilities for menstrual hygiene products at school or work, limit mobility and access to opportunity.

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[251] Daniel, K. (2016). Public Spaces: A Key to Achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. HealthBridge Foundation of Canada. Retrieved from https://healthbridge.ca/images/uploads/library/Final_Electronic.pdf

[252] Keleg, M.M., Salheen, M. A. & Latif, M.A. (2015). Livable Public Spaces as a Means for Livable Cities. Ecocity World Summit 2015 Proceedings

[253] Bhatla et al. (2013). Safe Cities Free From Violence Against Women and Girls: Baseline Findings from the "Safe City Delhi Programme." New Delhi, India: UN Women and ICRW

[254] See: Criado-Perez, C. (2019). Invisible Women: Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men. New York, NY: Chatto & Windus; World Bank, Global Women's Institute & Inter-American Development Bank. (2015). Violence against Women & Girls (VAWG): Initiate, Integrate, Innovate [Transport Brief]. Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Resource Guide; Madan, V. M. (2017). Gender Inclusive Urban Planning in Pune City. International Journal of Engineering Research, 7(2), 168-170; Orlando, M. B., Janik, V. L., Vaidya, P., Angelou, N., Zumbyte, L., & Adams, N. (2018). Getting to Gender Equality in Energy Infrastructure: Lessons from Electricity Generation, Transmission, and Distribution Projects. Energy Sector Management Assistance Program (ESMAP) Technical Report. Washington, DC: World Bank; Das, M.B. (2017). The Rising Tide: A New Look at Water and Gender. Washington, DC: World Bank

[255] Jagori & UN Women. (2011). Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative: Report of the Baseline Survey Delhi 2010. New Delhi: Jagori and UN Women; Herath, K. (2018, April – June). Gendered Production of Spaces in Pettah. My Livable City Magazine. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38165771/Gendered_Production_of_Spaces_in_Pettah

[256] Violence, Gender and WASH: A Practitioners Toolkit. (n.d.). Making water, sanitation and hygiene safer through improved programming and services [The toolkit materials]. Retrieved March 5, 2019 from http://violence-wash.lboro.ac.uk/toolkit/; and UNICEF, WaterAid & WSUP. (2018). Female-friendly public and community toilets: A guide for planners and decision makers. London, UK: WaterAid; and Suri, S. N. (2011). Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative, A Draft Strategic Framework for Women's Safety in Delhi 2010. New Delhi: UN Habitat, UN Women Jagori, Department of Women and Child Development, Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi; Bhatla et al. (2013). Safe Cities Free From Violence Against Women and Girls: Baseline Findings from the "Safe City Delhi Programme." New Delhi, India: UN Women and ICRW; Chaplin, S.E. & Kalita, R. (2017). Infrastructure, Gender and Violence: Women and Slum Sanitation Inequalities in Delhi. Delhi: Centre for Policy Research and SCI-FI; Jagori. (2016). Study on Violence Against Women in Public Spaces in Ranchi and Hazaribag,Jharkhand. New Delhi: Jagori; Belur et al. (2017). Perceptions of gender-based violence around public toilets in Mumbai slums. International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice, 41, (1-2): Violence against women in India; and Mishra, G.R. (2016, May 31). Pune: A campaign that stresses need of public toilets for women. The Indian Express.

Surveys, mapping exercises, and safety apps and audits indicate that hotspots for violence are often concentrated in the public spaces that girls and women need to occupy for their social and economic empowerment.[257] For example, surveys conducted in Delhi found that over 80 percent of girls and women face high levels of sexual harassment around schools and colleges.[258] Mapping of unsafe spaces in rural Pune District by youth revealed that young women feel unsafe along routes to school and college, particularly when they passed places where men or boys congregate, such as liquor shops, restaurants and temples, and in marketplaces.[259] A study in Karnataka found that girls were vulnerable to sexual harassment at school and that poor infrastructure, including classes held outside, open to public (male) scrutiny, overcrowded seating next to boys, and the lack of toilets, impacted the girls' feelings of safety and desire to go to school.[260]

Public transport is a critical element of public infrastructure, linking citizens to resources and opportunities. However, surveys around the world, including India, confirm that safety on public transportation is a significant concern for girls and women, who report high rates of sexual harassment and assault and little accountability.[261] Even women working in public transportation systems in India face sexual harassment by male co-workers and customers.[262] A Delhi-based study found that women make significant compromises to use safer transport routes, including attending lower quality educational institutions, spending more on education and extending travel time.[263] One study in South India found that girls preferred walking long distances to school together and some considered dropping out of school due to sexual harassment on buses.[264] Despite this, gendered differences, inequities and vulnerabilities related to access and use of public transport are generally ignored by planners and service providers.[265]

[257] For example, these include mapping exercises, audits and surveys conducted by the 3D Program with partners in Pune (see Appendix 6. Mapping Risk and Accountability in Public Spaces); safety audits conducted by Jagori and partners in Delhi, Jharkhand and Kerala; and mapping of hotspots by SafeCity and Safetipin apps.

[258] Suri, S. N. (2011). Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative, A Draft Strategic Framework for Women's Safety in Delhi 2010. New Delhi: UN Habitat, UN Women Jagori, Department of Women and Child Development, Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi; and Bhatla et al. (2013). Safe Cities Free From Violence Against Women and Girls: Baseline Findings from the "Safe City Delhi Programme." New Delhi, India: UN Women and ICRW

[259] MASUM. (2018-2019). Mapping of Public Safety for Young People, Especially Girls, in Purandar Taluka. Pune: MASUM. Unpublished manuscript.

[260] Leach, F. & Sitaram, S. (2007). Sexual harassment and Abuse of Adolescent Schoolgirls in South India. Education Citizenship and Social Justice. 2(3), 257-277

[261] Goldsmith, B. (2018, November 15). Safety and time are women's biggest concerns about transport. Thomas Reuters Foundation; Jagori.(2016). Study on Violence Against Women in Public Spaces in Ranchi and Hazaribag, Jharkhand. New Delhi: Jagori; SAKHI Women's Resource Centre. (2011). Are Cities in Kerala Safe for Women? Research Findings of the Study conducted in Thiruvananthapuram and Kozhikode Cities, Kerala 2009-11. Thiruvananthapuram, India: SAKHI Women's Resource Centre; and Suri, S. N. (2011). Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative, A Draft Strategic Framework for Women's Safety in Delhi 2010. New Delhi: UN Habitat, UN Women Jagori, Department of Women and Child Development, Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi; Bhatla et al. (2013). Safe Cities Free From Violence Against Women and Girls: Baseline Findings from the "Safe City Delhi Programme." New Delhi: UN Women and ICRW

[262] Azad Foundation & The University of Western Ontario. (2014). Opportunities and Constraints in Integrating Women as Employees in the Public Transport Sector in Delhi.

[263] Borker, G. (2017, November 3). Safety First: Perceived Risk of Street Harassment and Educational Choices of Women. Job Market Paper

[264] Leach, F. & Sitaram, S. (2007). Sexual harassment and Abuse of Adolescent Schoolgirls in South India. Education Citizenship and Social Justice. 2(3), 257-277

[265] FIA Foundation.(2016). Safe and Sound. International Research on Women's Personal Safety on Public Transportation. FIA Foundation Research Series, Paper 6, March; Navlakha, S. V. (2016). Gender and Transport: A Case Study of How Women Travel in Pune. Pune: Parisar; Shah et al. (2017). Women and Transport in Indian Cities. New Delhi: ITDP and Safetipin; Whitzman et al. (2013). Building Inclusive Cities: Women's Safety and Right to the City. New York: Routledge; and Parisar. (2017, May 21). Pune's Metro Rail - For Whose Benefit? Parisar

Limited access to safe transport is the greatest obstacle to women's participation in the labor force in developing countries, reducing probable participation by over 16 percent.[266] It may also be a contributing factor behind the declining participation of women in the formal workforce in India, despite gains in girls' education and in the economy.[267] Economic advancement for women working in the formal economy can be hampered by risks of VAWG on public transportation and in other public areas. Women working in the informal sector, many of whom come from lower designated castes and other stigmatized communities, are vulnerable to sexual and other harassment in the public spaces where they work, such as marketplaces and industrial areas.[268] Under Indian law, sex workers can provide services but not in publicly accessible spaces, so they are vulnerable to police and other harassment in those spaces. Waste pickers, who rely on access to public spaces to collect and sort waste, face harassment, discrimination, risks and restrictions that hamper their ability to make a living.[269] Gendered work roles necessitate that girls and women are most often responsible for securing household resources, such as water and fuel, and risk sexual assault while undertaking these tasks.[270]

Interventions

Making public spaces safer includes improving existing infrastructure, constructing purpose-built and inclusive infrastructure to address the needs of girls and women, and leveraging projects that may not explicitly address, but could lead to improvements in, the safety of girls and women in public spaces.

Globally, most promising practices in inclusive infrastructure are related to urban public transportation. These include the installation of help-desks or kiosks and even services for survivors of violence at railway or bus stations, improved lighting, sight-lines and transit schedules, and women-only alternatives.[271] There are examples of more holistic approaches in urban areas in high-income countries. Seoul, Korea's Women Friendly City Project involved a series of interventions, including building safe toilets, establishing women's parking lots near building entrances, installing emergency alarms, CCTV and lighting in public areas, and developing new childcare facilities and women-friendly walkways and parks.[272] Nagareyama, Japan built infrastructure to support working mothers, including a child transportation service

[266] International Labour Office. (2017). World Employment and Social Outlook: Trends for women 2017.Geneva: ILO

[267] Bhandare, N. (2017, August 5). Why Indian Workplaces are Losing Women: Our Nationwide Investigation Begins. IndiaSpend

[268] Jagori. (2016). Study on Violence Against Women in Public Spaces in Ranchi and Hazaribag, Jharkhand. New Delhi: Jagori; SAKHI Women's Resource Centre. (2011). Are Cities in Kerala Safe for Women? Research Findings of the Study conducted in Thiruvananthapuram and Kozhikode Cities, Kerala 2009-11. Thiruvananthapuram, India: SAKHI Women's Resource Centre; and Suri, S. N. (2011). Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative, A Draft Strategic Framework for Women's Safety in Delhi 2010. New Delhi: UN Habitat, UN Women Jagori, Department of Women and Child Development, Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi

[269] Chikarmane, P. (2016). Public Space, Public Waste, and the Right to the City. New Solutions. A Journal of Environmental and Occupational Health Policy, 26(2), 289-300

[270] For example, Water.org. (n.d.). A Women's Crisis. Retrieved January 28, 2019 from https://water.org/our-impact/water-crisis/womens-crisis/ ; Patrick, E. (2012, December 12). The Cost of Cooking Dinner: Rape or Assault, HuffPost; Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves. (n.d.). Statistical Snapshot: Access to Improved Cookstoves and Fuels and its Impact on Women's Safety in Crises. Retrieved from https://www.cleancookingalliance.org/binary-data/ATTACHMENT/file/000/000/331-1.pdf; and Manian, S. (2017). HIV/AIDS in India: Voices from the Margins. Routledge Research on Gender in Asia Series. London and New York: Routledge

[271] World Bank, Global Women's Institute & Inter-American Development Bank. (2015). Violence against Women & Girls (VAWG): Initiate, Integrate, Innovate [Transport Brief]. Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Resource Guide and Akshara. (2016). Empowering Women's Mobility: A Program with Transport Systems. Mumbai: Akshara

[272] Metropolis, World Association of the Major Metropolises. (n.d.). Women Friendly City Project. Retrieved February 3, 2019 from https://www.old.metropolis.org/awards/4th-edition-2011/women-friendly-city-project; and Seoul Solution. (2014, June 11). Women Friendly City Project [Policies].

between commuting points and childcare centers and subsidized, shared office space to help working mothers return to work.[273] Vienna, Austria's 'Women-Work-City,' a successful pilot apartment complex designed for and by women, has led to a gender analysis requirement for all bids for city social housing contracts. After a study revealed discrepancies in girls' and boys' access to public parks, local government agencies redesigned park spaces to make them more accessible for girls, increasing the number of footpaths and creating spaces for diverse activities.[274]

'Safe spaces' for girls and women, particularly those who have experienced violence or are in crisis situations, can provide important environments for healing and opportunity. 'Safe spaces' are all-female physical spaces that are either built for that purpose or reserved, where girls and women can gather safely, share information, receive services, and develop skills and strategies to cope and develop. Safe spaces emerged as a key strategy utilized by UNFPA and partners in five countries for the protection and empowerment of women and girl refugees from Syria.[275] Safe spaces are also a key component of the DREAMS adolescent girls program being implemented in ten Sub-Saharan African countries.[276] In India, the Population Council implemented a safe spaces program for young, first-time parents in West Bengal and Gujarat,[277] and in villages in Pune District, the NGO Ashta No Kai (ANK) built centers for adolescent girls.[278]

Informal workers often lack protections provided in the formal economy. For example, waste pickers in Pune City, 80 percent of whom are women, work in public spaces to collect and sort recyclable waste, putting them at risk of abuse, accidents and exposure to the elements. To address their occupational and public safety Material Recovery Facilities (MRFs) are being built through a multi-sectoral partnership.[279] The MRFs provide waste pickers with safe, attractive and comfortable shelters, in which to sort and store materials for recycling. Some have on-site toilets and drinking water. In addition to providing shelter from abuse and the elements, the structures are well-marked, further professionalizing the work of waste pickers and fostering their dignity.

Some infrastructure investments are not explicitly made to prevent VAWG, but have the potential to do so. For example, the Government of India's Street Lighting National Programme (SLNP) aims to mitigate climate change and reduce energy consumption and costs. By increasing community lighting and decreasing the need to replace lights, the SLNP could enhance the safety of girls and women. Similarly, the Swachh Bharat Mission's key objectives are to eliminate open defecation and promote hygiene. By increasing investments in and access to toilets, the Mis-

[273] Libertun de Duren et al. (2018). Inclusive Cities: Urban Productivity Through Gender Equality. Washington DC: Inter-American Development Bank

[274] Chalaby, O. (2017, August 23). Case Study: How Vienna designed a city for women: Urban design has improved safety and ease of movement. Apolitical.

[275] United Nations Population Fund. (2015). Women & Girls: Safe Spaces. A Guidance Note Based on Lessons Learned from the Syrian Crisis. UNFPA Regional Syria Response Hub

[276] Adera, B. (2018, October 10). Creating Safe Spaces for Adolescent Girls and Young Women. Medium. Global Communities Partners for Good.

[277] Baldwin, W. (2011). Creating "Safe Spaces" for Adolescent Girls, Promoting health, safe, and productive transitions to adulthood. The Population Council, Brief no. 28, May

[278] Modi, A. (2017). Giving Girls Wings to Fly Tools to Empower Adolescent Girls in Rural Communities in India. Echidna Global Scholars Program Working paper. Center for Universal Education at Brookings Institution

[279] The partnership includes the waste pickers trade union Kagad Kach Patra Kashtakari Panchayat (KKPKP), the waste pickers cooperative SWaCH, the Pune Municipal Corporation and the 3D Program for Girls and Women, and benefits from support from private sector philanthropic funds and pro-bono architectural designs.

sion could enhance safety and reduce risks for girls and women.[280]

Investments in inclusive infrastructure take time to be implemented and evaluated. While there are studies highlighting perceived risks of VAWG posed by shortcomings in infrastructure, we could not find formal evaluations on the impact of infrastructure investments on rates of or responses to VAWG. Some intervention reports include positive feedback from citizens, and those that have been in place for at least a decade, such as the initiatives in Vienna and in Seoul, have received international recognition (the United Nations Public Service Award) and report increased citizen satisfaction and use of public facilities by women and girls.

Developing gender inclusive standards is an important step in creating inclusive infrastructure. There are examples of both methodology and standards for addressing gender-related concerns emerging across and within sectors. The World Bank's series on Violence Against Women & Girls provides gender analysis and identifies promising practices, as well as recommendations at the policy, institutional, sectoral and community levels, across sectors such as transport, education and health.[281] UN Women's Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces program involves four integrated strategies to be implemented by government authorities, women's organizations and other community partners - generating evidence and building partnerships for change, developing and implementing comprehensive laws and policies, investing in the safety and economic viability of public spaces, and transforming social norms.[282] Additionally, UN Women's Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence Against Women and Girls provides insight into participatory processes to improve both physical accessibility and the involvement of women in creating inclusive spaces.[283]

In 2018, representatives from 11 states across India attended a national consultation on "Feminist Urban Futures: Cities for Women and Girls" co-convened by Jagori and Safetipin, with support from UN Women, UNICEF and Oak Foundation, and submitted key recommendations to the Minister of Housing and Urban Affairs of the Government of India. These include affirming the "right to the city" movement in the New Urban Agenda which advocates for the participation of diverse women, girls and transgender persons in creating and co-creating the city, the need for urban planning and infrastructure to be gender inclusive, and the need for gender data and analysis and safety audits.[284]

The Smart Cities Mission of India identifies core elements of infrastructure of a 'smart city' that fully meets the aspirations of all its citizens. These include infrastructure and innovations related to health, education, water, sanitation and solid waste management, electricity, public transportation, housing, robust information technology connectivity and digitization, good governance, a sustainable environment, and

[280] Vikaspedia. (n.d.). Street Light National Programme. Retrieved February 11, 2019 from http://vikaspedia.in/energy/policy-support/energy-efficiency/street-light-national-programme; Government of India. (n.d.d). Swachh Bharat Mission – Gramin, Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation. Retrieved October 20, 2018 from http://swachhbharatmission.gov.in/SBMCMS/about-us.htm

[281] World Bank, Global Women's Institute & Inter-American Development Bank. (n.d.). Violence against Women & Girls (VAWG): Initiate, Integrate, Innovate [Resource Guide]. Retrieved from July 10, 2018 http://www.vawgresourceguide.org/

[282] UN Women. (2017). Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces: Global Results Report. New York: UN Women

[283] UN Women. (2010, October 30). Safe Public Spaces for Women and Girls. Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence against Women and Girls. Retrieved January 28, 2019 from http://www.endvawnow.org/en/articles/251-safe-public-spaces-for-women-and-girls.html

[284] United Nations. (2017). New Urban Agenda, Habitat III

safety and security of citizens, particularly women, children and the elderly.[285] However, an analysis of all 99 selected Smart City proposals concluded that the Smart Cities Mission has adopted a largely gender-neutral approach. Most references to women's safety focus on increased surveillance via the installation of CCTV cameras, and the creation of women's shelters and hostels. There are, however, no explicit plans to make cities more gender inclusive, create safe public spaces and public transport for women or address the digital gender divide.[286]

Municipalities across India are taking steps to generate inclusive standards. In Delhi, Jagori worked with UN Women and UN-Habitat, along with the Department of Women and Child Development, to release a draft Strategic Framework for Women's Safety in Delhi.[287] Jagori also worked with the Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability to assess the policy and operational gaps impacting women's safety in public spaces in Delhi and generate recommendations to improve governance, fiscal and budgetary processes, address human resource constraints, strengthen accountability, and create an action plan to end VAW.[288] Akshara's Reclaiming the City, Ensuring Safety for Women and Girls program works to influence Mumbai's police, railway and municipal services.[289] The Pune Municipal Corporation commissioned a framework outlining the steps to developing a women-friendly, inclusive city. The process resulted in a comprehensive two-volume document which identified particular issues, and generated recommendations and guidelines related to women in local government, women from vulnerable groups, senior citizens, as well as to thematic sectors, including safety, education, health, culture, transportation, water, sanitation, the informal sector and housing.[290] Unfortunately, since the framework was commissioned, few steps have been taken to implement the recommendations.

Particular sectors are also generating gender inclusive standards. The Institute for Transportation and Development Policy and the NGO Safetipin identified gender dimensions of urban transport and generated policy recommendations ranging from understanding gendered mobility patterns, creating safe and comfortable walking environments for girls and women, and increasing girls' and women's safety and use of public transport, as well as clear benchmarks to assess progress.[291] Parisar's analysis of Gender and Transport in Pune City, based on interviews with women commuters using different forms of transport, including buses, vans and cars and bicycles, provides insight into the travel patterns and needs of women, highlighting that transport is not gender neutral.[292]

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[285] Government of India. (n.d.c). Smart Cities Mission, Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs. Retrieved February 4, 2019 from http://smartcities.gov.in/content/innerpage/what-is-smart-city.php; Pune Smart City Development Corporation, Ltd. (n.d.). Retrieved February 4, 2019 from https://punesmartcity.in/

[286] Housing and Land Rights Network. (2018). India's Smart Cities Mission: Smart for Whom? Cities for Whom? New Delhi: Housing and Land Rights Network

[287] Suri, S. N. (2011). Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls Initiative, A Draft Strategic Framework for Women's Safety in Delhi 2010. New Delhi: UN Habitat, UN Women Jagori, Department of Women and Child Development, Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi

[288] Kaul, K. & Shrivastava, S. (2017). Safety of Women in Public Spaces in Delhi: Governance and Budgetary Challenges. New Delhi: Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability (CBGA) and Jagori

[289] Akshara Centre. (n.d.). Reclaiming the City. Retrieved February 12, 2019 from http://www.aksharacentre.org/reclaimingcity/#strategy

[290] Modi, J.V., Chavan, R.S. & Palnitkar, S. (2013-14). Framework for Developing Women Friendly City - Pune, Part I and II. Mumbai: All India Institute of Local Self Government. Other examples of frameworks exist for Pune, including Madan, V. M. (2017). Gender Inclusive Urban Planning in Pune City. International Journal of Engineering Research, 7(2), 168-170

[291] Shah et al. (2017). Women and Transport in Indian Cities. New Delhi: ITDP and Safetipin

[292] Navlakha, S. V. (2016). Gender and Transport: A Case Study of How Women Travel in Pune. Pune: Parisar

Similarly, WaterAid, Water & Sanitation and UNICEF developed a guide on female-friendly public and community toilets for planners and decision-makers, including the essential and desirable features that make toilets female-friendly, such as being safe, private and accessible, as well as facilitating menstrual hygiene management.[293] WaterAid India highlights the opportunities created by the Swachh Bharat Mission and other government schemes to ensure that girls and women have access to hygienic and safe toilets near or within their homes and schools.[294] While many of these efforts are yet to be evaluated, gender analysis and the creation of strong standards that identify and address gendered needs are critical steps in making public spaces safer for girls and women.

Involving girls and women in infrastructure planning, implementation and management is another critical strategy in making infrastructure more inclusive. The Delhi Safe City Programme, implemented under UN Women's Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces program, established a committee of partners from multiple sectors, including women's organizations, to improve coordination across government departments. Outcomes include the installation of lights in poorly lit areas, an increased police presence in public spaces, and a partnership with the Delhi Transportation Corporation to train over 1,200 bus marshals to prevent sexual harassment. Over 100 women's safety audits have informed infrastructure guidelines in Delhi.[295] UN Women and Unilever's Global Women's Safety Framework in Rural Spaces, which is informed by experiences in the tea sector in India and Kenya, also recommends including girls and women's knowledge, expertise and recommendations of safety measures in the upgrading of infrastructure on estates, including lighting, transportation, sanitation and hygiene, or in the design and construction of new housing lines.[296]

As an implementing partner in the global Gender Inclusive Cities Programme (GICP), Jagori provided data and strategic inputs to shape urban planning, management and budgeting in the city of Delhi. In 2010, Jagori developed a comprehensive strategic framework for the Delhi Government to enhance women's safety and inclusion in urban spaces, focused on urban planning and design of public spaces, provision and maintenance of infrastructure and services, public transport, policing, legislation, justice and support to victims, education and civil service. In 2011, as a result of its advocacy, Jagori was invited by the Lieutenant Governor to serve as a member of the Unified Traffic and Transportation Infrastructure - Planning and Engineering Centre Task Force, and based on GICP data and women's safety audits it had conducted, provided recommendations on incorporating women's safety into design guidelines for streets, parking and transportation infrastructure.[297]

Community safety committees made up of girls, convened by the NGO Aangan, map areas and infrastructure in their communities that they consider safe and unsafe, and regularly present these to ward officials. This combined mapping and advocacy has resulted in the officials installing street lights in a community in Odisha; the removal of gambling and liquor dens

[293] UNICEF, WaterAid & WSUP. (2018). Female-friendly public and community toilets: A guide for planners and decision makers. London, UK: WaterAid

[294] On Menstrual Hygiene Day, WaterAid India calls for WASH Facilities that are Responsive to the Menstrual Hygiene Needs of Women and Girls, WaterAid India. (2018, May 24). Retrieved from https://wateraidindia.in/media_release/menstrual-hygiene-day-wateraid-india-calls-wash-facilities-responsive-menstrual-hygiene-needs-women-girls/

[295] UN Women. (2017). Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces: Global Results Report. New York: UN Women

[296] UN Women. (2018). A Global Women's Safety Framework in Rural Spaces: Informed by Experience in the Tea Sector, New York, NY: UN Women

[297] Women in Cities International. (2011). Tackling Gender Exclusion: Experiences from the Gender Inclusive Cities Programme

along school routes in an Uttar Pradesh community, and municipal officials building safe and accessible community toilets for girls in Mumbai. Women and girls involved in creating the maps found the process to be empowering, as the process connected them with community officials to address both current and future concerns and their collaboration with police increased their bargaining power and the respect they received at home.[298]

There are several examples of programs involving women in water and sanitation planning and management highlighted by international consortia standard-setting efforts, such as Violence, Gender and WASH: A Practitioner's Toolkit.[299] One example is a partnership between Women in Cities International, Jagori, the International Development Research Centre and other partners, which implemented a program to integrate women's safety and redress the gender service gap in water and sanitation in resettlement communities in Delhi. The program involved participatory needs assessments, leadership development of women and developing relationships between women, communities and sanitation workers. Outcomes included reduced harassment of girls and women on the way to and at the community toilet complex, a community team ready to mobilise for action, a new community toilet complex design by women, featuring higher walls for privacy and safety, a covered roof and small windows for light and air circulation, a tap inside each toilet, hand bars in place in stalls for pregnant and elderly women, and a separate section for children.[300] Yardi Vasti Vikas Prakalp (YVVP), the corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiative of Yardi Software, runs a similar community engagement water, sanitation and waste management program in ten slums in Pune City to improve hygiene and enhance the safety of girls and women.[301]

These programs demonstrate the value of involving women in the design, implementation and management of community infrastructure, with the combined results of empowering women to engage with government officials, improved safety for girls and women, and ultimately better, and often better managed facilities.

Female-only transportation has been introduced in cities in 15 countries, including India, to address the high prevalence of sexual harassment on public transportation. It has been a long-standing feature of Indian railways with women-only cars on rail and metro lines in cities across the country, including Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata.[302] Female-only alternatives have also emerged on Indian roadways. The Pink Auto Service was created through a partnership between the Surat Municipal Corporation (SMC) in Gujarat and Bank of Baroda to provide women-owned, women-only transportation options.[303] Following the Nirbhaya case, more women-only buses were add-

[298] Aangan (2018). Women & Girls Powered by Data: A New Way to See, Solve and Speak Up about Old Problems. Mumbai: Aangan

[299] Violence, Gender and WASH: A Practitioners Toolkit. (n.d.a). Making water, sanitation and hygiene safer through improved programming and services [The toolkit materials]. Retrieved January 29, 2019 from http://violence-wash.lboro.ac.uk/toolkit/

[300] Violence, Gender and WASH: A Practitioner's Toolkit. (n.d.b). TS3-D-1 - Community-Municipal Corporation–NGO partnership for slum infrastructure improvement: Tiruchirappalli, India. Retrieved February 15, 2019 from http://violence-wash.lboro.ac.uk/vgw/Briefing-notes-toolsets-checklists/VGW-TS3-Case-studies-good-practice/VGW-TS3-D-Community-managed-latrine-blocks/VGW-TS3-D-1-Municipal-corporation%E2%80%93NGO-partnership.pdf

[301] Rascón, E. (2016, April 18). Uplifting India: Yarid Vasti Vikas Prakalp. The Balance Sheet: Yardi Corporate Blog. Retrieved from https://www.yardi.com/blog/people/uplifting-india/14885.html

[302] Times of India. (2018, May 5). World's first' women's special train completes 26 years [Mumbai]; BBC. (2009, October 10). Joy of India's women-only trains

[303] Townsend, J.C. (2017, August 29). This taxi service is for Indian women, by Indian women. Fast Company

ed to Delhi's bus system and GPS tracking systems were installed in over 6,000 Delhi Transportation Corporation buses, 45,000 autos, and 5,549 chartered buses to respond to the complaint that women could not find the additional women-only options.[304] While there are questions about how effectively it has been implemented, in 2017, tapping into a Maharashtra state-wide program, Pune launched a special bus service called 'Tejaswini', driven and conducted by women and reserved for women passengers.[305] Many corporations, particularly IT companies and those running call centers, provide transportation for employees, which is seen as both a cost and safety benefit for young female employees.[306]

A 2014 survey in 16 major cities around the world found that nearly 70 percent of women surveyed reported feeling safer in single-sex areas on buses and trains.[307] Women in Manila were most in favor of single-sex transport (94 percent), followed by Jakarta, Mexico City and Delhi. However, a decade after Tokyo launched women-only subway cars, the same survey ranked Tokyo among the top five cities in the world for the most physical harassment on public transportation. While female-only options provide welcome relief for girls and women, they do not get at the underlying issues and gender norms that perpetuate VAWG. They are a short-term solution and in some countries, are seen as a retrograde option, reinforcing the idea that women can only avoid harassment and assault by being separated from men. Despite gender-segregated transportation options, women continue to experience harassment at bus stops and on railway platforms. Female-only options cannot cover all the transportation needs of women, and women who ride in integrated vehicles are at risk of being seen as 'fair game' and blamed when they are harassed or assaulted. There is also evidence that men can resent female-only options, particularly during peak hours, leading to aggression by men who try to occupy women-only cars or seats.[308]

Other actions to improve safety on and around public transport, combine several interventions, some of which are used in cities across India, including increasing the number of highly visible, trained transportation staff and police, as well as undercover police operations; technological surveillance through CCTV cameras; improved surveillance through better lighting and visibility across transport networks; advertising campaigns and grassroots action to raise awareness and disseminate information; and mobile and online platforms for women to quickly report and identify hot spots. Additional recommendations include involving women in the (re)design of public transport systems, including areas around public transit facilities, and increasing consultations and collaborations between transport agencies, the police, women's groups, and surrounding communities.[309]

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[304] Lapsia, T.P. (2015). Impact of the "Nirbhaya" Rape Case: Isolated Phenomenon or Social Change? Honors Scholar Theses, 453. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.uconn.edu/srhonors_theses/453

[305] Sengupta, J. (2018, March 6).30 women-only buses to hit the road on March 8. The Times of India [Pune].

[306] Tina Basi, J.K. (2009). Women, Identity and India's Call Centre Industry. Routledge Research on Gender in Asia Series. London & New York: Routledge; and Siliconindia. (n.d.). Top 5 Employee Transport Services in India 2018. Retrieved February 2, 2019 from https://www.siliconindia.com/ranking/employee-transport-services-2018.html

[307] Nawaz, M. (2018, November 4). Increase in women-only buses eases transport anxieties. UN Women Asia and the Pacific

[308] Kearl, H. (2015, August 31). Actually No: Women-only transport won't end harassment. takepart; and Gekoski et al. (2015). 'What Works' in Reducing Sexual Harassment and Sexual Offences on Public Transport Nationally and Internationally: A Rapid Evidence Assessment. London: British Transport Police and Department for Transport; World Bank, Transport and Digital Development Global Practice. (2018, May 1). Gender segregation vs non-segregation on public transport and Gender Plenary: Women As Transport Users And Transport Services Providers – What Works and What Doesn't [Debate]

[309] Gekoski et al. (2015). 'What Works' in Reducing Sexual Harassment and Sexual Offences on Public Transport Nationally and Internationally: A Rapid Evidence Assessment. London: British Transport Police and Department for Transport; Akshara Centre. (2016). Empowering Women's Mobility: A Program with Transport Systems. Mumbai: Akshara Centre

Bicycle distribution programs have also been employed by the government, civil society organizations and corporate programs to provide a transportation alternative for girls. The Pune Zilla Parishad and the Pimpri Chinchwad Municipal Corporation distribute bicycles to socially and economically vulnerable girls to support school attendance.[310] NGO Ashta No Kai (ANK) launched a bicycle distribution program in ten villages in Maharashtra to address high dropout and early marriage rates among adolescent girls after primary school, caused by parents' reluctance to allow their daughters to travel to distant secondary schools. To foster school retention and completion, ANK added a life skills program, with the goal of empowering girls with knowledge, skills and aspirations to make informed life choices. Some girls who received bicycles wanted to continue their education, and ANK then provided scholarships. An internal evaluation by ANK established that this combination of interventions led to a higher age of marriage, and improved girls' educational outcomes. It also revealed that intervening early and for a longer duration increased the likelihood that girls reached their educational goals, further confirming that simply distributing bicycles is not enough.[311] In contrast, a study of a program in Bihar that only distributed bicycles confirmed that girls' enrollment in secondary school increased dramatically after they received the bicycles, but their retention and completion rates did not.[312]

Conclusion

The interventions described above demonstrate how building inclusive infrastructure and processes to engage and incorporate inputs from users is a long-term endeavor that requires strategic planning, sustained investments and ongoing monitoring across sectors. Providing short-term options and protections, such as segregated transportation, may serve to protect the public safety of girls and women within limited parameters. However, in the long-term, they may do more harm by perpetuating an acceptance of girls and women being unsafe in public spaces, and not holding perpetrators of violence accountable for changing their behavior. Gender analysis and including girls and women in the planning and management of public facilities and the pathways that lead to them are essential to making infrastructure safe and inclusive in the long-term. Engaging all authorities including district, municipal and local government bodies, public-private partnerships such as Smart City, private companies, and communities themselves, will help ensure a holistic and inclusive approach to developing, maintaining and managing public spaces as spaces which enhance social capital and development. These efforts will benefit from work to challenge gender norms, and will help shape the better implementation of laws and policies and enhance both access to and quality of public services that address VAWG.

[310] Bankar et al. (2018). Empowerment of Girls and Women: A Landscape Analysis of Pune. Washington, DC: 3D Program for Girls and Women; and Pimpri Chinchwad Municipal Corporation. (n.d.). Schemes. Retrieved February 2, 2019 from https://www.pcmcindia.gov.in/schemes.php

[311] Modi, A. (2017). Giving Girls Wings to Fly Tools to Empower Adolescent Girls in Rural Communities in India. Echidna Global Scholars Program Working paper. Center for Universal Education at Brookings Institution

[312] Muralidharan, K. & Prakash, N. (2017). Cycling to School: Increasing Secondary School Enrollment for Girls in India. American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, American Economic Association, 9(3), 321-350

Insights and Recommendations

This review revealed the extent to which stakeholders in India are acting, innovating and investing in efforts to prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces. Lessons learned from the specific interventions in each domain provide valuable insights into the range of actions that must be taken to effectively address VAWG in public spaces. Stakeholders from different sectors are responding to prevent and respond to violence. Policy makers are generating relevant policies, laws and protocol; government officials are implementing programs and schemes; police, health, social and legal services are offering critical services and referrals; universities and research institutes are filling data gaps; NGOs, particularly women's organizations, continue to advocate and organize to challenge gender norms and demand accountability; and the private sector is investing in initiatives that have the potential to impact social dynamics within and beyond the workplace.

The review also confirmed the importance of these stakeholders working in these different domains to change gender norms, make laws and policies work for girls and women, provide coordinated and quality services, and build inclusive infrastructure to effectively prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces.

However, despite considerable investments and effort, individual interventions within these particular domains are not being maximized. While these interventions are important, lack of coordination across interventions and sectors and lack of accountability limit their impact. Few interventions are planned, monitored or evaluated with inputs from girls and women. As a result, harmful gender norms that underpin VAWG are at best, ignored and at worst, reinforced. Service providers face increasing responsibilities without the necessary additional investments to ensure they have the implementation guidelines, training, tools and work conditions to effectively serve girls and women. Finally, there are significant gaps in data on what works to prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces, the most glaring of which is a lack of focus on VAWG in public spaces in rural areas.

This section offers overarching recommendations to help stakeholders coordinate and maximize their interventions to more effectively prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces.

Leverage opportunities to converge: Sustainable change comes when it is advocated and supported by civil society, mandated by government, and supported by the innovations, data and resources of the private sector and academia.[313] To effectively prevent and respond to VAWG within the dynamic landscape of public spaces, there is a need for coordinated responses that leverage the strengths and resources of these multiple stakeholders. Individual interventions are critical. However, those interventions that fall short often lack a connection to a complementary intervention that could strengthen and sustain it, and their impact is isolated and limited. For example, initiatives, such as community policing, that lack strategic inputs from women's organizations, can inadvertently reinforce harmful gender norms, result in moral policing, and undermine their own mandate to prevent VAWG. In contrast, the most innovative responses include a convergence of interventions and stakeholders. For example, OSCs that strategically create alliances across sectors effectively provide girls and women with coordinated services that prioritize their interests, while increasing accountability among stakeholders. Women students engaging both police and university administrators have improved safety on university campuses. Similarly, data collection by girls' safety committees or crowd-sourced on apps, combined with the legal authority of police and government officials, is being effectively used to improve police responses and infrastructure in public spaces.

Transform gender norms: Ultimately, keeping girls and women safe in public spaces requires the transformation of gender norms that put them at risk. Instead, many current efforts to improve girls' and women's public safety rely on traditional gender norms and focus on protecting girls' and women's 'honor' and reducing their reputational risk. The failure of many otherwise well-meaning investments and responses is often due to a lack of gender analysis or direct inputs by girls and women and their advocates and a lack of safeguards against backlash. For example, police responses designed to protect women in public spaces often further victimize them for simply being in public spaces, reinforcing the very norms that underpin VAWG. Responses such as female-only transport and investments in CCTV have done little to actually reduce VAWG in public spaces, which simply continues in adjacent spaces, often with impunity. Increasing reporting mechanisms for harassment on

[313] Gadgil, R. & Menon, S. (2018). Solid Waste Management and Women's Livelihoods in Pune: A Desired Future. Washington DC: 3D Program for Girls and Women

public transport without adequate efforts to actually improve safety can lead to parents pulling girls out of school or girls simply not reporting harassment for fear of having to leave school. What is required instead is a focus on the rights of girls and women to mobility and access to opportunity in public spaces and infrastructure. Interventions should build on the strong advocacy and analysis by women's movements and organizations to design and implement gender transformative, rights-based approaches in law and policy, service delivery and infrastructure development that address the structural determinants of VAWG, in addition to targeting individual attitudes and behavior change.

Fill gaps in data, research, monitoring and evaluation: More investments in research and data collection are needed to strengthen services and build evidence on what works to effectively prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces that can be shared across sectors. We need more data on girls' and women's experiences of laws and policies, services and public spaces to strengthen interventions and better understand how different social stratifiers, such as caste, class, religion, ethnicity, sexual and gender identity, age, (dis)ability, race, ethnicity and location (urban and rural), shape and compound their experiences of VAWG in public spaces. Designing effective monitoring and evaluation systems to assess the true impact of interventions is also critical. Data collection, research, and monitoring and evaluation of interventions should reflect the complexity of VAWG and use various approaches, while being cognizant of the ethical dilemmas in measuring VAWG. The use of mixed methods, both quantitative and qualitative, to measure impact at the individual and collective levels, while also assessing how particular components of interventions drive impact at different stages is needed. Finally, long-term evaluations are necessary to assess the transformative capacity of interventions.

Strengthen accountability: While self-defense measures can play a role in preventing VAWG, the burden of ensuring their own safety must not fall on individual girls and women. Surveys, mapping and audits confirm that hotspots of VAWG exist everywhere in public spaces. What is rarely mapped or made explicit is which authority is accountable for the safety of girls and women in those spaces (see Appendix 5 on Mapping Risk and Accountability in Public Spaces). Ironically, there are actually clearer lines of accountability for public officials addressing IPV or violence in private spaces. Lines of accountability in public spaces are fluid and remain unclear. Girls, women and authorities themselves require clarity. For example, what happens if harassment begins outside a railway station, continues on the station platform and culminates in an assault on a train? Who should be approached for help? Which authority is accountable? Accountability mapping could prevent VAWG, enable girls, women and bystanders to know who to contact in the event of an incident, and empower officials to act with authority. It would also provide the foundation for how each authority can connect and work with their counterparts in adjacent spaces to ensure girls and women's safety through the continuum of public spaces.

Accountability to improve the public safety of girls and women can also be strengthened in other ways. Policy makers and government services should work with program and systems implementers in civil society and the private sector to develop implementation guidelines and accountability mechanisms to translate progressive laws, policies and protocols into effective programs. There is a need to systemically strengthen mechanisms to prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces, rather than isolated and reactive responses. This should include reform to increase accountability within the criminal justice system rather than simply training police; using data to inform

interventions; ensuring that responses are informed by the realities of girls and women; applying quality standards for services to protect the dignity, rights and safety of girls and women; and enforcing standards for safe and inclusive public spaces.

Engage girls and women: Safety audits, apps and mapping, combined with advocacy and activism, increasingly highlight the risks and realities faced by girls and women as they navigate public spaces. These must be matched with responses that are informed by these realities and safeguard against backlash. Instead, responses are usually designed by those in positions of authority, who cannot always effectively assess risks that they themselves have never faced. This results in interventions being designed and implemented in a way that undermines their effectiveness and sustainability and can further endanger girls and women. For example, police reporting systems or medical examinations that are meant to serve survivors of violence end up further traumatizing them. Evidence shows that involving girls and women and their advocates can lead to improved laws and policies, more responsive services and inclusive infrastructure. Creating platforms and processes through which diverse groups of girls and women can provide inputs into the design, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of interventions across sectors will help stakeholders put in place both immediate and strategic measures to effectively prevent and respond to VAWG in public spaces. Working with women's rights groups and community-based organizations to ethically engage with survivors of VAWG and learn from their experiences can also help break the silence and stigma around VAWG. Finally advocacy for safe public spaces must also include an analysis of intersectionality, such as the ways in which social stratifiers such as class, caste, age, religion, ethnicity and (dis)ability intersect with gender, and more resources must be allocated for interventions that address the particular needs and vulnerabilities of girls and women from marginalized groups.

Build capacity of service providers: Service providers need training that enables them to address the immediate needs of survivors of VAWG in a way that does not further traumatize them, while assessing and addressing their longer-term needs, either through referrals or the provision of additional services. Specifically, this includes training to effectively identify and respond to survivors of violence using existing protocol, in a way that meets their immediate needs, protects their rights, does not further traumatize them, and connects them to other services to meet their long-term needs. This necessitates a combination of technical training, gender analysis and informational resources, which can be sourced from a range of stakeholders and sectors, including women's advocates, public and private service providers and researchers. It also requires adequate support and remuneration to ensure that service providers are well-positioned and motivated to address the challenges of VAWG and effectively serve girls and women.

Implement public safety programs in rural areas: Much of the work on safe and inclusive public spaces is being done in urban settings. While women's groups have successfully organized in rural India, most notably through SHGs, to address issues such as child marriage and domestic violence, rural areas continue to present particular challenges to protecting the public safety of girls and women. It can be difficult to actually define public spaces and jurisdictions in rural areas, where community facilities overlap with privately owned land. Accountability in rural areas may be compromised by community governance and justice systems that are vulnerable to social power dynamics, particularly those related to caste, which allow for impunity by dominant social groups or individuals. Rural girls have less access to educational, social and economic opportunities than their urban counterparts, and they and their families may therefore feel they have little choice but to compromise

their freedom and mobility following incidents of violence in public spaces. More needs to be done to understand and respond to VAWG and better serve girls and women in rural public spaces.

Conclusion

Growing advocacy and increased media coverage, highlight how VAWG in public spaces in India persists at alarming levels. It manifests through actions ranging from insidious, relentless harassment to terrorizing, brutal attacks that defy description. These are compounded by existing vulnerabilities of marginalized groups of girls and women, weak prevention and response mechanisms, and ongoing impunity by perpetrators. The result is a vicious cycle of horrific incidents, reporting in the media and reactive responses, but not the required systemic and normative change. The result is that we are all becoming bystanders - VAWG in public spaces has become everyone's and no one's problem. The magnitude of the problem requires that individual interventions need to be informed by the realities of girls and women's lives and held accountable for quality of care and the safety and rights of girls and women. To further increase their impact, stakeholders need to come together with interventions across sectors to strengthen each other's inputs and hold each other accountable. Until this happens, girls and women will continue to face unthinkable risks to their safety in public spaces, their access to economic and social opportunity will be limited, and their full participation in society will be undermined.

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Insights and Conclusions

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Appendices

Appendix 1.
Violence Against Women and Girls and the Sustainable Development Goals: Local Action Within A Global Framework

In 2015, the 193-member states of the United Nations, including India, unanimously adopted the comprehensive framework of the *Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)* - 17 goals with 169 targets aimed at transforming the world. It is notable that two SDGs directly address VAWG and many others have targets that directly or indirectly address VAWG in both public and private spaces.

SDG	Targets related to violence against girls and women
SDG 4: Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning	**4.7** Ensure all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development
	4.a Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all
SDG 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	**5.2** End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere
	5.3 Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation
SDG 6: Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all	**6.2** Achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all and end open defecation, paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations
SDG 8: Promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all	**8.7** Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labor, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labor in all its forms
	8.8 Protect labor rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular women migrants, and those in precarious employment
SDG 11: Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	**11.1** Ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums
	11.2 Provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons
	11.7 Provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities
SDG 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	**16.1** Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere
	16.2 End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Appendix 2.
Experts and Reviewers

Diana Jimena Arango, World Bank

Shweta Banker, ICRW Asia

Poornima Chikarmane, Kagad Kach Patra Kashtakari (KKPKP) and SWaCH

Maja Daruwala, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative

Suneeta Dhar, Jagori and South Asia Women's Foundation

Elsa Marie D'Silva, Safecity

Tania Echaporia, Safecity

Rati Forbes, Forbes Marshall Ltd.

Ranjit Gadgil, Parisar

Ratna Gill, Aangan

Alan Grieg, Challenging Male Supremacy Project

Geeta Rao Gupta, 3D Program for Girls and Women, UN Foundation

Suparna Gupta, Aangan

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Appendix 3.
Violence Against Women and Girls: Laws and Policy Framework in India

Laws and Policies

Laws and Policies	Description
Constitution of India – Part III (Article 12 to 35) Fundamental Rights	The constitution guarantees that all citizens of India (including women) have the fundamental right to live in peace and harmony, a right to equality, freedom, freedom of religion, right against exploitation, and a right to constitutional remedies.
Constitution of India Part IV (Article 36 – 51) Directive Principles	These principles are not enforced by court but are to be applied at the state level when making laws in hopes to establish a just society in the country. The provisions outlined in these principles relate to social justice, economic welfare, legal and administrative matters, and foreign policy.
Constitution of India Part IVA (Article 51A) Fundamental Duties	Just as the directive principles, this section does not have legal action for non-compliance, but it similarly outlines fundamental duties that should be followed by citizens including abiding by the constitution, upholding the values and integrity of the country, promoting harmony and peace among all groups of people in India irrespective of gender, religion, and region, reject violence, and develop a spirit of humanism.
Constitutional Right to Property under Article 300A	The right to property as a fundamental right is no longer recognized by the constitution due to the 44th amendment to eliminate that right but another addition to the constitution, Article 300 (A), was inserted to ensure that everyone has a statutory right to property, which gives more authority to the state.
Indian Penal Code, 1860	Has provisions to address and punish assault and criminal force, sexual harassment, voyeurism, stalking, human trafficking, dowry death, cruelty towards a married woman (domestic violence), rape and aggravated rape.
Provisions in Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973	Some of the prominent provisions made in the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPc) regarding crimes against women were on First Information Reports (FIR) to be completed by women officers; recording of statement before magistrate; outline of duties and responsibilities of medical practitioners and the medical examination procedure; and provisions relating to investigations and trials. The crimes administered through these procedures include acid attacks, rape and other sexual offences.
Prevent misuse of Section 498A of Indian Penal Code	The Supreme Court in India issued a new set of directions to prevent misuse of Section 498A of the IPC which deals with cruelty and harassment of a married woman at the hands of the husband or his relatives, which prevent authorities from making arrests without the due process that involves special committees to form at the district level and look into the case to make a decision that allows authorities to then take action.
Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013	The amendments in this Act include provisions that highlight violence against women and expand the Indian Penal Code to include offenses such as acid attacks, disrobing a woman, sexual harassment, and stalking. It also raised the age of consent to 18, increased penalty and sentences for gang rape, and added measures to hold hospitals run by the Government or State and private institutions accountable by law to give free medical treatment to victims of rape or acid attacks and hold public servants responsible for refusing First Information Report (FIR).
Provisions in the Indian Penal Code regarding public servants	This provision holds public servants accountable to register any cognizable offenses (i.e. rape, murder, rioting, dacoity) outlined in the IPC under section 326A, section 326B, section 354, section 354B, section 370, section 370A, section 376, section 376A, section 376A, section 376B, section 376C, section 376C, section 376D, section 376E or section 509. Failing to register these offences can result in imprisonment from 6 months up to 2 years.
Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005	An Act of the Parliament of India enacted to protect women from domestic violence, defined as including physical, emotional, verbal, sexual and economic abuse within the family and the home. It is a civil law meant primarily for protection orders and not meant to penalize criminally. A protection officer – preferably a woman – is appointed by the state government to enforce the Act. The officer receives the complaint and file the report which is submitted to a magistrate, helps the victim get medical help and controls the shelter homes. The officer enforces the orders of the magistrate. Any company or voluntary organization providing legal, medical, financial or any other support to women must register as a service provider with the state government. The service provider has the power to file a domestic incident report at the victim's request, examine the medical situation and provide medical help through medical facilities and shelter through shelter homes with the assistance of the protection officer.

Laws and Policies	Description
Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 (POSH Act)[1]	An Act that requires workplaces with more than ten employees to set up an Internal Complaints Committee to document and address cases of sexual harassment. Any woman, whether an employee or not, either working in the organized or unorganized sector, subjected to sexual harassment at the workplace can seek protection under this Act. In Maharashtra, a deputy collector has been designated in each district as the district officer responsible for carrying out the powers and functions under the Act. The district officer also constitutes a Local Complaints Committee for women working in smaller or informal enterprises, ensures the timely submission of reports by the committee, and engages NGOs to increase awareness of sexual harassment and rights of women.
University Grants Commission (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal of Sexual Harassment of Women Employees and Students in Higher Educational Institutions) Regulations, 2015	Prevents and addresses sexual harassment of students and female employees on university campuses, perpetrated by teachers or administrative staff, and students. Under the Act, all colleges must convene an Internal Complaints Committee to document and respond to complaints, provide interim relief for aggrieved parties, and punish offenders (including suspension, expulsion and counseling).
Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986	An Act that prohibits the indecent representation of women through advertisements, paintings, figures, writings and other similar displays.
Information Technology Act, 2000	An Act that makes certain offenses against women punishable, including sending offensive messages such as false information, hatred, criminal intimidation through communication services (i.e. electronic mail), punishment for violation of privacy and for spreading obscene and sexually explicit materials electronically, including sexual exploitation of children.
Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929	This Act restrains child marriage and it applies to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir. A child in this case is referred to any male below the age of 21 and female below the age of 18. Any contracting party, parents, or any male adult above the age 18 who engage in child marriage will be punished with imprisonment (prosecution charges vary).
The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006	Outlaws child marriage and aims to protect the rights of children and provides relief services to victims.
Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 (POCSO)	Aims to protect children from offences of sexual assault, sexual harassment and pornography and provide for establishment of Special Courts to try these offences and related matters. This law is gender neutral. Recently, in reaction to a series of child rapes, in particular the attack of an eight-year old girl in Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian cabinet approved an ordinance amending laws on sexual violence to allow for capital punishment for those convicted of raping children below the age of 12, requires trials to be completed within two months of an arrest, and increased minimum jail sentences for convicted rapists.
Immoral Traffic in Women and Girl Act, 1956 (as amended up to 1986)	This Act aims to mitigate violence against women and children by prohibiting trafficking and sexual exploitation for commercial use.
Juvenile Justice Act (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015	An Act that aims to adopt a child-friendly approach to adjudication and rehabilitation by amending the law pertaining to children who are in conflict with the law and children who are in need of proper care, protection, treatment and social re-integration. Some of the provisions include changing the nomenclature from juvenile to 'child' to remove the negative connotation attached to 'juvenile'; new and increased penalties for crimes and cruelty committed against children; and inclusion of new definitions such as abandoned, orphaned and surrendered children.
Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961	Taking or giving dowry is punishable under this Act.

[1]The foundation of the POSH Act is the Vishakha Guidelines, a set of procedural guidelines issued by the Supreme Court in 1997, following the gang rape of Rajasthan state government employee Bhanwari Devi who worked with the Women Development Programme to prevent child marriage. She was raped by the landlords in the community where she worked, who were enraged by her actions that challenged the status quo. After the perpetrators were released by the Rajasthan High Court, women's rights group Vishaka filed a public interest litigation in the Supreme Court, which noted the absence of a domestic law and adequate measures to address sexual harassment of working women in all workplaces and released the guidelines to prohibit, prevent and redress sexual harassment at the workplace.

Laws and Policies	Description
Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act, 2005	This Act is an amendment to the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 that removes the gender discriminatory provisions that gives daughters equal access to ancestral rights as sons.
The pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) (PCPNDT) Act, 1994	An Act to regulate the use of pre-natal diagnostic techniques in hopes to reduce the chances of selective abortion caused by pre-natal sex determination.
The Commission of Sati (prevention) Act, 1987	An Act that prohibits Sati practices (voluntary or forced burning or burying of widows who are alive) and the observance of any ceremonies regarding this practice.
Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989	An Act to protect scheduled castes and scheduled tribes from experiencing atrocities based on their social status in society, including acts of violence against women.
Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Bill, 2017	This bill to outlaw Triple Talaq passed by the Supreme Court makes it illegal to pronounce divorce using the practice where a Muslim husband could say 'talaq' thrice in one sitting to his wife resulting in a final irrevocable divorce. This law makes any form of talaq (i.e. written or electronic) illegal and punishable for up to three years in prison along with a fine. The Muslim women in this case can also seek a subsistence allowance for herself and her children, the amount of which is determined by a magistrate.
Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016	This Act replaces The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights, and Full participation Act, 1995) and the rules were made operational in 2017. Under this law, the types of disabilities covered have increased from 7 to 21 (including acid attacks) and the central government have the permission to add more disabilities. This law protects the rights of the disabled and any offenses committed against them is punishable by law. This Act also designates special courts in each district to handle cases that violate the rights of the disabled.
National Population Policy (NPP), 2000	This policy aims to empower women by giving them full control over their reproductive choices and family planning, however, some state policies mandate a two-child norm which is a violation of this policy, anti-woman, anti-poor and anti-human rights.
National Policy on the Empowerment of Women, 2001	This policy aims to advance and empower women and relies on the engagement of many stakeholders to make that possible. Some of the objectives include equal access and participation in the political, economic, social, cultural, health, and civil spheres; elimination of all forms of violence against women and girls; adopting a gendered perspective in development and strengthening the legal system.
NITI Aayog Three-Year Plan of Action	The government's think tank, NITI (National Institution for Transforming India) Aayog, has created a three-year plan aimed at attaining key development and policy goals by 2031-32. Some key agenda items include job creation, health, education and skill development and building an inclusive society that enhances the welfare of women, children, youth, minorities, SC, ST, Other Backward Classes (OBCs), differently abled persons and senior citizens.
Municipality Corporation Act, 1949	This Act outlines municipalities responsibilities to ensure that disadvantaged groups have the right to use and enjoy public facilities and basic services the municipalities offer.
Legal Services Authority Act, 1987	This Act aims to provide free legal aid to all, including women and children, based on equal opportunity to justice. These legal services have been set up at the national, state, district and taluka level. In addition, legal service committees are in place at the Supreme Court, High Court, District Court and Taluka level.

Statutory Bodies

The following statutory bodies are responsible for overseeing the successful implementation (or lack thereof) of existing laws and policies:

National	State/UTs	District
• Ministry of Women and Child Development (WCD) • National Commission for Protection of Child Rights • National Commission for Women (NCW) – set up the Act of parliament in 1990 to protect the rights of women • Parliamentary Committee on Empowerment of Women (PCEW) – a special committee formed to oversee the empowerment of women in India • National Legal Services Authority – legal literacy and legal awareness camps • NHRC • Minorities Commission • SC/ST Commission • CSWB Central Social Welfare Board	• State Commission for Women • Maharashtra State Commission for Women • Legal Services Authorities • State supervisory Board – to monitor, raise awareness and terminate any clinics or laboratories that use pre-natal diagnostics techniques. • WCD in states • CWC (child welfare committee) at state levels • One-stop centers and helplines • State Commissions for Scheduled Castes. • State/UT Police Complaints Authorities (PCA)	• District Collector's Office • Pune Municipalities (Urban) – based on the Municipality Corporation Act, 1949, the municipalities aim to meet the special needs of the disadvantaged women and make sure they participate in training and awareness programs offered through the city and in collaboration with NGOs and CBOs • Zilla Parishad Pune (Rural) • Fast-track court in place to specifically handle cases of violence against women in a district • Legal Services Authorities • One stop centers • Mahila Panchayats (informal system) • WCD

International Agreements

India is a signatory to many international agreements that protect girls' and women's fundamental rights and foster the movement towards gender equity. These international agreements include:

- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)
- Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC)
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)
- United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD)
- India is a signatory of the International Labor Organization (ILO)'s 189th Convention on domestic workers (known as the Convention on Domestic Workers) but has not ratified it yet
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- New Urban Agenda adopted at the Habitat III Conference
- Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with targets addressing the public safety of girls and women:

Goal #3	Good health and well-being
Goal #4	Quality education
Goal #5	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
Goal #6	Clean water and sanitation
Goal #8	Decent work and economic growth
Goal #11	Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
Goal #16	Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
Goal #17	Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development

Appendix 4.
Violence Against Women and Girls from Marginalized Communities in India[1]

Violence against women from marginalized communities is perpetuated and exacerbated by their social and economic marginalization and is closely linked to their social status. One report noted that "violent and inhumane treatment, such as sexual assault, rape, and naked parading, serve as a social mechanism to maintain Dalit women's subordinate position in society. They are targeted as a way of humiliating entire Dalit communities." (Navsarjan Trust, All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch, & International Dalit Solidarity Network, 2014).

Legal Framework: The Constitution of India includes several provisions that aim to eliminate the pervasive discrimination that members of Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST), and Other Backward Class (OBC) groups have historically encountered (Gopinath, 2018). Additionally, the Constitution establishes a political body, termed the National Commission for Scheduled Castes, that wields civil and judicial powers in ensuring the legal rights of SC communities and formulating schemes for their social and economic advancement. Similar bodies, called the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes and the National Commission for Backward Classes, have been constituted to formulate updated lists and promote the interests of ST and OBC communities respectively. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act of 1989 (the SC/ST Act) specifically seeks to prohibit violence as a form of extreme social discrimination against individuals from SC and ST communities, including women.[2] The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Act of 2015 substantially broadened the types of atrocities included within the scope of the Act. Sexual harassment and verbal and physical abuse of women are expressly forbidden under the Act. In March 2018, the Supreme Court of India ruled to reduce the stringency of the SC/ST Act, adding requirements in an effort to curb misuse of the SC/ST Act, but was criticized as a dilution of the rights of marginalized groups. In August, the Indian Parliament passed a bill to restore the strength of the SC/ST Act (Ministry of The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Bill, 2018, which has not yet come into force, which nullifies the Supreme Court requirements.

Lack of Data: There is a lack of high-quality and comprehensive quantitative data on violent crime against women and girls from SC and ST groups in India. While the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) provides data on the incidence of specific crimes registered under the SC/ST Act – including those that disproportionately or exclusively affect women and girls – such data is not disaggregated by sex for all types of crimes. Additionally, neither NCRB data nor other sources include a measure that incorporates aggregated figures on incidents of gender-based violence or harassment recorded under each of the several laws VAWG from marginalized communities may be registered under. Available figures likely underestimate the scope of VAWG from ST and SC groups, as both caste and gender-based factors contribute to the reluctance or inability of women to report incidents.

Prevalence and Scope of Violence Against Women and Girls from Marginalized Communities: The 2017 NCRB report revealed that 40,801 total crimes against members of SC and ST groups occurred in 2016.

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[1]This appendix is a summary of a longer 3D Program brief on Violence Against Girls and Women from Marginalized Communities in India by Ms. Arista Jhanjee, former Intern of the 3D Program and the Global Health team at the United Nations Foundation. For the full brief, see: the3dprogram.org/document/violence-against-girls-and-women-from-marginalized-communities/

[2] Significantly, DNT, NT, and SNT groups are not included within the scope of the SC/ST Act. In its 2018 report, the National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic, and Semi-Nomadic Tribes recommended that the law be extended to apply to DNT, NT and SNT communities.

Additionally, 2016 NCRB data indicates that 18 percent, or nearly one-fifth, of all crimes against members of SC groups are directed at women. In fact, crimes against women constitute the majority of all crimes recorded under the SC/ST Act in three states, and at least one third of all such crimes in five states, including Maharashtra. The number of registered rapes against women from SC communities rose by 47 percent between 2003 and 2013. More recent data, compiled by the National Commission for Scheduled Castes, found that crimes against women from SC groups also increased in at least 13 states, including Maharashtra, between 2013 and 2015. From 2012 to 2014, the incidence of rape against women from SC groups alone increased by over 41 percent. Similarly, the incidence of kidnapping and abduction, which disproportionately targets women, increased by over 54 percent.

A 2006 study of 500 women from SC communities across four states found that over 62 percent and 54 percent of participants had respectively experienced verbal abuse and physical assault, while over 46 percent and 23 percent had respectively experienced sexual harassment or assault and rape. Acts of violence against women from SC groups are severe and horrific, and include "stripping, naked parading, caste abuses, pulling out nails and hair, sexual slavery, and bondage." Women from marginalized communities are also targeted by severe forms of sexual violence, such as rape, molestation, kidnapping, abduction, homicide, physical and mental torture, immoral traffic, and sexual abuse.

In 2009, the Special Rapporteur for Violence against Women enumerated 30 cases of inter-caste, gender-based violence that targeted women from SC communities. The UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women noted in 2013 that women from SC communities face various types of caste-based exclusion and discrimination and are subject to violent acts that often go unpunished, including verbal harassment, physical and sexual assault, and rape.

One clear manifestation of the caste-based dimension of gender-based violence includes the verbal and physical abuse, as well as the extra-judicial killing, of women who enter into inter-caste relationships or marriages. Another form of violence targets women from SC communities who are elected to local political bodies under the reservation system enacted by the Indian Constitution. Women from SC groups who attempt to play a substantive role in local decision-making processes sometimes face a violent reaction. More broadly, discrimination against women from SC communities who occupy elected positions is pervasive (Preliminary Report, 2013). Similarly, women who attempt to resist or challenge the existing caste hierarchy or structure in any way may encounter violent retaliation. In fact, a 2015 research study relied upon district-level crime data between 2001 and 2010 to analyze the association between the expenditure of ST and SC groups (a proxy for standard of living) and crimes against members of ST and SC communities. The study found that higher expenditure was associated with higher rates of crime, particularly violent crime. Such findings corroborate the conclusion that attempts by SC and ST group members to achieve social and economic advancement often result in retaliation by socially dominant groups who see such efforts as threatening (Sharma, 2015; Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), 2013).

Additionally, there are systemic forms of VAWG from SC/ST communities. Despite laws against them, practices of bonded and forced labor act as conduits for the perpetration of violent crime against women

from SC and ST groups, who are particularly vulnerable to debt bondage, as well as trafficking and associated forms of violence, including sexual exploitation. The employment of women from SC groups as landless laborers often leaves them vulnerable to sexual abuse and other forms of violence against humiliation" by landlords. Examples of bonded or forced labor affecting girls and women from SC and ST groups include the Sumangali labor system in spinning mills in the state of Tamil Nadu; 'manual scavenging' or the manual cleaning of toilet and sanitation facilities; and forced prostitution.

Allegations of witchcraft also disproportionately affect women from marginalized groups. Within the past 15 years, more than 2,500 women have been killed for ostensibly engaging in witchcraft. As one source notes, the victims of these killings have all "been poor and most have been from marginalized SC and ST communities and either owned property or rejected the sexual advances of dominant men in the community." Such a conclusion supports evidence that recent acts of violence against members of SC and ST communities have aimed to reinforce existing power imbalances by targeting individuals who have sought to assert their rights or achieve upward mobility.

Barriers to Justice[3]: Generally, individuals from SC and ST communities are obstructed in their pursuit of justice by a range of factors. The National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights enumerates such factors as "barriers to registering complaints, delayed investigations, failure to arrest the accused, lack of understanding of rights and court processes, threats from the accused, pressure to compromise or adjourn cases prior to conclusion and humiliation during trial proceedings." During the course of its 2013 national tribunal on violence against women from SC groups, All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch found that law enforcement authorities and judicial officials, who often belong to the same social groups as perpetrators of violence, frequently act to shield the latter and prevent women from SC groups from pursuing and achieving justice. Women from SC communities who speak out in order to attempt to seek redress after surviving violence may face backlash from their own families and communities. Without adequate survivor and witness protection and rehabilitation programs, women are discouraged from pursuing criminal complaints, as their safety may be compromised in the process. Additionally, the reliance of women from SC group on dominant caste landowners and employers for work further hampers their ability to seek legal justice due to a fear of retaliation. Financial constraints and lack of knowledge regarding the legal system are cited as other reasons for reluctance to seek the help of law enforcement and legal officials, who often fail to pursue cases due to pressure exerted by dominant castes. Recent statistical data and evidence hints at continued barriers to justice. Relying upon NCRB data from 2016, one source suggests that the conviction rate for crimes against women from SC groups, as registered under the SC/ST Act, stands at 28 percent. In other words, well over two-thirds of crimes that are officially recorded do not end in penalties for perpetrators of violence. Conviction rates may also differ substantially according to type and location of crime. For example, in 2011, the Centre for Dalit Rights in the city of Jaipur, Rajasthan reported that the conviction rate for cases of rape and sexual assault perpetrated against women from SC communities was only 2 percent. In Maharashtra specifically, the rate of all pending court cases under the SC/ST Act reached 90.7 percent in 2013, while the conviction rate stood at 6.3 percent.

[3] Several NGOs address the rights and marginalization of SC and ST communities, including the International Dalit Solidarity Movement; Navsarjan Trust; the All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch; and the National Dalit Movement for Justice – National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights.

Appendix 5.
Key International and Indian Frameworks on Inclusive Public Spaces and Infrastructure[1]

The New Urban Agenda adopted at the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) offers a vision of cities that are inclusive and safe and foster prosperity and quality of life for all, enshrined in the idea of "right to the city." Gender equality, the empowerment of girls and women, and safe and inclusive public spaces are an explicit part of this vision. Specifically, the Agenda supports "the provision of well-designed networks of safe, accessible, green and quality streets and other public spaces that are accessible to all and free from crime and violence, including sexual harassment and gender-based violence."[2]

UN Habitat defines an inclusive city as one that promotes growth with equity, a place where everyone, regardless of their economic means, gender, race, ethnicity, or religion, is enabled and empowered to fully participate in the social, economic, and political opportunities that cities have to offer. Participatory planning and decision making are at the heart of inclusive cities.[3] UN Habitat further elaborates that "Public spaces are a vital ingredient of successful cities. They help build a sense of community, civic identity and culture. Public spaces facilitate social capital, economic development and community revitalization. Having access to public spaces does not only improve the quality of life but is also a first step toward civic empowerment and greater access to institutional and political spaces."[4]

The **Charter of Public Space** defines public spaces as "all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without a profit motive." The notion of public space as a common good implies its accessibility by all with no direct cost to the user, and its spirit of public service without any purpose other than contributing to the overall quality of urban life.[5]

Transforming Cities through Placemaking & Public Spaces is a cooperative agreement between UN Habitat and The Project for Public Spaces that aims to harness the power of public space for the common good. By recognizing and developing the positive potential of their public spaces, cities can enhance safety and security, create economic opportunity, improve public health, create diverse public environments, and build democracy.[6]

UNESCO defines public space as an area or place that is open and accessible to all peoples, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age or socio-economic level. These are public gathering spaces such as plazas, squares and parks. Connecting spaces, such as sidewalks and streets, are also public spaces. In the 21st century, some even consider the virtual spaces available through the internet as a new type of public space that develops interaction and social mixing.[7]

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[1]While these efforts focus primarily on urban areas, there are components and frameworks that could be used to make public spaces more accessible and safer for all citizens in both urban or rural areas.

[2]United Nations. (2017). New Urban Agenda, Habitat III

[3] UN Habitat (n.d.). Inclusive Cities Initiative—The Way Forward. Retrieved June 3, 2018 from www.unhabitat.org/.../docs/2115_1346_way_forward_29.May.doc

[4] UN Habitat. (2016). *Global Public Space Toolkit: From Global Principles to Local Policies and Practice*. Revised February 2016. Retrieved from http://localizingthesdgs.org/library/82/Global-Public-Space-Toolkit--From-Global-Principles-to-Local-Policies-and-Practice.pdf

[5] UN Habitat. (2016). *Global Public Space Toolkit: From Global Principles to Local Policies and Practice*. Revised February 2016.

[6] Project for Public Spaces, Inc. (2012). *Placemaking and the Future of Cities*. Project for Public Spaces and UN Habitat

[7] UNESCO. (n.d.). Inclusion Through Access to Public Space. Retrieved January 25, 2019 from, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/urban-development/migrants-inclusion-in-cities/good-practices/inclusion-through-access-to-public-space

Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces, UN Women's Global Flagship Programme, has created partnerships to transform public spaces in 27 'champion' cities which "commit to ensuring that women and girls are socially, economically and politically empowered in public spaces that are free from sexual harassment and other forms of sexual violence. Data, policies, investments and advocacy are essential components of comprehensive strategies to prevent and respond to sexual violence against women."[8]

The Asian Development Bank brings an operational focus to the UN-Habitat definition of an inclusive city, stating that an inclusive city creates a safe, livable environment with affordable and equitable access to urban services, social services, and livelihood opportunities for all the city residents and other city users to promote optimal development of its human capital and ensure the respect of human dignity and equality. It further defines inclusive urban infrastructure development as an integrated approach encompassing sustainable, resilient, accessible, and affordable solutions to the challenges faced by the urban poor and vulnerable groups by enhancing their access to urban services and infrastructure through targeted investments. This integrated approach encourages an institutional delivery mechanism that brings together all institutions and stakeholders—government, the private sector and civil society—who have the capacity to deliver systems for inclusive urban service delivery.[9]

At the national level, India is a signatory to the New Urban Agenda, and participant in **UN Women's Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces**. The Government of India recognizes the place of cities in the country's transformation, reinforcing its commitment to implementing the Sustainable Development Goal 11 and the New Urban Agenda, including promoting inclusive urban development, including the universalization of basic services, social cohesion, and strategies for reducing working poverty and enhancing access to social justice and gender equity.[10]

Smart City Mission is an urban renewal and retrofitting program by the Government of India with the mission to develop 100 cities across the country making them citizen friendly and sustainable. While 'smart' will mean different things for different cities, some parameters guide cities in the Mission. "In the imagination of any city dweller in India, the picture of a smart city contains a wish list of infrastructure and services that describes his or her level of aspiration. To provide for the aspirations and needs of the citizens, urban planners ideally aim at developing the entire urban ecosystem, which is represented by the four pillars of comprehensive development - institutional, physical, social and economic infrastructure."[11]

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[8] UN Women. (2017). Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces: Global Results Report. New York: UN Women

[9] Asian Development Bank. (2014). Urban Sector Group, Inclusive Cities Working Group, as cited in Asian Development Bank. (2017). *Enabling Inclusive Cities. Tool Kit for Inclusive Urban Development*. Manila: ADB

[10] Government of India. (2016). *India Habitat III National Report III*. New Delhi: Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation http://habitat3.org/wp-content/uploads/Habitat-III_India-National-Report.pdf

[11] Government of India. (n.d.). Smart Cities Mission, Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs. Retrieved February 4, 2019 from http://smartcities.gov.in/content/innerpage/what-is-smart-city.php

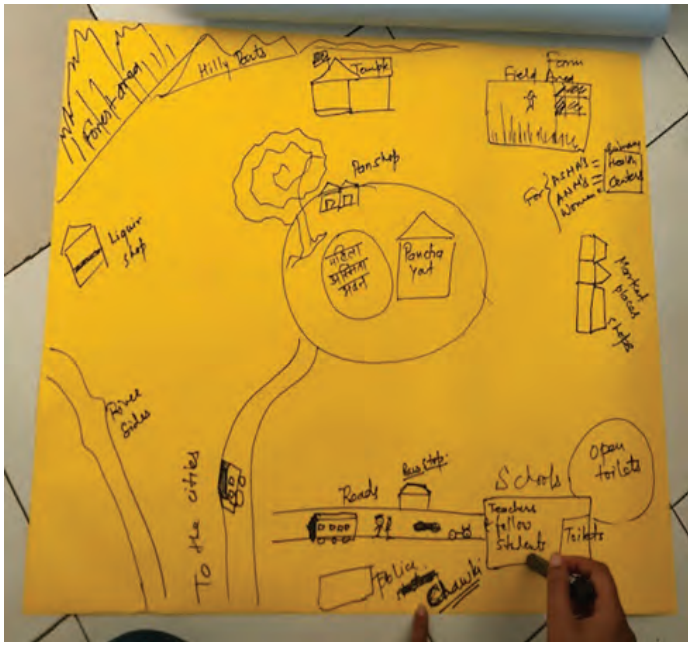
Appendix 6.

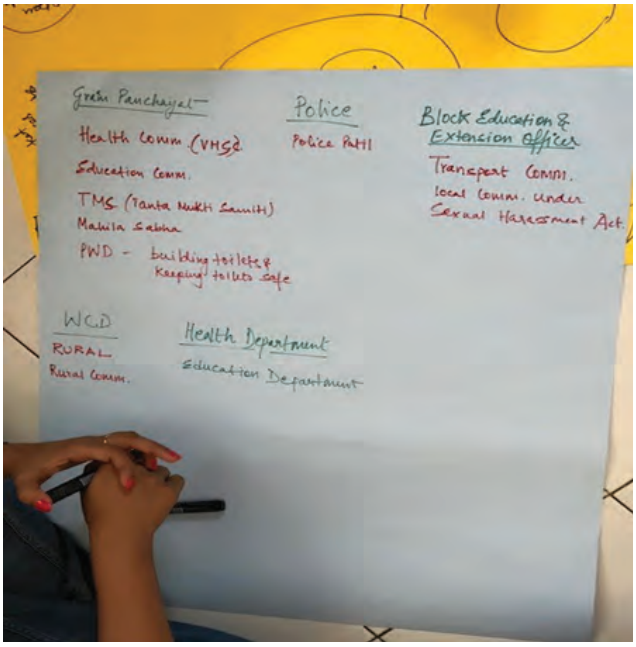
Mapping Risk and Accountability in Public Spaces

In June 2018, the 3D Program for Girls and Women, hosted by our partner MASUM in Pune, facilitated a public safety mapping exercise with representatives from several NGOs, including MASUM, Ashta No Kai, ICRW Asia, Safecity and Swissaid India. Participants were asked to envision a typical day in the life of a girl or woman, beginning as she left her home and ending at a final desired destination such as school, university or work. They were asked to draw maps and identify hotspots, and for each hotspot, to map accountability. This meant clearly identifying the person or institution responsible for safety in particular areas. One group worked on a rural map, the other on an urban map. The maps confirmed that while the contexts differ, in both rural and urban areas, hotspots exist across the continuum of their daily journeys. Both rural and urban public spaces also share the complexity of having multiple authorities accountable for safety across different sites.

The 3D Program is working with our partners in both rural and urban Pune to raise awareness of the need for greater accountability and to create convergent platforms that can work to explicitly identify and hold responsible officials and citizens accountable across public spaces. Accountability mapping could prevent VAWG, enable girls, women and witnesses to know who to contact in the event of an incident, and empower officials to act with authority and clarity. It could also provide the foundation for how each authority can connect and work with their counterparts in adjacent spaces to ensure girls and women's safety through the continuum of public spaces. Until this happens, we are all just bystanders, witnessing the violations girls and women face every day but failing to stop them.

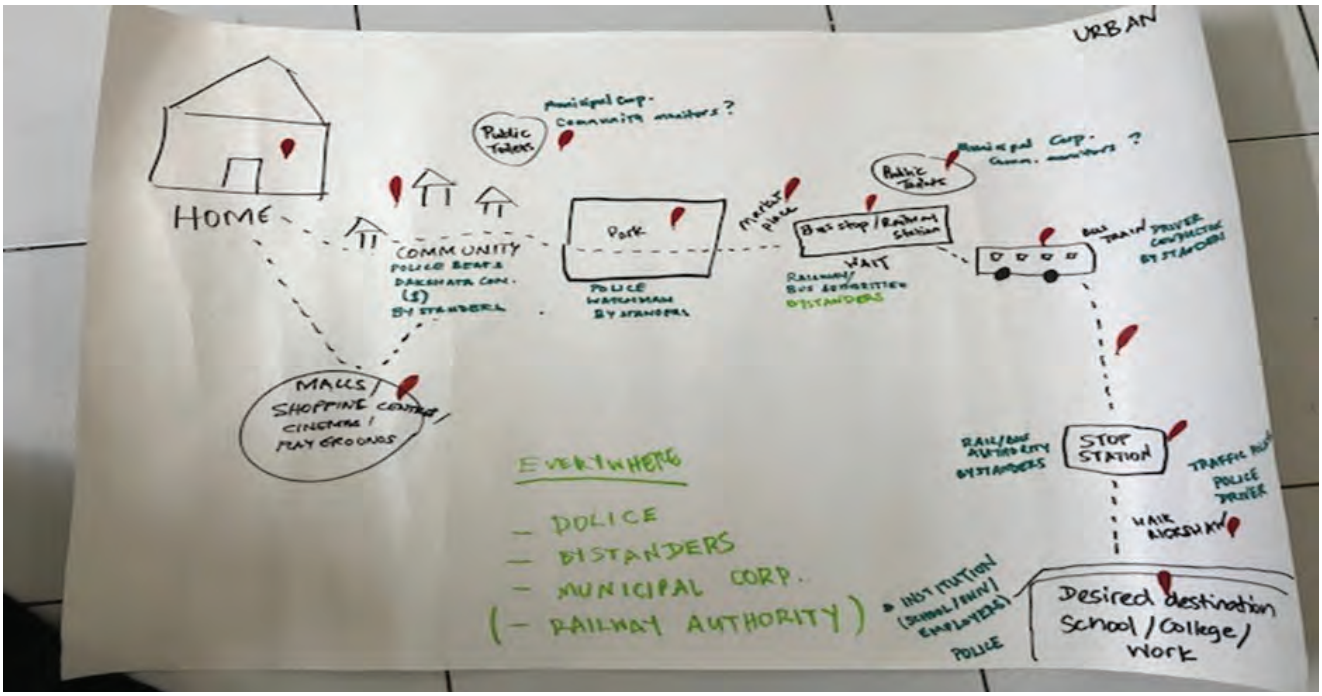
Rural mapping





Rural mapping highlighted hotspots ranging from open fields and areas where water is collected; institutions and facilities, including schools and shops; and particular routes in and out of a village. The accountability mapping revealed various levels of responsible officials, including panchayat officials focused on health, sanitation, public works, and women's issues; the police; different departments such as Women and Child Development and the Health Department; and Block officials.

Urban mapping



Urban mapping highlighted hotspots in red along the route from home to a desired destination (school, college, work) and included pathways through communities; public parks and facilities, and transportation hubs (bus stop or railway station); and routes and transit points. The accountability mapping revealed officials and bystanders with overall responsibility, such as the police and municipal corporation officials, as well as those responsible for safety in particular sites, such as park watchmen, sanitation committee members, the railway authority and bus conductors.

Partnerships lie at the heart of the 3D Program. We are grateful for the support we receive from our partners to help us advance our work.

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