

Safe and Inclusive Cities



Political Context, Crime and Violence in Delhi

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*Poverty, Inequality and Violence in Urban India: Towards Inclusive
Planning and Policies*

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1. Political History and Violence

Delhi has been increasingly perceived as one of the most unsafe and dangerous cities, particularly for women and children. It has recently figured in news around multiple kinds of violence such as communal riots, sexual violence, hate crime and trafficking of children and women. Its position as political capital with its accompanying culture of power, safety and policing thus rests uncomfortably with the tag of being the crime capital of the country.

Serving as the political capital of the Mughal empire, to being then nerve centre of the 1857 revolt, Delhi has been regarded as geo-politically strategic. Apart from being politically positioned in history, the city has also experienced serious levels of violence through different phases of history, traversing through the pre-colonial, colonial and independence periods. It was the epicentre of the Indian National Movement as well as multiple other movements and protests. In the aftermath of the partition of the country in 1947 and the massive communal pogrom that occurred, Delhi witnessed a massive demographic upheaval characterised by a massive exodus of people and a large influx of refugees from current neighbouring Pakistan. The path of Partition had been paved by a systematic communal politics that emerged as a result of the colonial strategy, which continues today.

The first phase of independent India's political history was marked by the rule of the Indian National Congress which played a pivotal role in leading the Indian National Movement. In 1967, the popularity of the Indian National Congress declined and it lost control over many states such as West Bengal, Kerala, Odisha, Punjab and Madras. Soon after there was a split within the Congress, with Indira Gandhi forming Congress (I). In 1971 she became Prime Minister and established her dominance, however the Allahabad high court challenged her electoral victory in 1975. This was followed by an Emergency that was declared, a period that was characterised by complete censorship of the media and the opposition along with the suspension of civil rights. The Emergency lasted till 1977 and during the National Elections that year, the Congress lost the elections and paved the way for a phase of multi party coalitions in Indian politics. Due to internal divisions among the Janata Party, elections were held in 1980 and Indira Gandhi led Congress (I) came to power again (History of Lok Sabha Elections website).

The assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984¹ led to one of the most tragic and violent anti-Sikh riots which tore through the capital killing aloes to 3000 Sikhs with alleged complicity by the State. The city is still reeling under the effects of this violence and justice still eludes

¹ Indira Gandhi had been trying to control Sikh militancy in Punjab that had arisen to demand a separate state called Khalistan. She thus led a military operation called 'Operation Blue Star' in 1983, in which the army had conducted a siege around the Golden Temple in Amritsar, Punjab, where in Sikh militants led by Jamail Singh Bhindranwale were hiding. Subsequently, a massive shootout occurred and the militants were killed inside the temple. This led to massive outrage among Sikhs. For more read <http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-7-things-you-need-to-know-about-operation-blue-star-1993952>

many families who suffered irreparable losses (Yadav, 2009). In 1989, National Elections were held and the National Front coalition government led by V P Singh came to power.

The aftermath of this violent episode witnessed the landslide victory of the Congress led by Indira Gandhi's son Rajiv Gandhi. In 1991, he was assassinated by members of the Liberation Tiger of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a militant organisation which was operating in Sri Lanka in retaliation to his decision to deploy Indian armed forces in the island nation (Unnithan, 2014).

In 1991, P V Narsima Rao came to power and this phase was marked by an implementation of a series of liberal economic reforms leading. However, soon after, the Congress began losing credibility owing to corruption and multiple scams that unfolded during this time and this marked the end of a single party rule that had characterised most of the Indian political landscape till now. The late eighties and nineties also witnessed the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the growth of the Hindu right wing's influence. This was also the time, when the Mandal Commission was implemented thus reserving a proportion of jobs in government jobs to the Other Backward Classes (OBC), a decision that led to violent resistance particularly by youth belonging to the upper caste, who felt their futures might be jeopardised. In 1992, the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, was demolished by supporters of the right wing groups which led to violent riots in Delhi as well as other cities like Mumbai, Surat, Ahmedabad and Kanpur where Muslims were targeted.

National elections were held in 1996 when BJP's Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee formed the government but resigned soon after. Two more elections were held in 1997 and 1998 and non Congress governments were formed marking a period of intense political instability. In 1999 the BJP lost a no confidence motion. However in the elections held during the same year, the BJP led by Mr. Vajpayee came to power and completed its term. In the next election in 2004, the Congress party came to power with Dr. Manmohan Singh as Prime Minister and remained in power for two terms. By 2014 however, the Congress lost credibility and voter confidence and was defeated by the BJP which emerged as the single largest party led by Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi (History of Lok Sabha Elections website).

Mrs. Sheila Dixit from the Congress who had already completed one term from 1998 till 2003 as Chief Minister of Delhi, won for the second time in 2003 and went on to complete three full five year terms by 2013. She lost in 2013 assembly elections to Mr. Arvind Kejriwal, the leader of the newly formed Aam Admi Party (AAP) which emerged from the wider Anti Corruption Movement in the country. The party formed a minority government, but resigned after 49 days in power over its dissatisfaction with the Central government's action on the Jan Lokpal Bill. Currently, Delhi remains under the control of the Lieutenant Governor.

It can be said then, that the city has been shaped and reshaped through a range of violent processes as well as serious political movements and protests. The recent India Against Corruption Movement with its centre in Delhi, various public interest litigations initiated by

citizens, anti rape protests that united the city's people class and religion all lend texture to the complexity of Delhi and its people.

2. Urban Services and Security

Rapid urban growth is likely to create enormous challenges in terms of planning and distribution of resources for expanding urban populations, which risks deepening existing disparities and thus creating ground for future conflicts and contestations (UNHABITAT 2008). According to Muggah (2012), violence in urban spaces, particularly in the fastest growing metropolises has been increasing, and its impacts will be most severe on the economically weaker sections. There is thus an 'urban dilemma', as a result of massive urban growth and economic development along with increasing urban violence² in cities (*ibid*).

Urban centres are increasingly being associated with a steady rise in poverty and inequalities which are attributed to many factors, including exclusionary planning which in unresponsive to the needs of gender and socio-economically weaker groups whose specific and unique needs are not met. This has been reiterated by Viswanath and Mehrotra (2007) and UNHABITAT (2008) through criticism of the 'Master Plan approach' to city planning as being exclusionary and highly regulatory. In Delhi specifically, such an approach could result in poor populations living in informal spaces getting excluded from the planning process, even illegalised³ through measures like demolitions, dislocations, and relocations, which are often violent in themselves as seen in the past, particularly in the context of Common Wealth Games held in Delhi in 2010 (Sudworth, 2006).

The differentiated use of space in the city by men, women, children, different socio-economic groups is a case in point. Viswanath and Mehrotra 2007 substantiate this point by saying that the socio-economically vulnerable groups use public space in multiple ways such as carrying livelihood activities, sleeping etc which exposes them to physical and sexual violence. Lack of equitable service provision and infrastructural deficit is also a feature of inequitable and exclusive planning and has an impact on cost of living, employment opportunities and travelling time which impacts the socio-economically weaker sections. The Delhi Human Development Report (2013) reflects this quite strongly, as women reported feeling more unsafe as they move away from their localities and into public spaces. This results in women perceiving public spaces as negative, thus curtailing their mobility which impacts their participation in the life and opportunities that a city has to offer.

The lack of public delivery of basic services and utilities allows the entry of private players working in the interests of the privileged classes (UNHABITAT 2008). In Delhi, richer gated

²Urban violence is wide notion which may refer to direct, physical, emotional and psychological violence as well as indirect, structural violence such as inequality, poverty and inequitable planning within the urban context.

³ Mahadevia, D in proposal entitled 'Dynamics of Poverty, Inequality and Violence in Indian Cities: Towards Inclusive Policies and Planning as part of the 'Safe and Inclusive Cities Research to Reduce Urban Violence, Poverty and Inequalities', submitted to International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in 2011 by IHD and Centre for Environmental and Planning Technology (CEPT).

communities are increasingly opting for privatised urban services, including the provision of personal security, in stark contrast to the adjacent poorer settlements that suffer from the dearth of those very services, the absence of which have negative impacts on their health, education and livelihoods. Furthermore, these poor areas often get criminalised and labelled as ‘unsafe’ and ‘no go’ zones, which exist side by side with ‘safe’ and well serviced residential spaces, reflective of the chronic inequality in Delhi.

The lack of inclusive urban planning and service provision is increasingly contributing to fear of violence in public spaces in Delhi, which is likely to affect vulnerable groups like economically weaker sections, women and children more severely. Women and girls have been experiencing actual violence or fear from sexual harassment and assault. These perceptions of fear and risk get exacerbated in the absence of gender sensitive planning and lack of essential public services such as street lights and safe public toilets. According to survey cited in the Dehi Human Development Report (2013), over 1500 areas (including areas near colleges, schools, residential areas and metro stations) in the city that were unlit and hence regarded as unsafe (Pandey and Haidar, 2013). Areas around metro stations at Shadipur and Patel Nagar in West Delhi are perceived as unsafe by commuters and residents due to the presence of wine shops, sex workers and badly maintained roads which are isolated. Vendors reportedly sell alcohol at night which adds to the sense of insecurity in the area according to Samant, 2014.

Furthermore, lack of proper functioning, clean and safe public toilets are also a major concern as women and girls are exposed to health risks, sexual harassment and even violence, as highlighted by Centre for Civil Society (CCS) report in 2008 cited in the Delhi Human Development Report based on research conducted in slums and resettlement colonies in Delhi. Most public and community toilets are reportedly non-functional and the ones that do work suffer due to chronic lack of cleanliness, forcing women to use open spaces to relieve themselves, which exposes them to risk of physical and sexual violence. As a result of this fear, many women reported going out early in the morning or after dark to avoid being seen, all of which heighten risks to their safety. Incidents of males harassing women, using toilets meant for women were widely reported.

The problem of boundary walls and setbacks around residential spaces in Delhi, have been contributing to a feeling of unsafety, particularly among women, along with rise of anti-social activities like urinating (according to the UTTIPEC study cited in Delhi Human Development Report, 2013)⁴. These high walls block visibility and isolate pedestrians which lead to a feeling of being unsafe. These coupled with lack of street lighting lead to a situation that is often avoided by many.

All this brings focus on the need for inclusive planning which will allow ‘urban advantage’ for all and address an issue which is much in debate today and that is, “safety for whom?”

2.1. State of Crime in Delhi

According to the TRUSTLAW POLL,2011 conducted by Thomas Reuters Foundation, India ranked 4th in terms of violence against women, preceded by Afghanistan, Somalia and Pakistan. Delhi, being the political capital of the country, is often called the crime capital, owing to the large number of incidents of crimes against women and children and the extensive coverage of these incidents by the media. The brutal gang rape of a 23 year old girl on 16 December 2012 has been widely regarded as a ‘tipping point’, which brought sexual violence at the centre of national policy discourse which led to fundamental changes in policies and laws⁵ (Delhi Human Development report, 2013). This incident also led to massive civilian protests in the capital, jolting the state into an urgent response as well as shaping public opinion about sexual violence. This gruesome incident also drew connections between violence against women and inclusive and gendered urban planning.

Besides violence against women, Delhi has also experienced the highest rate of crime against children. It is a major hub for child trafficking from states like Bihar, Assam, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Odisha and Uttar Pradesh. Young girls are trafficked for marriage, domestic work and prostitution (Pandit, 2014 and UNODC, 2013)

A spate of violent attacks in Delhi NCR against people from the North East has also deeply questioned the tolerance for minority groups and migrants in the city. The incident on 5 February 2014, when a student called Nido Tania from Arunachal Pradesh was assaulted and murdered brought this serious issue at the centre of discourse on marginalisation and discrimination. The latest incident of this kind of racial hate crime included an assault on two Naga youths in Gurgaon (*Hindustan Times*, 2014). According to the Bezbaruah Committee report, 2014, criminal cases where in people from the North East were victims has gone up by 270 per cent, with crimes like rape, hurt and molestation being dominant. The same report said that more than 85 per cent of northeasterners living in Delhi reported being discriminated against (Tiwari.2014. and BBC report, 2014).

2.2. Crime Statistics

Table 1: Total Cognizable Crime Rate of Patna and other Tier I cities (2005-2013)

City	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Bangalore	510.7	462.2	475.6	521.6	569.4	566	356.3	344.7	356.7
Chennai	313.3	251.6	256.9	184.1	169.7	169.2	245.5	228.6	204.1
Delhi	398.8	414.4	397.9	348.5	353.7	359.6	289.4	294.1	441.9
Kolkata	71.1	71	82.5	98.4	103	117.3	121.5	179.8	186.5

⁵ The major initiatives undertaken in the formulation of laws and policies are reflected in the recommendations of the Justice Verma Committee (constituted in December 2012), many of which have been also incorporated in the new the Criminal Law [Amendment] Act (2013). For more, see PRS Legislative Research (2013), Summary of Justice Verma Committee Report, Available at; <http://www.prsindia.org/parliamenttrack/report-summarises/justice-verma-committee-report-summary-2628/> .

Mumbai	192	189.8	186.2	202.2	191	207.3	177.3	165.7	189.2
<i>Total Cities</i>	<i>291.7</i>	<i>302.5</i>	<i>312.3</i>	<i>321.8</i>	<i>318.6</i>	<i>341.9</i>	<i>295.1</i>	<i>294.9</i>	<i>345.9</i>

Source: Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2013

This table situates Delhi among other tier I cities in order to gain perspective about crimes in some of the urban centres of similar demographic size. Bangalore has experienced the highest rate of total cognizable crimes from 2005 to 2010, after which it has declined to 344.7 per 100,000 and rose a little again in 2013. Chennai saw a dip in its total crime rate in 2009-10 after which it has increased again. Delhi displays variability in its crime rate through the years. It increased in 2006 to 414.4 per 100,000, dipped in 2011 to 289.4 per 100,000 and then rose again in 2013 to 441.9 per 100,000. Kolkata had the lowest crime rate but has been steadily increasing to reach 186.5 in 2013. Mumbai's total cognizable crime rate has been relatively low throughout as compared to the other cities.

Table 2: Total cognizable crimes across three time points

Year	Bangalore	Chennai	Delhi	Kolkata	Mumbai	<i>Total Cities</i>
2003	514.5	133.5	328.1	81.1	156.9	<i>270</i>
2008	521.6	184.1	348.5	98.4	202.2	<i>321.8</i>
2013	356.7	204.1	441.9	186.5	189.2	<i>345.9</i>

Calculated based on NCRB data 2003-2013

Looking at three time points, one being 2003 was both the year before the national elections when the Congress party came to power for two consecutive terms, as well as the year when India won the bid to host the XIXth Commonwealth Games.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3270653.stm, the second being 2008 and then 2013, the year before national elections. Delhi has witnessed a clear increase in total cognizable crime rates through the three time points.

Table 3: Three year moving average total cognizable crime rates in selected tier I cities

City	2005-07	2006-08	2007-09	2008-10	2009-11	2010-13
Delhi	403.7	386.9	366.7	353.9	334.2	341.8
Bangalore	482.8	486.5	522.2	552.3	497.2	352.6
Chennai	273.9	230.9	203.6	174.3	194.8	226.1
Kolkata	74.9	84.0	94.6	106.2	113.9	162.6

Mumbai	189.3	192.7	193.1	200.2	191.9	177.4
<i>Total Cities</i>	<i>302.2</i>	<i>312.2</i>	<i>317.6</i>	<i>327.4</i>	<i>318.5</i>	<i>312.0</i>

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2012

A three year moving average of cognizable crime rates presents a more nuanced picture and takes care of any year which might have experienced a dramatic slump or spike in crimes. Delhi according to table 3, has witnessed a gradual decline in total cognizable crime rates while Kolkata has been witnessing a clear increase. The other cities seem to show variable trends.

2.2.1. Crimes against Women

As discussed above, Delhi is regarded as one of the most unsafe cities for women in the world and is often regarded as the ‘rape capital.’ Crime rate against women is the highest in Delhi among the other tier 1 cities and has increased consistently since 2005 when it was 57.3 per 100,000 to rise up to 151.1 in 2013. Bangalore has seen a significant increase since 2011 and Kolkata has been increasing considerably since 2005. Crime rates in total cities have also increased. Besides reflecting an increase in crime, these trends also indicate increased reporting of crimes against women, which are usually under reported due to social stigma, fear of victim blaming by society and lack of trust in the criminal justice system.

Table 4: Total Cognizable Crime Rate against women in selected tier I cities (2005-2013)

City	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Bangalore	18.6	17.6	18.2	16.5	20.5	23.1	27.1	55.7	64.3
Chennai	14.7	12.6	18.5	9.4	7.4	6.8	13	19.3	19.5
Delhi	57.3	51	62.4	49.1	51	52	58.4	68.5	151.1
Kolkata	8.1	8.6	8.3	13	8.1	13.5	16.8	30.1	35.3
Mumbai	14.7	13.2	10.7	17.2	13.2	15.3	17.8	21	34.5
<i>Total Cities</i>	<i>33.5</i>	<i>31.9</i>	<i>39.5</i>	<i>38.6</i>	<i>36.7</i>	<i>36.1</i>	<i>29.1</i>	<i>47.6</i>	<i>69.7</i>

Calculations based on NCRB 2005-2013. The crime rate has been calculated based on urban female population for all the years

Observing total cognizable crimes against women across three time points indicates that all cities have seen a considerable increase in women crime rates, with the increase in Delhi being very significant.

Table 5: Total cognizable crimes against women across three time points (2003-2008-2008)

Years	Bangalore	Chennai	Delhi	Kolkata	Mumbai
2003	18.4	15.4	46.4	9.8	9.9
2008	16.5	9.4	49.1	13	17.2
2013	64.3	19.5	151.1	35.3	34.5

Calculated based on NCRB data 2003-2013

Table 6: Three Year moving average of women in selected tier II cities

Cities	2005-07	2006-08	2007-09	2008-10	2009-11	2010-12	2011-13
Bangalore	12.1	11.4	12.3	20.0	23.6	35.3	49.0
Chennai	15.3	13.5	11.8	7.9	9.1	13.0	17.3
Delhi	56.9	54.2	54.2	50.7	53.8	59.6	92.7
Kolkata	8.3	10.0	9.8	11.5	12.8	20.1	27.4
Mumbai	12.9	13.7	13.7	15.2	15.4	18.0	24.4
<i>Total Cities</i>	<i>35.0</i>	<i>36.7</i>	<i>38.3</i>	<i>37.1</i>	<i>34.0</i>	<i>37.6</i>	<i>48.8</i>

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2013

There has been an overall increase in total cognizable crimes against women in a three year moving average, with Delhi experiencing a significant increase between 2010-12 and 2011-13.

While there have been many efforts post Nirbhaya to enhance the safety of women and increase police efficiency and sensitivity, perceptions of lack of safety exist and fear persists.

Findings from the perception survey⁶, the focus group discussions and interviews⁷ conducted in various locations across the city to understand the issue of safety in the city, in particular with regard to women's safety in the public space DHDR 2013 also reveal that women and girls perceived public spaces as unsafe. According to the survey, Delhi was rated as 'below

⁶ The Perceptions Survey, 2013, collected information relating to various aspects of crime and safety of the population, in general, and women, in particular. The broad areas of inquiry included: (i) rating Delhi in terms of personal safety, (ii) how safe/secure people felt living in their localities, (iii) rating the security of women and girls in the city in three spaces apart from their homes, viz. the localities in which they resided, public transport and at the workplace, (iv) whether crime has increased, decreased, or stayed the same during the last three years, (v) whether the respondents have experienced crime, and the nature of these crimes, (vi) level of satisfaction with the police, in terms of their prompt response to a problem and their being easily approachable and easy to talk to, and (vii) the steps that can be taken to improve people's safety/ security in Delhi. It may be noted that the Perceptions Survey, 2013, was carried out soon after the incident of 16 December 2012, which is likely to have influenced the responses.

⁷ In addition to the Survey, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were carried out in six localities. In particular, the FGDs were conducted only with women in various locations across the city to understand the issues that specifically concern women's safety. In addition, interviews were also conducted with the police personnel in police stations at various locations in the city to better understand their perspective. In the FGDs, the key points of discussions included identification of the areas considered most unsafe; the people who were the most unsafe; threats and incidents of crime, perceptions about the police; coping mechanisms; gender-based violence; perceptions about the increase or decline in crime; the response of the State on the issue of crime; and, recommendations on how to make Delhi safe(r).

average' in terms of personal safety by nearly 38 per cent of the respondents, (a combination of poor: 30.7 per cent or very poor: 7.2 per cent ratings, with a majority of the respondents reporting this in New Delhi and Central Delhi. More women (27 per cent) felt that they were unsafe in the city as compared to the male respondents (32 per cent). This perception was reflected in the ? Only 12 per cent of the female respondents felt safe while using public transport. Generally, women felt less safe as they moved away from their homes and localities, followed by their workplaces and felt the least secure while using public transport. This problem is amplified by the fact that illegal and unregulated buses operate in the city (Bergen, 2013).

Delhi has been perceived as very unsafe by women and girls. According to the findings from Jagori, 2011, two out of three women reported facing incidents of sexual harassments more than once during that year. Over 80 per cent of women in New Delhi reported harassment in public transport or during transit and over 60 per cent had faced verbal or physical harassment on the road side.

2.2.2. Crimes against children

Table 7: Total Cognizable Crime Rate against children (2005-2013)

City	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Bangalore	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.6	NA	NA
Chennai	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	1	NA	NA
Delhi	6.7	15.4	13.6	12.3	18.8	23.7	20.8	NA	NA
Kolkata	0.9	1	1	1	1.1	1.1	1	NA	NA
Mumbai	1.9	2.3	1.7	2.2	2.3	3.3	2.3	NA	NA
Total cities	2.8	4.4	4.3	4.3	5.2	5.7	4.9	NA	NA

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2013

Delhi clearly has the highest rates of crimes against children since 2005 and has been increasing steadily which corroborates with media reports, making Delhi one of the most unsafe cities in the world for children. The Delhi Human Development Report, 2013 analysed the data (taking average of years 2004-06 and 2010-12) on kidnapping and segregated it along age and sex. This analysis reveals that children below the age of 18 years constituted a significant proportion of those kidnapped and that the sex of those kidnapped changed with age, with male children being higher among the younger age group (below 15 years) and that of female children being higher between 15-18 years of age. In Delhi, on an average, 14 children are reported missing daily, according to the Crime in Delhi Report (Delhi Police, 2012).

Table 8: Three Year moving averages of cognizable crime rates against children in tier I cities

City	2005-07	2006-08	2007-09	2008-10	2009-11
Bangalore	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.9
Chennai	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.8
Delhi	11.9	13.8	14.9	18.3	44.5
Kolkata	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1	2.1
Mumbai	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.6	5.6
<i>Total cities</i>	<i>3.8</i>	<i>4.3</i>	<i>4.6</i>	<i>5.1</i>	<i>10.6</i>

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2011

The increase in rate of crimes against children in Delhi has remained consistent and considerable. Mumbai has also witnessed a recent increase in rate of crimes against children in 2009-11. Research studies indicate that children too are very vulnerable to violence and crime in the city, much of which is attributed to lack of adequate planning to cater to the specific needs of children.

According to a census survey undertaken by IHD and Save the Children in 2010 entitled, 'Surviving the Streets', revealed that there are 50,000 street children in the city, which comprises one per cent of the city. Most of these street children were found in the north and south west districts of Delhi. The study took a sample of over 1000 which revealed that over a quarter constituted children who had run away from their homes, kidnapping and trafficking and were living alone on the streets. Most of them had run away to escape hunger, poverty or abuse at home according to the study and the Delhi Police reports⁸. They were mostly involved in occupations like rag picking, street vending, and *dhabas*. Fifty per cent were illiterate and almost all reported being subjected to verbal which had been normalised by every day experience, while physical abuse was experienced by one half of the boys and one third of the girls. Over one-fifth of them reported using drugs, alcohol and other intoxicating substances and nearly half of them reported being addicted. Almost 90 per cent reported paying for toilet facilities and even reported begging for water, or buying water from vendors due to lack of or malfunctioning community taps and hand pumps. This deprivation of basic services coupled with poverty and lack of social protection compounds the sense of insecurity and vulnerability to violence.

Furthermore, findings from the DHDR (2013) also reveal that children were seen to be most under threat of violence or abuse. Residents from poor localities expressed fear of kidnapping and did not leave their children alone or let them play unaccompanied. Even schools and localities were not seen as safe for children.

Table 9: Violent crimes- Murder, Rape and Kidnapping

Crimes	City	2005-07	2006-08	2007-09	2008-10	2009-11	2010-12
	Bangalore	4.2	4.4	4.5	4	3.5	2.9
Murder	Chennai	2	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.9	2

⁸ Refer to Delhi Police website <http://www.delhipolice.nic.in/>

	Delhi	3.2	3.4	3.5	3.2	2.9	2.6
	Kolkata	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5
	Mumbai	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2
	Bangalore	0.8	0.8	1	1	1.1	1.1
	Chennai	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.9
Rape	Delhi	4.2	3.8	3.5	3.2	3.1	3.2
	Kolkata	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
	Mumbai	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2
	Bangalore	1.6	1.8	3.2	5.5	6.8	7.3
	Chennai	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.8
Kidnapping	Delhi	9.7	9.7	12.8	15.9	18.6	19.7
	Kolkata	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.2
	Mumbai	1	1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2012

While Bangalore witnessed the highest rates of murder with Delhi following closely, in terms of rates of rape and kidnappings, Delhi remains the highest among the above tier I cities.

Table 10: Ranking of the selected tier I cities based on total cognizable crime rate (2005-2012)

City	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Delhi	10	12	12	18	18	18	26	31
Chennai	16	23	24	32	32	32	35	38
Kolkata	35	35	35	35	35	34	53	47
Mumbai	26	28	31	30	30	28	44	49
Bangalore	5	8	8	5	5	5	17	20

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2012

Interestingly, despite high crime rates, in terms of ranking, Delhi's position seems to be improving over the years, however Delhi ranks poorly in terms of crimes against women and abysmally in terms of crimes against children. In 2012, Delhi ranked 16th among 53 cities in terms of crimes against women and 2nd in terms of crimes against children in 2011 according to the NCRB.

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